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Samuel C. Haight
1923

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By the Rev. Mr. Wilson

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL,

MATCHLESS ALBY

ALICE THE ORIGINAL AT MY LIPS

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. & A. G. B. 1788.



A
BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY
OF
EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

ORIGINALLY EDITED BY ROBERT CHAMBERS.

REVISED THROUGHOUT AND CONTINUED

BY THE

REV. THOMAS THOMSON,

EDITOR OF THE "COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF ENGLAND," ETC.

WITH A SUPPLEMENT

CONTINUING THE BIOGRAPHIES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

ILLUSTRATED BY NUMEROUS AUTHENTIC PORTRAITS ON STEEL.

HALF-VOL. II.

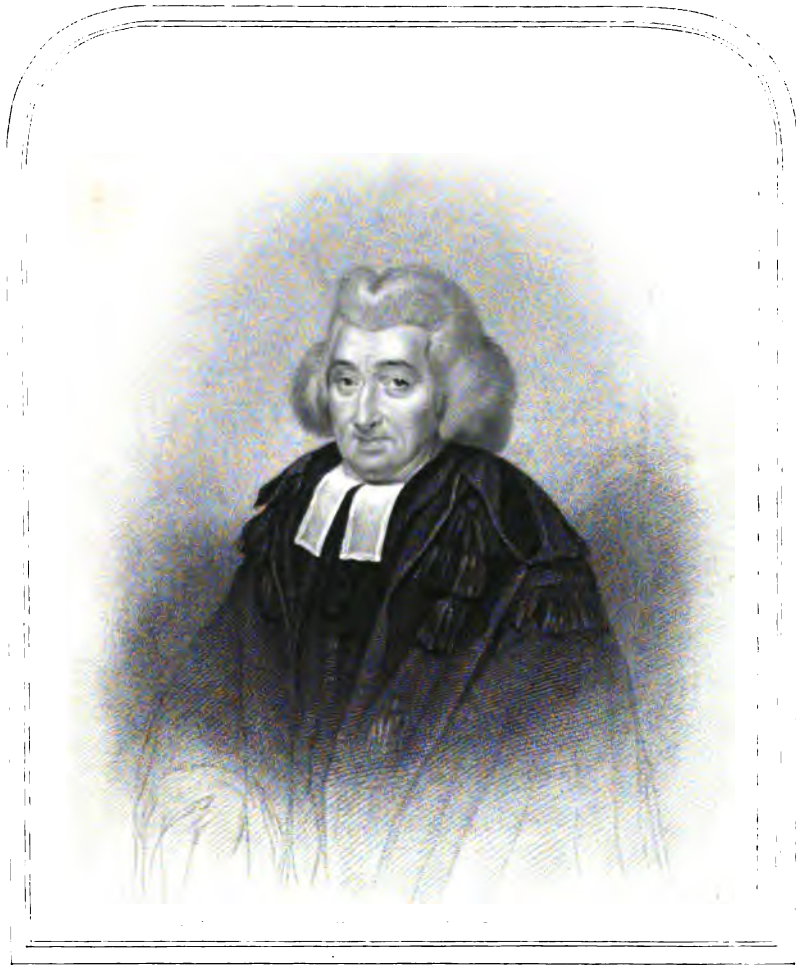


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PRINCIPAL OF MARISCHAL COLLEGE, ABERDEEN 1710-1793

BY JOHN G. BURTON, A.M., D.D., LL.D.



Engraved by J. B. Martin

ANDREW DAWSON

FROM THE COFFIN IN MARSHALL COLLEGE AMHERST

W. P. & SONS, 11, AUSTIN FRIER STREET, LONDON





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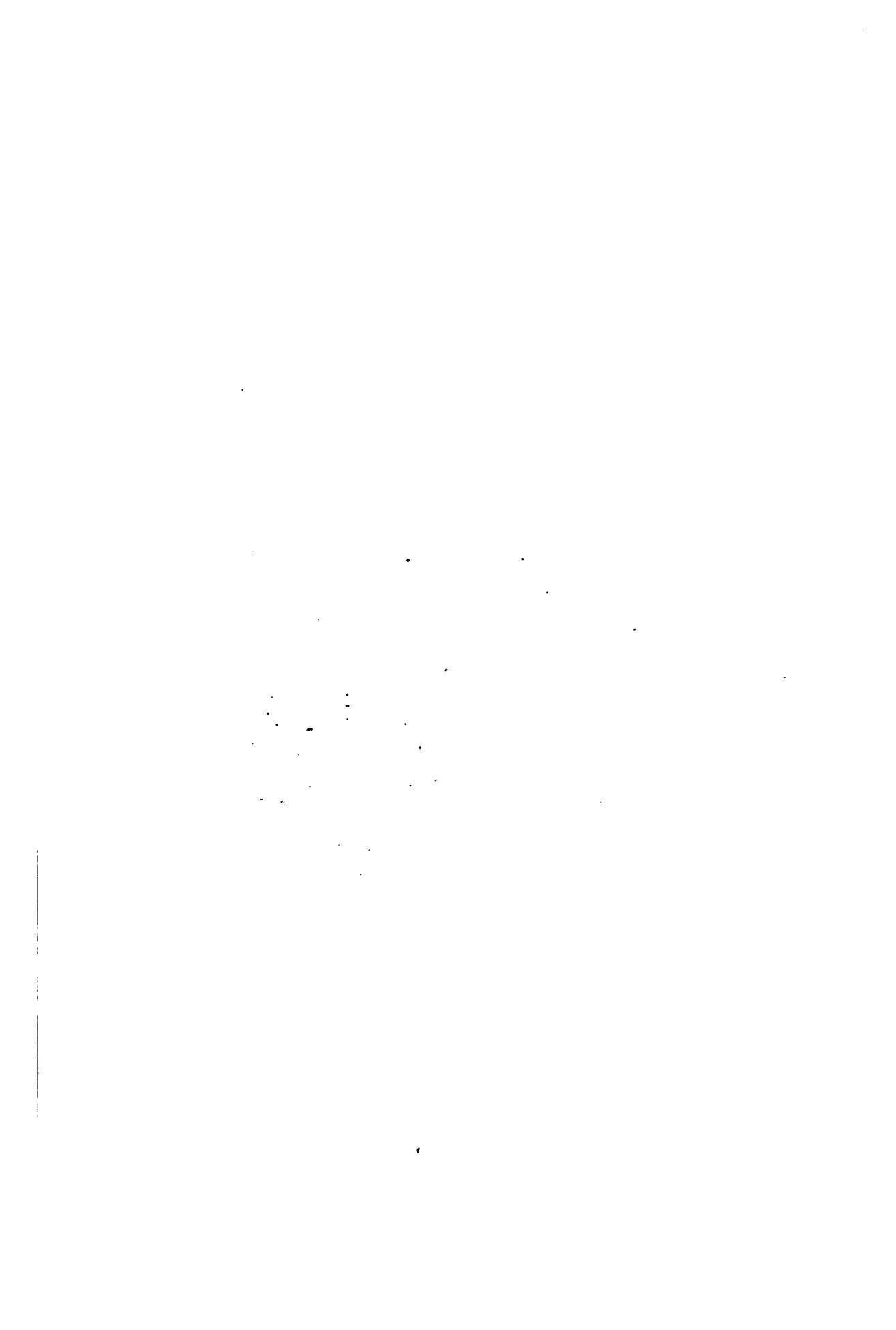




PLATE I.

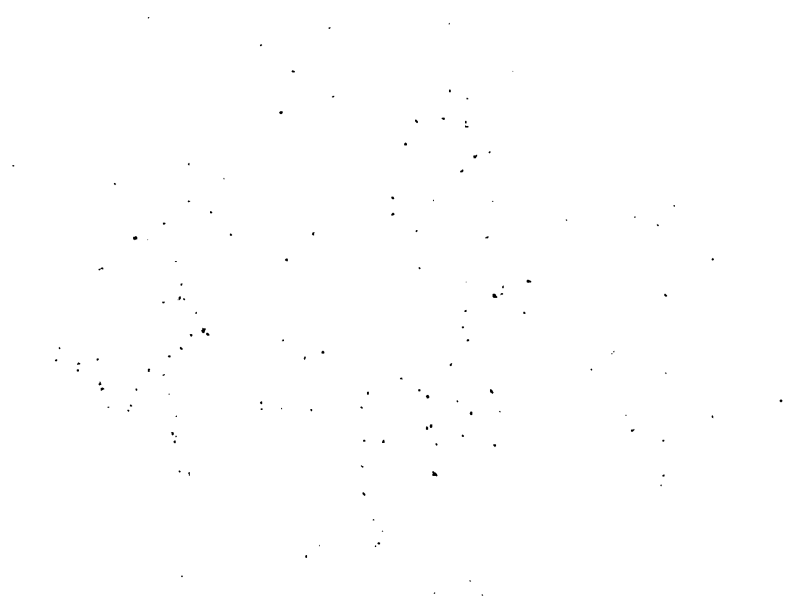
EDWARD HAYDON, ESQ. OF THE COUNTY OF WILTSHIRE.
IN HIS OWN ORIGINAL IN HIS OWN HANDS.

PRINTED BY J. W. BARNES, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.



MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
ADMITTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN 1740

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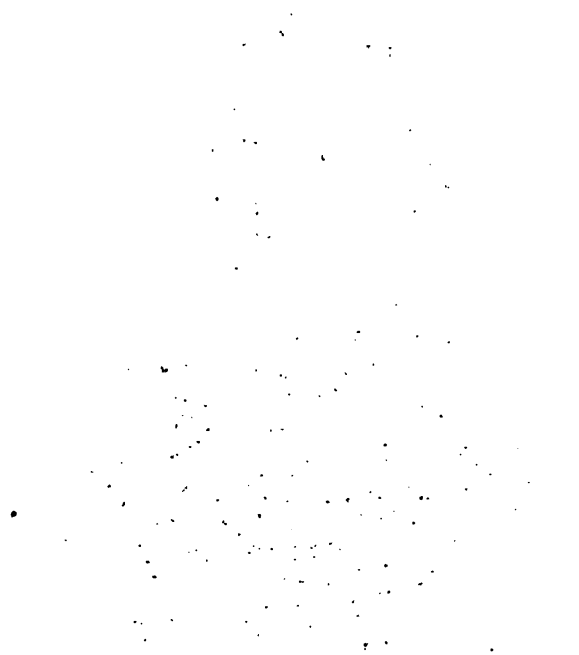
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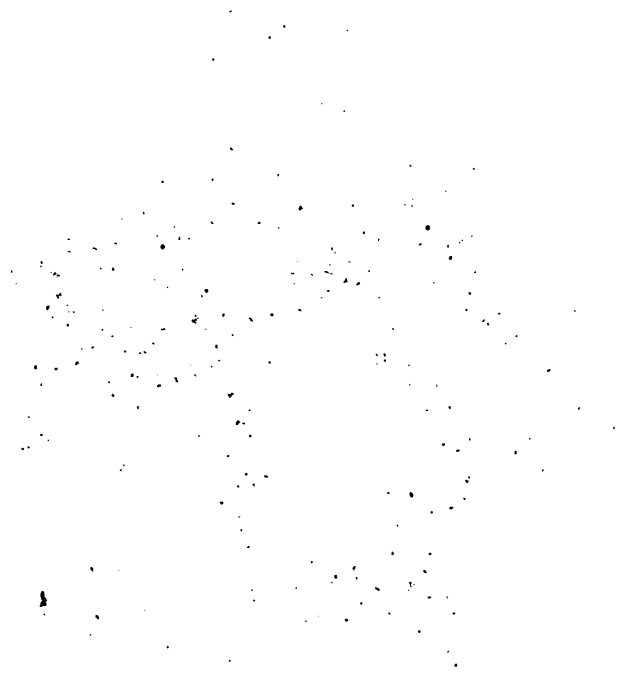




WILLIAM HAWTHORNDEN

OF HAWTHORNDEN

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1810

1810

ADMIRAL LORD DUNCAN.

VISCOUNT CAMPERDOWN &c. &c.

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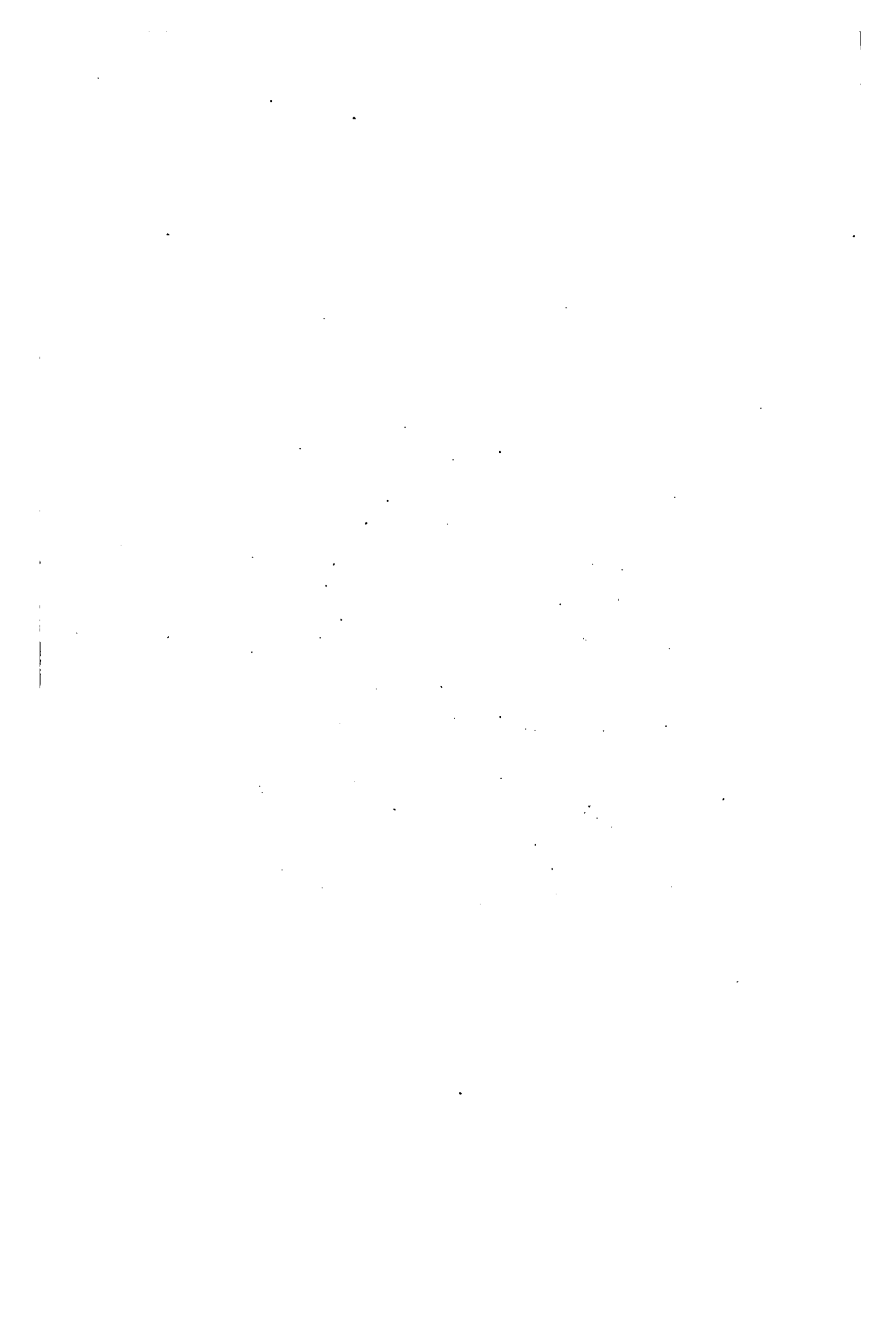
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THE LIFE OF JOHN BUNYAN

civilian. Sir Colin Campbell would not permit the dictation of such men, who perhaps knew little or nothing of war; and who, in the event of success, might arrogate the whole glory to themselves, and in failures throw the whole blame upon the commander; and, finding that his remonstrances on the subject were ineffectual with the governor-general, he resigned his command, and returned to England in the summer of 1853. At his return he was nothing more than colonel, for his rank in India as brigadier-general had been only temporary. Thus slowly had his promotion gone on, notwithstanding forty-six years of active service, his brilliant deeds, his sufferings and wounds, and when he had reached his sixty-second year, at which time the fire and energy of life, especially in a war-worn soldier, is generally well-nigh exhausted. But as yet his career had but commenced, and his long endurance was to be crowned with success at last. Although thus late, a reward awaited him that might well compensate for such a wearying delay, and the scanty measure in which his services had been required.

Sir Colin remained unattached for some months until the war with Russia broke out in 1854, when he was appointed to the command of the Highland brigade that was to serve in the Crimea. It was a happy appointment by which Highlanders were to be commanded by a Highlander—by one who combined with their native fire and daring an amount of military experience and skill that could turn their soldierly qualities to the best account. This the soldiers of the brigade felt; and they obeyed Sir Colin not merely as their general, but also as their patriarchal chief: they were ready to follow him to the death, or to die in his defence. The first of the Crimean battles in which Sir Colin signaled himself, was that of the Alma. On this occasion he was a conspicuous figure to friend and enemy as he rushed up with his battalion to the aid of the light division on the heights of the Alma; his repeated attacks upon the Russian masses were skilfully and successfully delivered; and at the critical moment, when the conflict seemed to be doubtful, he electrified his troops with new life by the short, pithy saying, "Highlanders never retire." Wherever they attacked, the Russian squares were broken and put to the rout; and in the despatches which Lord Raglan transmitted to the secretary of war of the battle of the Alma, the conduct of Major-general Sir Colin Campbell, with that of other distinguished personages, was recommended to particular notice. At Balaklava Sir Colin won additional distinction. His post on this occasion was to protect the earthworks that had been thrown up for the defence of the British portion of the allied encampment, and for this purpose he was stationed at the entrance of the valley with the 93d Highlanders. About 3000 Turkish irregulars, chiefly Tunisians, were added to this small force; but they were an aid upon which no dependence could be placed. This key to the British position was so inadequately secured, in consequence of the necessity of occupying the whole valley. Encouraged by this circumstance, the Russians, on the 25th of October, issued out of Sebastopol, in the hope of carrying the British encampment by storm. In their advance they easily dislodged the Turks from three redoubts which they occupied, and, following up their success, would soon have been in the midst of our camp, but for the vigilance and courage of Sir Colin. He ordered the 93d Highlanders to draw up in line two deep in front of the road leading to Sebastopol, to oppose a charge of heavy Russian cavalry. The enemy saw this extended but slender thread of defence, a "thin red streak topped with a line of steel,"

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and thinking they could break through it as if it were a cobweb, a body of about 1500 Russian horse came down upon it with loosened rein. Calmly Sir Colin ordered the regiment to "prepare to receive cavalry," and with equal coolness the order was obeyed. The coming attack was checked for a moment by a volley of musketry from the 93d at the distance of 600 yards, which, however, did little execution. On came the Russian cavalry again with double confidence, but not with equal fortune, for, when within about 150 yards, another volley met them with such effect, that they broke their ranks and took to flight. The courage manifested in such an arrangement of Sir Colin, and the success that crowned it, excited the admiration of the army; and when, after the battle, Lord Raglan expressed his admiration of the former receiving a cavalry charge with so thin a line, the other replied, "I did not think it worth while to form them four deep."

During the remainder of the Crimean war Sir Colin Campbell took part in its proceedings, with the exception of a short period during which he visited England. The value of his services during the Russian campaign was so justly appreciated, that honours and promotions flowed upon him in full tide. In 1854 he had been gazetted a major-general. In October of the same year he was appointed colonel of the 67th regiment. In 1856 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and during the same year created a D.C.L. by the university of Oxford. In addition to these, he had conferred upon him the Grand Cross of the Bath, the French Order of the Legion of Honour, the Sardinian Order of Saint Maurice and Saint Lazarus, and the Turkish Order of the Medjidie, 1st class, with a medal; the Crimean medal with clasps for Alma, Balaklava, and Sebastopol, and the war medal with five clasps, and was made military aide-de-camp to the queen. Nor were civic honours wanting, among other distinctions, to indicate the popular sense of his worth. He was presented with the freedom of the city of London; and a splendid sword of the value of 280 guineas was conferred upon him by the citizens of Glasgow, who were now proud of the fame of their fellow-townsmen.

It might have been thought that the war-worn veteran had by this time earned a right to repose, and that any further task awaiting him would only be to fight all his battles o'er again in description amidst the festive society of his friends, or over the comforts of his fireside. But scarcely had he begun to rest after the excitement of the Crimean war, when a still more important event summoned him once more into the field. It was the terrible Indian mutiny of 1857, by which the loss of our empire in the East was regarded as all but certain. The natives of its many kingdoms had broke out into open rebellion; the sepoys, whom we had trained to war, had banded themselves against their instructors; and while General Anson, the commander of the British forces in the East, had sunk and died under difficulties too great for him to surmount, our Indian generals, with their armies reduced to companies, were everywhere making head against the universal tide, and attempting with scanty means to suppress, or at least to hold in check, the overwhelming masses of the insurgents. In this difficulty all eyes at home were turned upon Sir Colin Campbell; it was felt that he and he alone was adequate for such a crisis; and the satisfaction was universal that hailed his appointment by our government to be commander-in-chief of the British armies in India. He readily responded to this new call of duty, and in less than twenty-four hours after his appointment he had left London on his way

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to the East. Travelling by express, he was in time for the Indian mail at Marseilles, and arrived in Calcutta on the 29th of August, only thirty-one days after he had left London, so that he was the first to bring the tidings of his own appointment and arrival.

The great interest of the Indian war had now concentrated around Lucknow. That important city was in possession of the rebels, while a small military force of British soldiers, with a crowd of civilians, women and children, had taken refuge within the residency, which the rebels had closely invested, and would soon have reduced, but for the opportune arrival of General Havelock, who, after a series of victories scarcely paralleled in Indian warfare, had broke through Lucknow, and entered the residency. But this diversion, instead of raising the siege, was only sufficient to reinforce the all but overpowered garrison, and protract the resistance of the residency under the able superintendence of Outram and Havelock, who the while were cheered by the arrival of Sir Colin in India, and the prospect of his coming to their relief. This, however, could not be done without the arrival of reinforcements from England, so that it was not until the 12th of November that he could set out upon this critical enterprise. It was one that demanded consummate judgment; for a single false step or disaster in the attempt would have fearfully imperilled the loss of our only Indian army, and our hold of India. Setting out from Cawnpore, where he had concentrated his forces, he advanced upon the Alumbagh, an isolated building with grounds and inclosures, about three miles from the residency to the south-east of Lucknow, which Havelock had captured and garrisoned in his approach to the city. He reached the Alumbagh in the evening after a sharp attack of the rebels upon his vanguard, in which they were routed with the loss of their guns; after which the question was to be settled how he should reach the residency and raise the siege.

This was a question of no small difficulty, considering the smallness of his force, and the necessity of preserving it unbroken for the further necessities of the campaign. Lucknow, also, a city of great extent, was held by a numerous army of rebels, who occupied the whole of it, while every street was defended, and every house loopholed and converted into a fortress, so that to approach the residency by the direct road through the city, would have been to march through a fire in which half of his army would have been swept away. Sir Colin wisely resolved to adopt a more circuitous but safer route, by making a detour to the right, forcing his way through the park of the ancient Dilkoosha palace, and through the Martinière, an establishment for the education of Europeans and half-castes, crossing the canal on the east side of Lucknow, and then reaching the residency by a deflection round the north-east corner of the city. This plan, the perfection of caution, was executed in all its parts with not less courage and daring. Ordering his soldiers to march without baggage, and with three days' provision in their haversacks, and reinforcing his troops by fresh companies from the garrison at the Alumbagh, and leaving there instead of them the 75th regiment, that had been exhausted by its previous exertions, he commenced his route for the residency on the 14th of November, and advanced upon Dilkoosha. As soon as they reached the park, they were met by a heavy fire and desperate resistance from the rebels; but, after a fight of two hours, the British drove them first from the Dilkoosha park, and then from the Martinière, and pursued them across the canal.

This was but the first step in the path of difficulty, and the next was to assail and carry the Secunder Bagh, a plantation north of the canal, having a high wall of strong masonry, 120 yards square, occupied by the rebels in strong force, and loopholed all round; while only a hundred yards distant was a village, the houses of which were also loopholed, and occupied by mutinous sepoys in great numbers. On the morning of the 16th the British advanced to the attack; but no sooner had the head of the column advanced up the lane to the left of the Secunder Bagh, than a quick and heavy fire was opened upon it, which was continued on both sides for an hour and a half without intermission. It was at last determined to carry it by storm through a small breach that had been made in the wall, and this desperate service was gallantly performed by the remainder of the Highlanders, the 53d regiment, the 4th Punjab infantry, and a battalion of detachments from various regiments; and the desperate nature of the enemy's resistance may be estimated by the fact, that more than 2000 of their slain were found within the walls. After the storming of the Secunder Bagh, it was necessary to carry the Shah Nujjeef, a domed mosque which the enemy had converted into a strong fortress by blocking up the entrance to the building with regular masonry, and piercing the walls with loopholes, while the defences of the garden were also filled with soldiers. This formidable position was stormed after a heavy cannonade of three hours from the naval brigade conducted by Captain Peel, supported by the 93d regiment of Highlanders, and a battalion of detachments under Major Barnston. However briefly these successes are stated, the difficulties they presented, and the resistance they offered, it would not be easy to estimate. The ground thus won in the onward advance to the residency was every inch contested with a pertinacity which Sir Colin, now a gray-haired veteran, and trained in the wars of the Peninsula, had seldom witnessed, and he was obliged to bring up the same men over and over again to fresh attacks before the sepoys would give way. These sepoys indeed were rebels who had proved false to their rulers and their military allegiance, and knowing what they had to expect if conquered, they fought with the desperation of fiends. It was only by the highest kind of courage and endurance that such resistance could be overcome; and nobly did this small army of British soldiers vindicate their established reputation. "The storming of the Secunder Bagh and the Shah Nujjeef," said Campbell in his order of the day, "has never been surpassed in daring, and the success of it was most brilliant and complete." No further obstacle interposed between the besieged garrison and their countrymen coming to their aid, except a mess-house of considerable size defended by a ditch and a loopholed mud wall; and this was attacked and stormed on the following day after an hour of desperate conflict. And now the communication between the victorious army and the residency was so complete, that Outram and Havelock came out to welcome Sir Colin before the mess-house was carried. It was a proud moment to the latter when he saw the relief of the garrison accomplished, after so long a period of agonizing suspense, and so many desperate conflicts. What would the people in England say of him after such a wonderful achievement?

The cares of Sir Colin Campbell, however, were not ended when he stood as a conqueror within the walls of the residency. Lucknow was still in the hands of the rebels, who might at any time return to the attack, and the relief of the garrison could only be temporary so long as the helpless crowd that

composed so large a portion of it were still immured in the building. The place must not only be evacuated, but the women, the children, the sick, and the wounded removed, and protected upon a perilous retreat. They must be conveyed away by easy stages, and sheltered from the fire of the maddened enemy. A retreat of this kind might be more difficult and dangerous than the advance itself had proved. To accomplish such a delicate movement, Sir Colin opened a vigorous cannonade upon the Kaiserbagh or king's palace in Lucknow, so that the rebels in the city might think they were about to be attacked in earnest, and while their attention was thus withdrawn, he formed a line of posts on the left rear of his position sufficiently strong to resist the enemy's attacks. While the rebels were thus occupied with the cannonade upon Lucknow, and preparing to resist an attempt to storm the city, the ladies, their families, and the invalids were silently conveyed along the line of posts on the night of the 22d of November, and after them the garrison, the retreat being protected by judicious arrangements of the army—and to close the whole, Sir Colin himself went out with the last line of infantry and guns, as the body most likely to be attacked, and with which he intended to crush the enemy if they dared to follow up his piquets. These precautions were indeed necessary, as the only line of retreat lay through a long and crooked line; but, strange to tell, no interruption was offered: still expecting an attack on Lucknow, the rebels opened a fire upon the residency, and continued it for hours after the place was evacuated. Like a well-organized machine, every part of this retreating army moved according to appointment, and on the 23d the whole of the troops and their helpless convoy, comprising about 2000 souls, reached Dilkoocha in safety.

The ultimate destination of this retreat was Cawnpore, now in possession of the British, and where the safety of the invalids might in some measure be secure; but here an unexpected event had occurred which disturbed Sir Colin's calculations. General Windham, who occupied its military cantonments, had been attacked by an overwhelming force of the rebels, and driven out of the city into his intrenchments, where he was closely besieged, and in the utmost danger. The first intimation which Sir Colin received of the danger in his march to Cawnpore, was from a sound of heavy firing in that direction; but on continuing his march on the following day, messenger after messenger came to him with tidings of Windham's disaster, upon which he hastened to the scene of action. On seeing that Cawnpore was in possession of the enemy, his first care was for the wounded, sick, and non-combatants from the residency, and these he managed to convey across the Ganges on their way to Allahabad—a tedious and dangerous operation which occupied several days, and was not fully effected until the 3d of December. Being thus lightened for action, and having completed his arrangements for an attack, he advanced on the 6th of December against the enemy, who were 25,000 strong, and had thirty-six guns—and he gave them such a defeat that they were pursued nearly fourteen miles, leaving behind them all their guns and ammunition.

After this the dispositions of Sir Colin for the suppression of the rebellion were so judicious, that at the close of the year [1857] the final issue could be no longer doubtful. In the greater part of the country the British ascendancy was restored, and the rebels, instead of mustering armies, could only continue the war in light predatory bands, which were crushed as often as they were en-

countered. Sir Colin Campbell's name was one of dread to the natives, who trembled at the thought of his invariable success, and believed him to be invincible. The great capital and centre of the rebellion, however, still continued to be Lucknow, and upon this the bands of mutineers were converging from every quarter, as if a fatality brought them together that they might be involved in a common doom.

Nor was that doom long delayed. After repairing the effects of General Windham's disaster, and establishing the British authority in Cawnpore, Sir Colin Campbell made preparations for ending the rebellion by the capture of Lucknow. The troops employed over the wide extent of country in putting down the rebels were moved to Lucknow as their place of united action; and on the 2d of March, 1858, the siege was commenced by the capture of the Dilkoocha palace. All the fortified places in the suburbs were successively attacked, stormed, and occupied, and on the 19th everything was in readiness for a combined attack upon the city itself. Here, although the resistance was terrible, the result could not be doubtful, and in a short time Lucknow, the queen of Indian cities, was stormed and given up to plunder, while such of the rebels as had the good fortune to escape from its walls, were fleeing in thousands along the neighbouring highways. The punishment of the guilty city, which had been merited by its crimes, was now complete, as the following short description by an eyewitness will testify:—"Those stately buildings, which had never before been entered by European foot except by a commissioner of Oudh on a state day, were now open to the common soldier, and to the poorest camp follower of our army. How their splendours vanished like snow in sunshine! The destruction around one, the shouting, the smashing noises, the yells of the Sikhs and natives, were oppressive. I was glad to get away just as our mortars began to thunder away at the enemy's works again. . . . It was late in the evening when we returned to camp, through roads thronged with at least 20,000 camp followers, all staggering under loads of plunder—the most extraordinary and indescribable spectacle I ever beheld—Coolies, syces, kitmutgars, dhooley bearers, Sikhs, grass-cutters, a flood of men covered with clothing not their own, carrying on heads and shoulders looking-glasses, mirrors, pictures, brass-pots, swords, firelocks, rich shawls, scarfs, embroidered dresses, all the 'loot' of ransacked palaces. The noise, the dust, the shouting, the excitement were almost beyond endurance. Lucknow was borne away piecemeal to camp, and the wild Ghoorkas and Sikhs, with open mouths and glaring eyes, burning with haste to get rich, were contending fiercely against the current as they sought to get to the sources of such unexpected wealth."

After the fall of Lucknow little more remained to be done except to tread down and extinguish the smouldering embers of rebellion, lest they should rekindle a new flame, and to this task Sir Colin addressed himself with his wonted resolution and perseverance. He therefore again took the field on the 2d of November for a winter campaign, and advanced against a jungle fort lying midway between the rivers Gogra and Sye, and occupied by an Oudh chief of great power and resources; but instead of resisting, the chief yielded his fortress at the first summons to surrender. On the 12th Sir Colin marched to Shunkerpore, where there was another jungle fort held by an Oudh chief, Bainie Mudhoo, who seemed disposed to try the fortune of war; but on the place being invested, he stole out at midnight with all his troops, and escaped beyond pursuit. Other encoun-

ters followed with the rebellious chiefs of the revolted province of Oudh, and in every instance Campbell was successful, while the rebels were either compelled to surrender or save themselves by flight. It was a campaign so rapidly conducted and successfully finished, that before the year had ended Sir Colin was enabled to announce that the last rallying of the mutiny in Oudh had been suppressed—that “the resistance of 150,000 armed men had been subdued with a very moderate loss to her majesty’s troops, and the most merciful forbearance towards the misguided enemy”—that “the last remnant of the mutineers and insurgents has been hopelessly driven across the mountains which form the barrier between the kingdom of Nepal and her majesty’s empire of Hindostan.”

These were joyful tidings for Britain, which they were not long in reaching, and in proportion to the dread of losing our empire in the East, was the exultation at its entire recovery. It was also felt that although much was owing to those gallant chiefs who had borne the first brunt of so unequal an encounter, and whose victories had raised it to a conflict on equal terms—yet that it was the rare combination of prudence and valour possessed by Sir Colin Campbell that had turned the scale, restored our Indian ascendancy, and established our rule in India more securely than ever. Nor was it long before these grateful feelings had an appropriate outlet. The conqueror of Lucknow and the Indian mutiny was, in August 16, 1858, created a peer, and as he had not a foot of land of his own on which to rest his designation, he was invested with the title of Baron Clyde of Clydesdale, from the name of the river on the banks of which he had been born. During the same year he was promoted to the rank of full general. In 1859 he received the thanks of both houses of parliament, and had a pension of £2000 assigned to him. In 1861 he was nominated a Knight of the Star of India, and in November, 1862, on the occasion of the Prince of Wales having attained his majority, he was promoted to the highest grade of his profession, that of a field-marshal of the army. As there was no further work for him to accomplish, the veteran retired into private life universally honoured and beloved. His appearance at his final return from India is thus described in the leading journal of the day, and the correctness of the sketch can still speak to the hearts of the living generation: “In person Lord Clyde was well knit, symmetrical, and graceful; but of late years his shoulders became somewhat bowed, though he lost little of the activity which was remarkable in so old a man. To the last his teeth remained full and firm in the great square jaws, and his eye pierced the distance with all the force of his youthful vision. His crisp gray locks still stood close and thick, curling over the head and above the wrinkled brow, and there were few external signs of the decay of nature which was, no doubt, going on within, accelerated by so many wounds, such fevers, such relentless exacting service. When he so willed it, he could throw into his manner and conversation such a wondrous charm of simplicity and vivacity as fascinated those over whom it was exerted, and women admired and men were delighted with the courteous, polished, gallant old soldier.” After alluding to his patriotism, his attachment to the duties of his profession, and his uncomplaining devotedness to these through years of tardy promotion or unmerited neglect, the same writer thus continues the portraiture of his moral character:—

“Looking at his whole career, Lord Clyde was a remarkable instance of the way in which sterling qualities of head and heart may win their way even

in the ranks of the British army. We are accustomed to pride ourselves on the fact that the highest honours of the two learned professions are open to the attainment of the humblest Englishman; but there is a prejudice, not perhaps unfounded, that it is otherwise in the army, and that money or interest, or both, are essential to high military rank. Yet Lord Clyde commenced his service as unassisted by wealth or friends as the most unknown and penniless barrister or curate. Nor did he owe his ultimate reputation and success to the opportunity for any very extraordinary services. He rose by the mere force of sterling ability, complete knowledge of his profession, sound sense, high honour, and an honest, industrious, and laborious performance of duty. These qualities, alone and unaided, made him a field-marshal, a member of the most distinguished orders in Europe, and raised him to the English peerage. He had to wait long—too long, it is true—and often had reason for just indignation at undeserved neglect; but his perfect modesty kept him true to his work, and gave opportunity for his real value to compel his rise. Perhaps he owed as much to the qualities of his heart as to those of his head and his will. The positions he won are hardly open to equal abilities if marred by an impracticable or ungenerous nature. But men will rarely refuse to recognize true talent when its force is softened by modesty, and its claims made welcome by unselfishness. A merely personal ambition in Sir Colin Campbell might have met with the angry repulse of proud or interested feelings. But his nature was so retiring, and his modesty so complete, that he excited no personal envy or jealousy. His rise was felt to be simply the natural recognition of talents which the country could not spare; and, at the same time, his entire generosity prevented his retaining any grudge at past disappointments, and made him always ready to serve others whenever and wherever he was wanted.”

It was when he had thus ended his work and shown his worth, and when the admiration and gratitude of his country were at their height, that Lord Clyde passed away. His decease occurred in August 14, 1863, when he was in the seventy-first year of his age, and by his death his title became extinct, as he had never been married. His remains were interred in Westminster Abbey, not far from the grave in which Sir James Outram, his friend and companion in arms, had recently been buried; and although, with the unostentatious simplicity that marked his character, he had wished that his funeral should be a private one, it was attended by the carriages of the royal family, and by a long train of distinguished mourners, the friends and companions of the deceased.

CAMPBELL, DR. GEORGE, an eminent theological writer, was born on Christmas day, 1719. His father was the Rev. Colin Campbell, one of the ministers of Aberdeen, a man whose simplicity and integrity of character were well known throughout the country, and the cause of his being held in general esteem. While the theological sentiments of this respectable person were perfectly orthodox, his style of preaching was very peculiar: it no doubt partook of the fashion of the times, but he seems to have also had a singular taste of his own. Dr. Campbell frequently spoke of his father; and though his connection with so excellent a man afforded him great pleasure, he sometimes amused himself and his friends by repeating anecdotes respecting the oddity of his conceits in preaching. He delighted much in making the heads and particulars of his discourses begin with the same letter of the alpha-

bet. Some very curious examples were in the possession of his son, which he related with great good humour, and which no one enjoyed more than himself. He had followed the fortunes and adhered to the principles of the Argyle family. He was therefore a decided Whig, and was very active in promoting, in 1715, among his parishioners, the cause of the Hanoverian succession, and in opposing the powerful interest of the numerous Tory families in Aberdeen. This worthy man died suddenly, on the 27th of August, 1728, leaving a widow, with three sons and three daughters. The subject of this memoir was the youngest of the sons.

The grammar-school of Aberdeen has long maintained a high rank among the Scottish seminaries; and it now enjoyed more than its usual reputation from the connection of Mr. Alexander Malcolm, the author of by far the most extensive and philosophical system of arithmetic in the English language, besides an excellent treatise on music. Such a man produces a strong sensation wherever the sphere of his exertions happens to be, but in a provincial town like Aberdeen, where almost all the youth are his pupils, the impression he makes is naturally much greater. George Campbell, though said to have been a lively and idle, rather than a studious boy, made a respectable appearance in this school. He was afterwards enrolled a member of Marischal College, and went through the common course. A senior brother, whose name was Colin, had been devoted to the church, and George therefore proposed to study law. He was bound apprentice to Mr. Stronach, W.S., Edinburgh, and regularly served the stipulated time. But he does not seem to have entered upon this line of life with any ardour. Before he had finished his apprenticeship, his resolutions were fixed for another profession, and in 1741 he attended the prelections of Professor Goldie, who then held the theological chair in the Edinburgh university. The celebrated Dr. Blair began about this time, as minister of the Canongate, to attract public attention by his discourses; and Campbell became a devoted admirer of the style of that great divine, with whom he, at the same time, formed an intimate personal friendship.

At the conclusion of his apprenticeship, Mr. Campbell returned to Aberdeen, and concluded his education as a clergyman in the divinity halls of that university. His superior intellect was now marked among his fellows, and he became the leader of a debating society which was instituted by them in 1742, under the name of the *Theological Club*. Being licensed in 1746, he soon attracted attention by his discourses; yet in 1747 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the church of Fordoun, in the Mearns. When his reputation had acquired more consistency, he was presented to the church of Banchory Ternan, a few miles from Aberdeen, under circumstances of a somewhat extraordinary nature. Neither the patron nor those who recommended Campbell were aware of his Christian name. It therefore happened that Colin, his elder brother, a man of great worth, but comparatively slender abilities, was applied to, and invited to preach at Banchory, as a prelude to his obtaining the living. Colin's public exhibitions did not equal the expectations which had been formed; and, in the course of conversation, the sagacity of the patron, Sir Alexander Burnett, discovered that it was his brother whose recommendations had been so ample. George Campbell was afterwards invited, and the satisfaction which he gave insured success, for he was ordained minister of that parish June 2, 1746. He was not long in this situa-

tion when he married a young lady of the name of Farquharson.

Though Mr. Campbell did not, at this early period of his life, give token of that power of intense application which he manifested in his later years, it is supposed that he formed, in the solitude of Banchory, the original ideas of all his great works. He here composed the most important parts of his *Philosophy of Rhetoric*. This admirable and truly classical work, in which the laws of elegant composition and just criticism are laid down with singular taste and perspicuity, originally formed a series of detached essays, and contains, with a few exceptions, the outlines of all the works he ever published. At this time also he began his great work, the *Translation of the Gospels*;¹ though it is probable that he did not make much progress until his professional duties directed his attention more forcibly to the same subject. His character as a country clergyman was established in a very short time. The amiable simplicity of his manners, the integrity and propriety of his behaviour, conjoined with his extensive knowledge, and the general esteem in which he was held by literary men, very soon brought him into notice. He was consequently induced to relinquish his charge in the country, and comply with the invitation of the magistrates of Aberdeen, to take charge of one of the *quarters* of that city. Here he derived great advantage from the society of literary men, and the opportunity of consulting public libraries. Mr. Campbell joined the Literary Society of Aberdeen, which had been formed in the year 1758, and which comprehended many men afterwards eminent in literature and philosophy. The subjects discussed in this association were not confined to those coming strictly within the category of the belles lettres; all the different branches of philosophy were included in its comprehensive range. Campbell took a very active part in the business of the society, and delivered in it the greater part of his *Philosophy of Rhetoric*.

Principal Pollock of Marischal College died in 1759, and it was supposed at the time that the chance of succeeding him was confined to two gentlemen possessed of all the local influence which in such cases generally insures success. Mr. Campbell, who was ambitious of obtaining the situation, resolved to lay his pretensions before the Duke of Argyle, who for many years had dispensed the government patronage of Scotland. It happened that one of Mr. Campbell's ancestors, his grandfather or great-grandfather, had held the basket into which the Marquis of Argyle's head fell when he was beheaded. Mr. Campbell hinted at this in the letter he addressed to his grace, and the result was his appointment to the vacant place.

Shortly after this Mr. Campbell received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from King's College, Aberdeen; and in 1763 he published his celebrated *Treatise on Miracles*, in answer to what was advanced on that subject by David Hume; a work which has been justly characterized as one of the most acute and convincing treatises that has ever appeared upon the subject. A condensed view of the respective

¹ When Mr. Alexander Fraser Tytler (afterwards Lord Woodhouselee) published his *Essay on the Principles of Translation*, a correspondence ensued betwixt him and Dr. Campbell, in consequence of the latter asserting that many of the ideas contained in the *Essay* had been appropriated without acknowledgment from his *Translation of the Gospels*, published a short time previously. It was, however, satisfactorily established by Mr. Tytler, that the supposed plagiarism was in reality the result of coincidence of opinion. Of this the doctor became thoroughly satisfied, and a warm friendship grew up between the parties.

arguments of these two philosophers, on one of the most interesting points connected with revealed religion, is thus given by the ingenious William Smellie, in the first edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under the article "Abridgment:"—

Mr. Hume argues, "That experience, which in some things is variable, in others uniform, is our only guide in reasoning concerning matters of fact. A variable experience gives rise to probability only; a uniform experience amounts to a proof. Our belief of any fact from the testimony of eye-witnesses is derived from no other principle than our experience in the veracity of human testimony. If the fact attested be miraculous, here arises a contest of two opposite experiences, or proof against proof. Now, a miracle is a violation of the laws of nature; and as a firm and unalterable experience has established these laws, the proof against a miracle, from the very nature of the fact, is as complete as any argument from experience can possibly be imagined; and, if so, it is an undeniable consequence, that it cannot be surmounted by any proof whatever derived from human testimony."

Dr. Campbell, in his answer, aims at showing the fallacy of Mr. Hume's argument by another single position. He argues, "That the evidence arising from human testimony is not solely derived from experience; on the contrary, testimony hath a natural influence on belief, antecedent to experience. The early and unlimited assent given to testimony by children gradually contracts as they advance in life: it is therefore more consonant to truth to say that our *diffidence* in testimony is the result of experience, than that our faith in it has this foundation. Besides, the uniformity of experience in favour of any fact, is not a proof against its being reversed in a particular instance. The evidence arising from the single testimony of a man of known veracity will go far to establish a belief in its being actually reversed: if his testimony be confirmed by a few others of the same character, we cannot withhold our assent to the truth of it. Now, though the operations of nature are governed by uniform laws, and though we have not the testimony of our senses in favour of any violation of them, still, if in particular instances we have the testimony of thousands of our fellow-creatures, and those, too, men of strict integrity, swayed by no motives of ambition or interest, and governed by the principles of common sense, that they were actual eye-witnesses of these violations, the constitution of our nature obliges us to believe them."

Dr. Campbell's essay was speedily translated into the French, Dutch, and German languages.

The activity and application of Dr. Campbell received an impulse in 1771, from his being appointed professor of divinity in Marischal College, in place of Dr. Alexander Gerard, who had removed to the corresponding chair in King's. These two eminent men had been colleagues, and preached alternately in the same church. They were now pitted against each other in a higher walk, and there can be no doubt, that, as the same students attended both, a considerable degree of emulation was excited betwixt them. Gerard was perfectly sensible of the talents of his new rival. His friends had taken the freedom of hinting to him that he had now some reason to look to his laurels; in answer to which he remarked carelessly, that Dr. Campbell was indolent. An unfortunate misunderstanding had existed between these two excellent men for many years: it was now widened by the report of Gerard's trivial remark, which some busy person carried to Dr. Campbell's ears, probably in an exaggerated shape.

This circumstance is said, however, to have had the beneficial effect of stimulating Dr. Campbell's exertions. The manner in which he discharged his duties was most exemplary; and the specimens which he has given in his *Preliminary Dissertations to the Translation of the Gospels*, in his lectures on ecclesiastical history, and on theology, afford abundant proofs of his high qualifications as a public lecturer. It will be at the same time observed, from the list of his works immediately to be submitted, that the vacations of his professional labours were most sedulously employed for the advantage of the public and posterity.

Dr. Campbell appears to us to have been one of the most splendidly gifted men that appeared during the course of the last century. His body was remarkably feeble; his stature greatly below that of ordinary men in this country. His health was extremely delicate, and required for the long period of threescore years and ten the utmost care and attention. Yet his powers of application were above those of most men, and, what is strange, were exemplified chiefly in his later and feebler years. He was a man of the utmost simplicity of manners and *naïveté* of character, and remarkably pleasant in conversation. The works which he has published prove, in the most indisputable manner, that he was possessed of true philosophical genius. His powers of abstraction appear to have been greater than those of most men of ancient or modern times. The study of languages was employed by him to the best advantage; and the accuracy of his disquisitions throws a light upon the nature of the human mind, while it discovers a habit of attention to the actings of his own mind, which has certainly not been surpassed by any of those who have cultivated the science of morals.

As a minister of religion he was no less eminent than in any other situation which he ever filled. He was esteemed by his hearers as an excellent lecturer; but his lectures were perhaps a little superior to his ordinary sermons. As the head of his college, he appeared to the greatest advantage—unassuming, mild, and disposed to show the greatest kindness and tenderness to those who were his inferiors, both in regard to rank or to literary reputation. As professor of divinity his fame was unrivalled. Many of his pupils have expressed in the warmest language the pleasure they derived from his prelections. There was a peculiar unction in his manner which charmed every one. He encouraged those whom he conceived to be diffident, and equally discountenanced those who appeared to him to be forward or conceited. In church-courts he never aimed at shining; but he was sometimes roused to great extemporaneous exertion in that field, and it was remarked that his replies were generally better than his introductory speeches. He was a zealous advocate for liberty of conscience, and lent all his influence to his friend Principal Robertson respecting the Popish bill. His preponderance in the town of Aberdeen was never great in public questions; and indeed he never aimed at such an object: but in private society he was always esteemed the life of the company, and never failed to make a strong impression.¹

¹ The following is a list of his writings:—*The Character of a Minister as a Teacher and Pattern; Dissertation on Miracles; The Spirit of the Gospel; The Philosophy of Rhetoric; The Nature, Extent, and Importance of the Duty of Allegiance; The Success of the First Publishers of the Gospel, a Proof of its Truth; Address to the People of Scotland on the Alarms raised by the Bill in Favour of the Roman Catholics; The Happy Influence of Religion on Civil Society; Translation of the Gospels, with Preliminary Dissertations and Explanatory Notes; Lectures on Ecclesiastical History; Lectures on Theology.*

Dr. Campbell died April 6, 1796, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

CAMPBELL, JOHN, Duke of Argyle and Greenwich, a distinguished soldier and statesman, was the son of Archibald, first Duke of Argyle, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Lionel Talmas of Helmingham, by Elizabeth, afterwards Duchess of Lauderdale, daughter of William Murray, Earl of Dysart. His grace was born October 10, 1678. On the day in which his grandfather Archibald, Earl of Argyle, fell a sacrifice to the tyranny of James VII. (some say at the very moment of his execution), the subject of this narrative, being then in his seventh year, fell from a window in the third story of the house of Dunybrissel, then possessed by his aunt, the Countess of Murray, and, to the astonishment of the whole household, was taken up without having suffered any material injury—a circumstance which his relatives and friends considered as indicating not only future greatness, but that he was destined to restore the lustre of the house of Argyle, which at that moment was under a melancholy eclipse. The care of his education was confided to a licentiate of the Scottish church named Walter Campbell, who for his diligence was afterwards rewarded by the family with a presentation to the parish of Dunoon. Under this gentleman he studied the classics, and some branches of philosophy. But he was distinguished by a restless activity rather than a fondness for study, and his father, anxious to place him in a situation where he might have it in his power to retrieve the fortunes of the family, took an early opportunity of presenting him to King William, who, in 1694, bestowed upon the young nobleman the command of a regiment, he being yet in his sixteenth year. In this situation he continued till the death of his father, in the month of December, 1703, when, succeeding to the dukedom, he was sworn of his majesty's privy-council, and appointed captain of the Scots horse-guards, and one of the extraordinary lords of session. In 1704 the order of the Thistle being revived in Scotland, his grace was installed one of the knights, which dignity he subsequently exchanged for the order of the Garter.

In 1705, being exceedingly popular among his countrymen, the Duke of Argyle was appointed her majesty's high commissioner to the Scottish parliament, in order to prepare the way for the treaty of union which her majesty Queen Anne, in concert with her English counsellors, had now determined to carry into effect. For his services in this parliament he was created an English peer by the titles of Baron of Chatham and Earl of Greenwich. His grace after this served four campaigns in Flanders, under the Duke of Marlborough, where he rose to the rank of lieutenant-general, and was honourably distinguished in the battles of Ramilies, Oudinarde, and Malplaquet, in the last of which he narrowly escaped, having a number of balls shot through his coat, hat, and periwig. He was also employed at the sieges of Ostend, Menin, Lisle, Ghent, and Tournay.

On the change of ministry in 1710, Argyle veered with the wind of the court, and having become a declaimer against the Duke of Marlborough, was by the Tories appointed generalissimo in Spain, where there were great complaints of mismanagement on the part of the former ministry, and where it was now proposed to carry on the war with more than ordinary vigour. Here, however, his grace was completely overreached, the ministry having no intention of carrying on the war anywhere. On his arrival in Spain he found the army in a state of perfect disorganization, without pay and without necessaries, and though the parliament had voted a large sum for its

subsistence, not one farthing was sent to him. He was under the necessity of raising money upon his plate and personal credit for its immediate wants, and in a short time returned to England, having accomplished nothing. This treatment, with a report that a design had been laid to take him off by poison while he was on his ill-fated journey, and, above all, the superior influence of the Earl of Mar, who, as well as himself, aspired to the sole administration of Scottish affairs, totally alienated him from his new friends the Tories. He became again a leading Whig, and a violent declaimer for the Protestant succession, in consequence of which he was deprived of all his employments. His grace had been a principal agent in accomplishing the union, by which his popularity was considerably injured among the lower orders of his countrymen; this he now dexterously retrieved by joining with Mar and his Jacobite associates at court for the dissolving of that treaty which he now pretended had completely disappointed his expectations. A motion for this end was accordingly made in the House of Lords on the 1st of June, 1713, by the Earl of Seafield, who also had been one of the most forward of the original supporters of the measure. The motion was seconded by the Earl of Mar, and urged by Argyle with all the force of his eloquence. One of his principal arguments, however, being the security of the Protestant succession, he was led to speak of the Pretender, which he did with so much acrimony, that several of the high Jacobites fled the house without waiting for the vote. This was the means of disappointing the project, which otherwise had most certainly been carried, it having been lost after all by no more than four voices.

On the illness of the queen in the following year, the zeal of his grace for the Protestant succession was most conspicuous as well as most happy. Nobody at the time entertained any doubt that Bolingbroke and his party had an intention at least to attempt the Pretender's restoration on the death of the queen; and to prevent any undue advantages being taken of circumstances, Argyle no sooner was apprised of her dangerous situation than, along with the Duke of Somerset, he repaired to the council-board, and prevailed to have all the privy-councillors in and about London, without any exception, summoned to attend, which, with the sudden death of the queen, so completely disconcerted the Tories, that for the time there was not the smallest manifestation of one discordant feeling. The queen was no sooner dead than the seven lords who had by a previous act of parliament been appointed to the regency, together with sixteen additional personages nominated by the heir-apparent, in virtue of the same act of parliament, proclaimed the Elector of Hanover king of Great Britain. They at the same time took every precaution for preserving tranquillity, and preparing for his majesty's being peacefully and honourably received on his arrival. The services of Argyle on this occasion were not overlooked: he was made groom of the stole to the prince, when his majesty had advanced no further than Greenwich, and two days after was appointed commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces for Scotland.

Though by this strange combination of circumstances—viz. the sudden demise of the queen, the disunion of the Jacobites, with the prompt decision of the Whigs, among whom the subject of this memoir was a most efficient leader—the accession of the new dynasty was to all appearance easy and peaceable, the baffled faction very soon rallied their forces, and returned to the charge with an energy and a perseverance worthy of a better cause. The cry of "church

in danger" was again raised, and for some weeks England was one scene of universal riot. Many places of worship belonging to Dissenters were thrown down, and in several places most atrocious murders were committed. Through the energy of the government, however, open insurrection was for a while prevented, and tranquillity in some measure restored. Still the activity of the Pretender at foreign courts, and the restlessness of his adherents at home, created strong suspicions that an invasion on his behalf was intended, and every preparation that could be thought of was taken to defeat it. A number of new regiments were raised, officers of doubtful character were displaced, suspected persons taken into custody, and lords-lieutenant, with the necessary powers, everywhere appointed. In the meantime Scotland, where the friends of the exiled family were proportionally much more numerous than in England, was by a strange fatality neglected. In the southern and western shires, through the influence of the Hanoverian club, at the head of which was the Earl of Buchan, the attention of the people had been awakened, and right feeling to a considerable extent excited; yet even there Jacobitism was not a rare thing, and in the north, through the influence of the Earl of Mar, it was altogether triumphant. That nobleman, indeed, had cajoled into his views almost all the clans, at the head of whom, to the amount of 12,000 men, he had taken possession of Perth, and was ready to seize upon the fords of the Forth before the government had observed his manœuvres, or taken any proper precautions to counteract them. Sensible at last of the danger, they proclaimed the law for encouraging loyalty in Scotland, summoned a long list of suspected persons to deliver themselves up to the public functionaries; and, to call forth those supplies of men and money which they had hitherto shown a disposition to forbid rather than to encourage, sent down the Duke of Argyle, who had already been constituted commander-in-chief of the forces, with all the necessary powers for that purpose. His grace arrived in Edinburgh on the 14th of September, 1715, where his first care was to inspect the garrison, the fortifications, and the magazines, from the last of which he ordered thirty cartloads of arms and ammunition to be sent to Glasgow and Stirling for the use of the inhabitants. He then proceeded to review the army which had been assembled at Stirling, General Wightman having there formed a camp of all the disposable forces in Scotland, which fell short of 2000 men, a number altogether inadequate to the arduous duties they had to perform. The first care of his grace was, of course, to augment the forces by every possible means, for which end he wrote to the magistrates of Glasgow, and through them to all the well-affected in the west of Scotland, to forward such troops as they might have in readiness, without loss of time, and to have as many more provided against a sudden emergency as possible. Glasgow, which had been in expectation of such a catastrophe for a considerable time, immediately forwarded to Stirling upwards of 700 men, well equipped, under the command of Provost Aird, with whom they joined Colonel John Blackadder, governor of Stirling Castle. These 700 were instantly replaced at Glasgow by detachments from Kilmarnock, Irvine, Greenock, and Paisley, where, with the exception of detachments sent out to garrison the houses of Drummakill, Gartartan, and Cardross, they were allowed to remain for the convenience of provisions, which were rather scarce at Stirling. He also ordered levies to fill up every company in the regular regiments to fifty men, and to add two fresh companies to each regiment. But though he offered a strictly limited term of ser-

vice and a liberal bounty for that period (£2 sterling for each man), he does not appear to have been successful in adding to his numbers. Nor, with all his earnestness of application, could he prevail on the government to spare him from England, where troops were plentiful, a single man. One regiment of dragoons and two of foot from Ireland were the utmost he could obtain, which, till he should be able to ascertain the intentions of the Earl of Mar, were also stationed at Glasgow. While Argyle was thus struggling with difficulties, and completely hampered in all his operations, Mar had greater means than he had genius to employ, and could, without any exertion, keep his opponent in perpetual alarm. He had already, by a stratagem, nearly possessed himself of the castle of Edinburgh ere the magistrates of that city were aware of his being in arms. A detachment from his army, by a night march, descended upon Burntisland, where a vessel loaded with arms for the Earl of Sutherland had been driven in by stress of weather. This vessel they boarded, carrying off the arms, with as many more as could be found in the town. A still bolder project was about the same time attempted in the north-west, where a numerous party of the Macdonalds, Macleans, and Camerons, under the orders of General Gordon, attempted to surprise the garrison of Inverloch. They were, however, repulsed, after having made themselves masters of two redoubts and taken twenty men. They then turned south upon Argyshire for the purpose of raising men, and General Gordon, who had the reputation of an excellent officer, threatened to fall down upon Dumbarton and Glasgow. This was another source of distraction to Argyle, whose small army could not well admit of being divided. Gordon, however, met with little encouragement in the way of recruiting, and after alarming Inverary, where the duke had stationed his brother, Lord Ilay, dropped quietly into Mar's camp at Perth, where nearly the whole strength of the rebels was now concentrated.

Though Argyle was thus circumscribed in his means, he displayed ceaseless activity and considerable address in the application of them, and the great reputation he had acquired under Marlborough rendered him, even with his scanty means, formidable to his opponent, who was altogether a novice in the art military. One talent of a great general too his grace possessed in considerable perfection; that of finding out the plans and secret purposes of his adversary, of all whose movements he had generally early and complete intelligence: Mar, on the contrary, could procure no intelligence whatever. He knew that a simultaneous rising was to take place under Thomas Foster of Etherstane, member of parliament for the county of Northumberland, and another in Nithsdale under Viscount Kenmure; but how they were succeeding, or to what their attention had been more immediately directed, he was utterly ignorant. To ascertain these points, to stimulate his friends in their progress, and to open up for himself an easier passage to the south, he detached 2500 of his best troops under the laird of Borlum, the bravest and the most experienced officer perhaps in his whole army. This detachment was to force its way across the Firth below Edinburgh, and through the Lothians by the way of Kelso, till it should find Kenmure or Foster upon the English border. This romantic project the old brigadier, as he was called in the army, accomplished with great facility, one boat with forty men being all that in crossing the Firth fell into the hands of the enemy. A few, with the Earl of Strathmore, were cut off from the rest, but made their escape into the Isle of May, whence

in a day or two they found their way back to Perth. The principal part of the expedition, consisting nearly of 2000 men, landed between Tantalou, North Berwick, and Aberlady, and for the first night quartered in Haddington. Early next morning, the 13th of October, the whole body marched directly for Edinburgh. This threw the citizens into the utmost consternation, and an express was sent off directly to Stirling for troops to protect the city: 200 infantry mounted upon country horses and 300 cavalry arrived the same evening; but had Borlum persisted in his original design, they had certainly come too late. On his arriving, however, within a mile of the city, and meeting with none of the citizens, a deputation of whom he had expected to invoke his aid, and perhaps secretly dreading the movements of Argyle, Borlum turned aside to Leith, which he entered, as he would in all probability have entered Edinburgh, without the smallest opposition. Here the insurgents found and liberated their forty companions who had been taken the previous day in crossing the Firth. They also seized upon the custom-house, where they found considerable quantities of meal, beef, and brandy, which they at once appropriated to their own use; and possessing themselves of the citadel, with such materials as they found in the harbour, they fortified it in the best manner they could for their security through the night. Next morning Argyle, with his 300 cavalry, 200 infantry, and a few militia, marched against Borlum, accompanied by Generals Evans and Wightman, giving him a summons under pain of treason to surrender, adding that if he waited for an attack, he should have no quarter. The laird of Kynnachin, who was spokesman for the rebels, haughtily replied, that the word surrender they did not understand, quarter they would neither take nor give, and his grace was welcome to force their position if he could. Sensible that without artillery no attack could be made upon the place, barricaded as it was, with any prospect of success, the duke withdrew to prepare the means of more efficient warfare, and Borlum, disappointed in his views upon Edinburgh, and perhaps not at all anxious for a second interview with the king's troops, took the advantage of an ebb-tide and a very dark night to abandon his position, marching round the pier by the sands for Seton House, the seat of the Earl of Winton, who was in the south with Kenmure and his associated rebels. This place, after sundry accidents, they reached in safety about two o'clock in the morning. Here they were joined by a number of their companions, who, having crossed the Firth further down, were unable to come up with them on the preceding day. Forty of their men, who had made too free with the custom-house brandy, some stragglers who had fallen behind on the march, with a small quantity of baggage and ammunition, fell into the hands of a detachment of the king's troops. Argyle, in the meantime, aware of the strength of Seton House, sent off an express to Stirling for cannon to dislodge its new possessors, when he was informed that Mar was on his march to force the passage of the Forth. This compelled him to hasten to Stirling, where he found that Mar had actually commenced his march, and had himself come as far south as Dunblane, whence, hearing of the arrival of the duke, he returned to Perth, having attained his object, which was only a safe retreat for his friends from Seton House.

On his sudden departure for Stirling, Argyle left the city of Edinburgh and Seton House to the care of General Wightman and Colonel Ker, with a few regular troops and the neighbouring militia. Finding Seton impregnable to any force they could

bring against it, they retired from it, to save themselves the disgrace of making an unsuccessful attack. Borlum finding himself unmolested, and in a country where he could command with ease all kinds of provision, proposed nothing less than to establish there a general magazine for the Pretender, and to enlist an army from among the Jacobites of Edinburgh and the adjacent country; but before he left the citadel of Leith, he despatched a boat with intelligence to Mar; and, firing after her, the king's ships took her for one of their own boats, and allowed her to pass without molestation. In consequence of this notice, Mar had made a feint to cross the Forth, merely to allow him to escape; and now he had an answer at Seton House, with express orders to proceed south, and to put himself under the orders of Kenmure or Foster, without a moment's delay. He accordingly proceeded next day towards Kelso, where he met with Foster and Kenmure on the 22d of October, when, after all the desertion they had experienced by the way, which was very considerable, the whole formed an army of 1400 foot, and 600 horse. Here they were threatened with an attack from General Carpenter, who was within a day's march of them, and became violently divided in opinion respecting the course they ought to pursue. Foster and his Northumbrian friends were anxious to transfer the scene of their operations to England, where they promised themselves a prodigious increase of numbers. The Highlanders, on the contrary, were anxious to return and join the clans, taking the towns of Dumfries and Glasgow in their way. The contention was so hot that it had almost come to blows, and it ended in 500 Highlanders adopting the latter plan, who, separating from their companions, and taking their route for the heads of the Forth, were either famished, killed, or taken prisoners by the way. The remainder followed the former, and proceeded as far as Preston, where on the 13th of November, the very day on which the main armies met on the Sheriff-muir, they were all made prisoners and delivered over, some to the executioner, and the remainder to be slaves in the plantations.

Argyle all this while continued at Stirling, and Mar at Perth, carrying on an insignificant war of manifestoes, equally unprofitable to both parties; and perhaps equally harassing to the country. On the 23d of October, however, the duke, having learned that a detachment of rebels was passing by Castle Campbell, towards Dunfermline, sent out a body of cavalry, which came up with the party, and defeated it, taking a number of gentlemen prisoners, with the trifling damage of one dragoon wounded in the cheek, and one horse slightly hurt. Nothing further occurred between the armies till Mar, finding that without action it would be impossible to keep his army together, called a council of all the chiefs on the 9th of November, in which it was resolved to cross the Forth without loss of time. Nor could this be, one would have supposed, to them anything like a difficult undertaking. After having disposed of 3000 men in the different garrisons along the coast of Fife, they had still 12,000 effective troops for the attack, which they proposed should be made in the following manner:—First, with one division of 1000 men, to attempt the bridge of Stirling; with a second of an equal number, the Abbey Ford, a mile below the bridge; with a third of an equal number, the ford called the Drip Coble, a mile and a half above the bridge. These three attacks, they supposed, would amply occupy the duke's whole army, which did not exceed 3000 men, and, in the meantime, with their main body, consisting of 9000 men,

they intended to cross the river still higher up, and push directly for England, leaving the other three divisions, after having disposed of the duke, to follow at their leisure. Argyle, however, having acquainted himself, by means of his spies, with the plan, took his measures accordingly. Aware that if he waited for the attack on the Forth, he would, from the nature of the ground, be deprived of the use of his cavalry, upon which he placed his principal dependence, he determined to take up a position in advance of that river, and for this purpose, having appointed the Earl of Buchan with the Stirlingshire militia, and the Glasgow regiment, to guard the town of Stirling, commenced his march to the north on the morning of Saturday the 12th of November, and in the afternoon encamped on a rising ground, having on his right the Sheriff-muir, and on his left the town of Dunblane.

Mar, having committed the town of Perth to the care of Colonel Balfour, on the 10th had come as far south as Auchterarder, with an effective force of 10,500 men, the cavalry in his army being nearly equal to Argyle's whole force. The 11th he devoted to resting the troops, fixing the order of battle, &c., and on the 12th, General Gordon, with eight squadrons of horse, and all the clans, was ordered to occupy Dunblane. The remainder of the rebel army had orders to parade early in the morning on the muir of Tullibardine, and thence to follow General Gordon. This part of the army, which was under the command of General Hamilton, had scarcely begun to move, when an express came to the general that the royal troops had already occupied Dunblane in great force. On this the general halted, and drew up his men in the order of battle on the site of the Roman camp, near Ardoch. Mar himself, who had gone to Drummond Castle, being informed of the circumstance, came up with all speed, and nothing further having been heard from General Gordon, the whole was supposed to be a false alarm. The troops, however, were ordered to be in readiness, and the discharge of three cannons was to be the signal for the approach of the enemy. Scarcely had these orders been issued, when an express from General Gordon informed the Earl of Mar that Argyle had occupied Dunblane with his whole force. The signal guns were of course fired, and the rebel army, formed in order of battle on the muir of Kinbuck, lay under arms during the night.

The Duke of Argyle, having certain intelligence before he left Stirling of Mar's movements, and aware that before his army had finished its encampment the watch guns of the rebels would be heard, disposed everything exactly in the order in which he intended to make his attack next morning; of course no tent was pitched, and officers and men, without distinction, lay under arms during the night, which was uncommonly severe. The duke alone sat under cover of a sheep-cote at the foot of the hill. Everything being ready for the attack, his grace, early in the morning of Monday the 13th, rode to the top of the hill, where his advanced guard was posted, to reconnoitre the rebel army, which, though it had suffered much from desertion the two preceding days, was still upwards of 9000 men, disposed in the following order—Ten battalions of foot, comprising the clans commanded by Clanronald, Glengary, Sir John Maclean, and Campbell of Glenlyon. On their right were three squadrons of horse—the Stirling, which carried the standard of the Pretender, and two of the Marquis of Huntley's; on their left were the Fifeshire and Perthshire squadrons. Their second line consisted of three battalions of Seaforth's, two of Huntley's, those

of Panmure, Tullibardine, Lord Drummond, and Strowan, commanded by their respective chieftains, Drummond's excepted, which was commanded by Strathallan and Logie Almond. On the right of this line were Marischal's dragoons, and on their left those of Angus. Of the left of their army his grace had a tolerable view, but a hollow concealed their right, and, being masters of the brow of the hill, he was unable to discover the length of their lines.

While the rebels, notwithstanding their great superiority of force, were losing their time in idle consultation whether they should presently fight or return to Perth, the duke had an opportunity of examining their dispositions, but for a considerable time could not comprehend what was their plan, and was at a loss how to form his own. No sooner had they taken the resolution to fight, however, than he perceived that they intended to attack him in front with their right, and in flank with their left, at the same time; the severity of the frost through the night having rendered a morass, which covered that part of his position, perfectly passable. He hastened to make his dispositions accordingly. Before these dispositions, however, could be completed, General Witham, who commanded his left, was attacked by the clans, with all their characteristic fury, and totally routed, Witham himself riding full speed to Stirling with tidings of a total defeat. In the meantime, Argyle, at the head of Stair's and Evans' dragoons, charged the rebel army on the left, consisting mostly of cavalry, which he totally routed in his turn, driving them, to the number of 5000 men, beyond the Water of Allan, in which many of them were drowned attempting to escape. General Wightman, who commanded the duke's centre, followed with three battalions of foot as closely as possible. The right of the rebels were all this time inactive, and seeing, by the retreat of Argyle's left, the field empty, joined the clans who had driven it off, and crossing the field of battle, took post, to the number of 4000 men, on the hill of Kippendavie. Apprised by General Wightman of his situation, which was now critical in the extreme, Argyle instantly wheeled round—formed the few troops he had, scarcely 1000 men, the Grays on the right, Evans' on the left, with the foot in the centre, and advancing towards the enemy, took post behind some fold dykes at the foot of the hill. Instead of attacking him, however, the rebels drew off towards Ardoch, allowing him quietly to proceed to Dunblane, where, having recalled General Witham, the army lay on their arms all night, expecting to renew the combat next day. Next day, finding the enemy gone, he returned to Stirling, carrying along with him sixteen standards, six pieces of cannon, four waggons, and a great quantity of provision, captured from the enemy. The number of the slain on the side of the rebels has been stated to have been 800, among whom were the Earl of Strathmore, Clanronald, and several other persons of distinction. Panmure and Drummond of Logie were among the wounded. Of the royal army there were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners upwards of 600. The Lord Forfar was the only person of eminence killed on that side.

The obvious incapacity of both generals, though, from his great superiority of forces, Mar's is by far the most conspicuous, is the only striking feature of this battle; both claimed the victory at the time, and both had suffered a defeat, yet the consequences were decisive. The rebels never again faced the royal troops, and for anything they effected might have separated that very day. The period indeed

was fatal in the extreme to the Pretender. The whole body of his adherents in the south had fallen into the hands of Generals Willis and Carpenter at Preston. Inverness, with all the adjacent country, had been recovered to the government, through the exertions of the Earl of Sutherland, Lord Lovat, the Rosses, the Monros, and the Forbesees, nearly on this same day; and though Mar, on his return to Perth, celebrated his victory with *Te Deums*, thanksgivings, sermons, ringing of bells, and bonfires, his followers were dispirited, and many of them withdrew to their homes in disgust. Owing to the paucity of his numbers and the extreme rigour of the season, Argyle was in no great haste to follow up his part of the victory, and the government, evidently displeased with his tardy procedure, sent down General Cadogan to quicken, and perhaps to be a spy upon his motions. He, however, brought along with him 6000 Dutch and Swiss troops, with Newton's and Stanhope's dragoons, by which the royal army was made more than a match for the rebels, though they had been equally strong as before the battle of Dunblane. On the arrival of these reinforcements, orders were issued to the commander in Leith Roads to cannonade the town of Burntisland, which was in possession of a large body of the rebels; and this he did with so much effect, that they abandoned the place, leaving behind them six pieces of cannon, a number of small arms, and a large quantity of provisions. Several other small garrisons on the coast were abandoned about the same time, and a detachment of the Dutch and Swiss troops, crossing over at the Queensferry, took possession of Inverkeithing, Dunfermline, and the neighbouring towns, in consequence of which Fife was entirely abandoned by the rebels. Some trifling skirmishes took place, but no one of such magnitude as to deserve a formal detail.

Cadogan, writing to the Duke of Marlborough at this period, says, that he found the duke anxious to invent excuses for sitting still and endeavouring to discourage the troops, by exaggerating the numbers of the enemy, and the dangers and difficulties of the service. Now, however, having received from London, Berwick, and Edinburgh, a sufficient train of artillery, pontoons, engineers, &c., no excuse for inaction was left, but the inclemency of the weather; and this, in a council of war, it was determined to brave. Colonel Guest was accordingly sent out, on the 21st of January, 1716, with 200 horse, to view the roads and reconnoitre the positions of the enemy. The colonel reported the roads impassable for carriages and heavy artillery, in consequence of which several thousands of the country people were called in and employed to clear them. A sudden thaw, on the 24th, followed by a heavy fall of snow, rendered the roads again impassable; but the march was determined upon, and the countrymen had to clear the roads a second time. But, besides the impassability of the roads, there were neither provisions, forage, nor shelter (frozen rocks and mountains of snow excepted) to be found between Perth and Dunblane, the Chevalier having ordered every village with all that could be of use either to man or beast, to be destroyed. Provisions and forage for the army were therefore to be provided, subsistence for twelve days being ordered to be carried along with them, and more to be in readiness to send after them when wanted. In the meantime, two regiments of dragoons and 500 foot were sent forward to the broken bridge of Doune, in case the rebels might have attempted to secure the passage; and, on the 29th, the main army began its march, quartering that night in Dunblane. On the night of the 30th

the army quartered among the ruins of Auchterarder, without any covering save the canopy of heaven, the night being piercingly-cold and the snow upwards of three feet deep. On this day's march the army was preceded by 2000 labourers clearing the roads. Next morning they surprised and made prisoners fifty men in the garrison of Tullibardine, where the duke received, with visible concern, if we may credit Cadogan, the news that the Pretender had abandoned Perth on the preceding day, having thrown his artillery into the Tay, which he crossed on the ice. Taking four squadrons of dragoons, and two battalions of foot, whatever might be his feelings, Argyle hastened to take possession of that city, at which he arrived, with General Cadogan and the dragoons, about one o'clock on the morning of the 1st of February. The two colonels, Campbell of Finab, and Campbell of Lawers, who had been stationed at Finlarig, hearing of the retreat of the rebels, had entered the town the preceding day, and had made prisoners of a party of rebels who had got drunk upon a quantity of brandy, which they had not had the means otherwise to carry away. Eight hundred bolls of oatmeal were found in Mar's magazine, which Argyle ordered to be, by the miller of the mill of Earn, divided among the sufferers of the different villages that had been burned by order of the Pretender. Finab was despatched instantly to Dundee in pursuit of the rebels; and entered it only a few hours after they had departed. On the 2d his grace continued the pursuit, and lay that night at Errol. On the 3d he came to Dundee, where he was joined by the main body of the army on the 4th. Here the intelligence from the rebel army led his grace to conclude that they meant to defend Montrose, where they could more easily receive supplies from abroad than at Perth; and, to allow them as little time as possible to fortify themselves, two detachments were sent forward without a moment's loss of time—the one by Aberbrothick, and the other by Brechin. Owing to the depths of the roads the progress of these detachments was slow, being under the necessity of employing the country people to clear away the snow before them. They were followed next day by the whole army, the duke, with the cavalry and artillery, taking the way by Brechin, and Cadogan, with the infantry, by Aberbrothick. On this day's march they learned that the Chevalier, Mar, and the principal leaders of the rebel army had embarked the day before at Montrose, on board the *Maria Teresa*, and had sailed for France, while their followers had marched to Aberdeen under the charge of General Gordon and Earl Marischal. On the 6th the duke entered Montrose, and the same day the rebels entered Aberdeen. Thither his grace followed them on the 8th; but they had then separated among the hills of Badenoch, and were completely beyond the reach of their pursuers. A number of their chieftains, however, with some Irish officers, being well mounted, rode off in a body for Peterhead, expecting there to find the means of escaping to France. After these a party of horse were sent out, but they had escaped. Finab was also sent to Frazerburg in search of stragglers, but found only the Chevalier's physician, whom he made prisoner.

Finding the rebels completely dispersed, Argyle divided his troops and dispersed them so as he thought best for preserving the public tranquillity; and, leaving Cadogan in the command, set out for Edinburgh, where he arrived on the 27th of February, and was present at the election of a peer to serve in the room of the Marquis of Tweeddale, deceased. On the 1st of March, after having been

most magnificently entertained by the magistrates of the Scottish capital, his grace departed for London, where he arrived on the 6th, and was by his majesty, to all appearance, most graciously received. There was, however, at court a secret dissatisfaction with his conduct; and, in a short time, he was dismissed from all his employments, though he seems in the meantime to have acted cordially with the ministry, whose conduct was, in a number of instances, ridiculous enough. They had obtained an act of parliament for bringing all the Lancaster rebels to be tried at London, and all the Scottish ones to be tried at Carlisle, under the preposterous idea that juries could not be found in those places to return a verdict of guilty. Under some similar hallucination, they supposed it impossible to elect a new parliament without every member thereof being Jacobite in his principles; and, as the parliament was nearly run, they brought in a bill to enable themselves, as well as all other parliaments which should succeed them, to sit seven years in place of three. The bill was introduced into the House of Lords on the 10th of April, by the Duke of Devonshire, who represented triennial parliaments as serving no other purposes than the keeping alive party divisions and family feuds, with a perpetual train of enormous expenses, and particularly to encourage the intrigues of foreign powers, which, in the present temper of the nation, might be attended with the most fatal consequences. All these dangers he proposed to guard against, by prolonging the duration of parliaments from three to seven years. He was supported by the Earls of Dorset and Buckingham, the Duke of Argyle, the Lord Townshend, with all the leaders of the party; and though violently opposed by the Tories, who very justly, though they have been its zealous advocates ever since, denounced it as an inroad upon the fundamental parliamentary law of the kingdom, the measure was carried by a sweeping majority.

Previously to this, Argyle had honourably distinguished himself by a steady opposition to the schism bill, against which, along with a number of the greatest names England has ever produced, he entered his protest upon the journals of the house. Subsequently, in a debate on the bill for vesting the forfeited estates in Britain and Ireland in trustees for the public behoof, we find him speaking and voting against it with the Jacobite lords North and Gray, Trevor and Harcourt, but he was now out of all his employments and pensions, and the Jacobite Lockhart was every day expecting to hear that he had declared for James VIII., which there is every probability he would have done, had that imbecile prince been able to profit by the wisdom of his advisers. In the beginning of the year 1718, when the Pretender became again a tool in the hands of Cardinal Alberoni for disturbing the tranquillity of the British government, Argyle was restored to favour, appointed steward of the household, and created Duke of Greenwich, when he again lent his support to the ministry in bringing forward the famous peerage bill—another insane attempt to subvert the balance of the constitution. By this bill the peerage was to be fixed so as that the number of English peers should never be increased above six more than their number at that time, which, on the failure of heirs male, were to be filled up by new creations. Instead of the sixteen elective Scottish peers, twenty-five were to be made hereditary on the part of that kingdom, to be also kept up by naming other Scottish peers on the failure of heirs male. This bill was introduced by the Duke of Somerset, seconded by Argyle, and being also re-

commended by his majesty, could not fail of passing the lords, but met with such violent opposition in the commons that it was found expedient to lay it aside for the time. When again brought forward it was rejected by a great majority. After this his grace seems for a long period to have enjoyed his pensions, and to have lived for the most part on peaceable terms with his colleagues. Only, in the year 1721, we find him, in order to supplant the *Squadron* and secure to himself and his brother the sole and entire patronage of Scotland, again in treaty with Lockhart of Carnwath and the Tories, in consequence of which, Lockhart assures the king [James] that if there is to be a new parliament, the Tories will have the half of the sixteen peers, and Argyle's influence for all the Tory commons they shall be able to bring forward as candidates. "I also inserted," he adds, "that matters should be made easy to those who are prosecuted for the king's [James] sake, and that Argyle should oppose the peerage bill, both of which are agreed to." The ministry, however, contrived to balance the *Squadron* and his grace pretty equally against one another, and so secured the fidelity of both, till 1725, when the *Squadron* were finally thrown out, and the whole power of Scotland fell into the hands of Argyle and his brother Ilay; they engaging to carry through the malt-tax, as the other had carried through the forfeiture of the rebels' estates. From this, till the affair of Captain Porteous, in 1737, we hear little of his grace in public. On that occasion we find him again in opposition to the ministry; defending the city of Edinburgh, and charging the mob upon a set of upstart fanatical preachers, by which he doubtless meant the seceders. The effect, however, was only the display of his own ignorance, and the infliction of a deeper wound upon the Scottish church, by the imposition of reading what was called Porteous' Paper upon all her ministers. Edinburgh, however, contrary to the intentions of the court, was left in the possession of her charter, her gates, and her guards; but the lord-provost was declared incapable of ever again holding a civil office, and a mulct of £2000 sterling was imposed upon the city funds for the captain's widow. In the succeeding years, when the nation was heated into frenzy against Spain, his grace made several appearances on the popular side; and, in 1740, after an anti-ministerial speech on the state of the nation, he was again deprived of all his employments. On the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, his grace was, by the new ministry, once more restored to all his places. The ministry, however, were unable to maintain their popularity, and Argyle finally quitted the stage of public life. From this time forward he affected privacy, and admitted none to his conversation but particular friends.

The Jacobites were now preparing to make a last effort to destroy that spirit of freedom which was so rapidly annihilating their hopes. They had all along believed that Argyle, could he have reconciled them with his own, was not unfriendly to their interests; and now that he was old, idle, and disgusted, hoping to work upon his avarice and his ambition, at the same time they prevailed upon the Chevalier, now also approaching to dotage, to write him a friendly letter. The time, however, had been allowed to go by. Argyle had acquired a high reputation for patriotism—he was now old and paralytic, utterly unfit for going through those scenes of peril that had been the pride of his youth; and he was too expert a politician not to know, that from the progress of public opinion, as well as from the state of property and private rights, the cause of the Stuarts was utterly hopeless. The letter was certainly be-

neath his notice; but, to gratify his vanity, and to show that he was still of some little consequence in the world, he sent it to his majesty's ministers. The Jacobites, enraged at his conduct, and probably ashamed of their own, gave out that the whole was a trick intended to expose the weakness of the ministry, and to put an affront upon the Duke of Argyle. The loss to either party was not considerable, as his grace's disorder now began rapidly to increase. He fell by degrees into a state of deep melancholy, and departed this life on the 3d of September, 1743, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

His grace was twice married—first to Mary, daughter of John Brown, Esq., and niece to Sir Charles Duncombe, lord-mayor of London, by whom he had no issue. Secondly to Jane, daughter of Thomas Warburton, of Winnington, in Cheshire, by whom he had four daughters. He was succeeded in his Scottish titles and estates by his brother Lord Ilay, but wanting male issue his English titles became extinct.

From the brief sketch we have given of his life, the reader, we apprehend, will be at no loss to appreciate the character of John, Duke of Argyle. Few men have enjoyed such a large share of popularity—fewer still have, through a long life, threaded the mazes of political intrigue with the same uniform good fortune. The latter, however, illustrates the former. He who has had for life the sole patronage of a kingdom, must have had many a succession of *humble servants* ready to give him credit for any or for all perfections; and he must have exercised that patronage with singular infelicity, if he has not benefited many individuals who will think it a duty they owe to themselves, if not to extenuate his faults, to magnify his virtues. Such a man can never want popularity, especially if he has an assistant upon whom he can impose the drudgery and the less dignified duties of his place, reserving to himself more especially the performance of those that flatter public opinion, and conciliate public affection. Such a man was Argyle, and such an assistant he had in his brother, Lord Ilay, who, supported by his influence, had the reputation for upwards of thirty years of being the *king* of Scotland. In early life he acquired considerable military reputation under the Duke of Marlborough; and when he was paying court to the Tories had the temerity, on a military question, to set up his opinion in the House of Lords, in opposition to that most accomplished of all generals. How justly, let Sheriffmuir and the hill of Kippendavie say! Happily for his grace, there was no Lord George Murray with the rebels on that occasion. His eloquence and his patriotism have been highly celebrated by Thomson, but the value of poetical panegyric is now perfectly understood; besides, he shared the praises of that poet in common with Bubb Doddington, the Countess of Hertford, and twenty other names of equal insignificance. General Cadoogan, who accompanied him through the latter part of his northern campaign, seems to have made a very low estimate of his patriotism. He charges him openly with being lukewarm in the cause he defended, and of allowing his Argyleshire men to go before the army and plunder the country, "which," says he, "enrages our soldiers, who are not allowed to take the worth of a farthing out of even the rebels' houses." What was taken out of houses by either of them we know not; but we know that our army in its progress north, particularly the Dutch part of it, burnt for fuel ploughs, harrows, carts, cart-wheels, and barn-doors indiscriminately, so that many an honest farmer could not cultivate his fields in the spring for the want of these necessary implements,

which to us proves pretty distinctly, that there was a very small degree of patriotism felt by either of them. Of learning, his grace had but an inconsiderable portion; still he had a tolerable share of the natural shrewdness of his countrymen; and though his speculative views were narrow, his knowledge of mankind seems to have been practically pretty extensive. His disgraceful truckling to, and trafficking with the Tories and the Jacobites, at all times when he was out of place, demonstrates his principles to have been sordid, and his character selfish. His views of liberty seem to have been very contracted—the liberty of lords and lairds to use the people as might suit their purposes and inclinations. In perfect accordance with this feeling, he was kind and affectionate in domestic life, particularly to his servants, with whom he seldom parted, and for whom, in old age, he was careful to provide. He was also an example to all noblemen in being attentive to the state of his affairs, and careful to discharge all his debts, particularly tradesmen's accounts, in due season. We cannot sum up his character more appropriately than in the words of Lockhart, who seems to have appreciated very correctly the most prominent features of the man, with whom he was acquainted. "He was not," says he, "strictly speaking, a man of sound understanding and judgment, for all his natural endowments were sullied with too much impetuosity, passion, and positiveness, and his sense lay rather in a flash of wit, than a solid conception and reflection—yet, nevertheless, he might well enough pass as a very well-accomplished gentleman."

CAMPBELL, JOHN, LL.D., an eminent miscellaneous writer, was born at Edinburgh, March 8, 1708. He was the fourth son of Robert Campbell, of Glenlyon, by Elizabeth Smith, daughter of — Smith, Esq., of Windsor. By his father, Dr. Campbell was connected with the noble family of Breadalbane, and other distinguished Highland chiefs; by his mother, he was descended from the poet Waller. If we are not much mistaken, this distinguished writer was also allied to the famous Rob Roy Macgregor, whose children, at the time when Dr. Campbell enjoyed a high literary reputation in the metropolis, must have been passing the lives of outlaws in another part of the country, hardly yet emerged from barbarism. When only five years of age he was conveyed from Scotland, which country he never afterwards saw, to Windsor, where he received his education under the care of a maternal uncle. It was attempted to make him enter the profession of an attorney; but his thirst for knowledge rendered that disagreeable to him, and caused him to prefer the precarious life of an author by profession. It would be vain to enumerate the many works of Dr. Campbell. His first undertaking of any magnitude was *The Military History of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene*, which appeared in 1736, in two volumes folio, and was well received. He was next concerned in the preparation of the *Ancient Universal History*, which appeared in seven folios, the last being published in 1744. The part relating to the cosmogony, which is by far the most learned, was written by Dr. Campbell. In 1742 appeared the two first volumes of his *Lives of the Admirals*, and in 1744 the remaining two: this is the only work of Dr. Campbell which has continued popular to the present time, an accident probably arising, in a great measure, from the nature of the subject. The activity of Dr. Campbell at this period is very surprising. In the same year in which he completed his last-mentioned work, he published a *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, in two volumes folio. In 1745

he commenced the publication of the *Biographia Britannica*, in weekly numbers. In this, as in all the other works of Dr. Campbell, it is found that he did not content himself with the ordinary duties of his profession as exercised at that time. While he wrote to supply the current necessities of the public, and of his own household, he also endeavoured to give his works an original and peculiar value. Hence it is found that the lives composing his *Biographia Britannica* are compiled with great care from a vast number of documents, and contain many striking speculations on literary and political subjects, calculated to obtain for the work a high and enduring character. The candour and benevolent feelings of Dr. Campbell have also produced the excellent effect of striking impartiality in the grand questions of religious and political controversy. Though himself a member of the Church of England, he treated the lives of the great nonconformists, such as Baxter and Calamy, with such justice as to excite the admiration of their own party. Dr. Campbell's style is such as would not now perhaps be much admired; but it was considered by his own contemporaries to be superior both in accuracy and in warmth of tone to what was generally used. He treated the article "Boyle" in such terms as to obtain the thanks of John, fifth Earl of Orrery, "in the name of all the Boyles, for the honour he had done to them, and to his own judgment, by placing the family in such a light as to give a spirit of emulation to those who were hereafter to inherit the title." A second edition of the *Biographia*, with additions, was undertaken, after Dr. Campbell's death, by Dr. Kippis, but only carried to a fifth volume, where it stopped at the letter F. It is still in both editions one of the greatest works of reference in the language. While engaged in these heavy undertakings, Dr. Campbell occasionally relaxed himself in lighter works, one of which, entitled *Hermippus Redivivus*, is a curious essay, apparently designed to explain in a serious manner an ancient medical whim, which assumed that life could be prolonged to a great extent by inhaling the breath of young women. It is said that some grave physicians were so far influenced by this mock essay, as to go and live for a time in female boarding-schools, for the purpose of putting its doctrine to the proof. In reality the whole affair was a jest of Dr. Campbell, or rather perhaps a sportive exercise of his mind, being merely an imitation of the manner of Bayle, with whose style of treating controversial subjects he appears to have been deeply impressed, as he professedly adopts it in the *Biographia Britannica*. In 1750 Dr. Campbell published his celebrated work, *The Present State of Europe*, which afterwards went through many editions, and was so much admired abroad, that a son of the Duke de Belleisle studied English in order to be able to read it. The vast extent of information which Dr. Campbell had acquired during his active life by conversation, as well as by books, and the comprehensive powers of arrangement which his profession had already given him, are conspicuous in this work. He was afterwards employed in writing some of the most important articles in the *Modern Universal History*, which extended to sixteen volumes folio, and was reprinted in a smaller form. His last great work was the "*Political Survey of Britain*, being a series of Reflections on the Situation, Lands, Inhabitants, Revenues, Colonies, and Commerce of this Island," which appeared in 1774, in two volumes 4to, having cost him the labour of many years. Though its value is so far temporary, this is perhaps the work which does its author the highest credit. It excited the admiration of the world to such a degree as caused

him to be absolutely overwhelmed with new correspondents. He tells a friend in a letter that he had already consumed a ream of paper (nearly a thousand sheets) in answering these friends, and was just breaking upon another, which perhaps would share the same fate.

Dr. Campbell had been married early in life to Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin Robe, of Leominster, in the county of Hereford, gentleman, by whom he had seven children. Though it does not appear that he had any other resources than his pen, his style of life was very respectable. His time was so exclusively devoted to reading and writing, that he seldom stirred abroad. His chief exercise was an occasional walk in his garden, or in a room of his house. He was naturally of a delicate frame of body, but strict temperance, with the regularity of all his habits, preserved his health against the effects of both his sedentary life and original weakness, till his sixty-eighth year, when he died, December 23, 1775, in full possession of his faculties, and without pain.

It would only encumber our pages to recount all the minor productions of Dr. Campbell. A minute specification of them is preserved in the second edition of his *Biographia Britannica*, where his life was written by Dr. Kippis. So multitudinous, however, were his fugitive compositions, that he once bought an old pamphlet, with which he was pleased on dipping into it, and which turned out to be one of his own early writings. So completely had he forgot everything connected with it, that he had read it half through before he had discovered that it was written by himself. On another occasion, a friend brought him a book in French, which professed to have been translated from the German, and which the owner recommended Dr. Campbell to try in an English dress. The doctor, on looking into it, discovered it to be a neglected work of his own, which had found its way into Germany, and there been published as an original work. Dr. Campbell, in his private life, was a gentleman and a Christian: he possessed an acquaintance with the most of modern languages, besides Hebrew, Greek, and various oriental tongues. His best faculty was his memory, which was surprisingly tenacious and accurate. Dr. Johnson spoke of him in the following terms, as recorded by Boswell: "I think highly of Campbell. In the first place, he has very good parts. In the second place, he has very extensive reading; not, perhaps, what is properly called learning, but history, politics, and, in short, that popular knowledge which makes a man very useful. In the third place, he has learned much by what is called the *voce viva*. He talks with a great many people." The opportunities which Dr. Campbell enjoyed of acquiring information, by the mode described by Dr. Johnson, were very great. He enjoyed a universal acquaintance among the clever men of his time, literary and otherwise, whom he regularly saw in *conversations* on the Sunday evenings. The advantage which a literary man must enjoy by this means is very great, for conversation, when it becomes in the least excited, strikes out ideas from the minds of all present, which would never arise in solitary study, and often brings to a just equilibrium disputable points which, in the cogitations of a single individual, would be settled all on one side. Smollett, in enumerating the writers who had reflected lustre on the reign of George II., speaks of "the merit conspicuous in the works of Campbell, remarkable for candour, intelligence, and precision." It only remains to be mentioned, that this excellent man was honoured in 1754 with the degree of LL.D. by the university of Glasgow, and

that, for some years before his death, having befriended the administration of the Earl of Bute in his writings, he was rewarded by the situation of his majesty's agent for the province of Georgia.

CAMPBELL, LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN, a distinguished soldier, was born at Edinburgh, December 7, 1753. He was second son of John Campbell, Esq., of Stonefield, one of the judges of the court of session, and Lady Grace Stuart, sister to John, third Earl of Bute. Lord Campbell was a judge of the supreme court for the long period of thirty-nine years, and died on the 19th of June, 1801. His son John received the greater part of his education in his native city, the high-school of which he attended from the year 1759 to 1763. When eighteen years of age, he entered the army as ensign in the 57th regiment of foot; and in three years afterwards, was appointed to a lieutenancy in the 7th foot, or royal fusiliers. With this regiment he served in Canada, and was made prisoner there, when that country was overrun by the American generals Montgomery and Arnold. Having obtained his release, he was two years afterwards, namely, in 1775, appointed to a captaincy in the 71st, or, as they were then called, Frazer's Highlanders; and with this corps he served in America, until towards the close of the war with that country, having been in the meantime appointed major of the 74th regiment, or Argyleshire Highlanders.

In February, 1781, Major Campbell exchanged into the 100th regiment, with which corps he embarked in the expedition fitted out by the British government against the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Commodore Johnston, and general, afterwards Sir William Meadows. On this occasion, the general orders bore that the troops on board of the *Porpoise* and *Eagle* transports were to receive their orders from Major Campbell. Circumstances, however, having subsequently rendered it advisable, in the opinion of the commodore and general, not to make any attempt on the Cape, but rather to proceed to the East Indies, to aid the British forces there, the transports proceeded to their new destination, and arrived in Bombay in January, 1782. In the February following, Major Campbell was appointed to command the flank corps of a small army assembled at Calicut, on the Malabar coast, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Humberston. This army marched into the interior, for the purpose of attacking Palagatcherry, an important stronghold of Hyder Ali; but it was found too strong to be assailed with any chance of success by so small a force as that which was now brought against it; Colonel Humberston, therefore, found it necessary to retreat, without attempting anything. During this retreat the British forces were for some time pursued by the enemy, who, however, were kept so effectually at bay by the retiring troops, that they were unable to obtain any advantage over them; and the sole merit of this was ascribed by the commanding officer to the able and soldier-like manner in which Major Campbell covered the retreat, in which service he had a horse shot under him.

The retreating army having reached Paniana, a British station, the command was assumed by Colonel Macleod, who made immediate preparations for receiving the enemy, who, though now left at some distance in the rear, were still advancing. In the disposition of his forces on this occasion, Colonel Macleod confided the command of the centre to Major Campbell, who had, in the interim, been appointed to the majority of the second battalion of the 42d regiment. The enemy, led by Tippoo Sultan, shortly

afterwards appeared, and attacked the posts where Major Campbell and Major Shaw, who commanded the left, were situated; but was repulsed with such loss, that he retreated with his army to a considerable distance, and did not again seek to renew the contest. In this engagement Major Campbell was wounded, but remained in the field till the enemy was defeated. The singular intrepidity and admirable conduct which he displayed throughout the whole of this affair, called forth the warmest encomiums from Colonel Macleod, who, in the general orders which he issued on the following day, bore the most flattering testimony to his merits.

The most important service in which Major Campbell was engaged was the siege of Annantpore, which he reduced and took from the enemy.

In May, 1783, he was appointed by the governor and select committee of Bombay to the provisional command of the army in the Bidnure country, in absence of Colonel Macleod, who was prisoner with the enemy. Soon after Major Campbell had assumed the command, Tippoo having got possession of Bidnure, meditated an attack on Mangalore, where Major Campbell was stationed; and with this view, and as a preparatory proceeding, he sent a detachment of his army, consisting of about 4000 horse and foot, and some field-pieces, in advance. Having been informed of the approach of these troops, Major Campbell marched from Mangalore at midnight, on the 6th of May, 1783, with 1400 men, with the intention of surprising them; and in this he was eminently successful. He reached the enemy's camp about daybreak, attacked them, and instantly put them to the rout, capturing four brass field-pieces and 180 draught bullocks—the latter a singularly valuable prize, as, from the country being in possession of the enemy, cattle was not to be had for the commissariat. This defeat of his detachment, however, instead of diverting Tippoo from his intended attack on Mangalore, had the effect only of urging him to hasten his proceedings; and on the 19th of May his vanguard appeared in sight of that place, which by the 23d was regularly invested by an army, computed at not less than 140,000 men, accompanied by 100 pieces of artillery.

Major Campbell's defence of this important fortress against such a prodigious force is justly reckoned one of the most remarkable achievements that ever distinguished the British arms in India. The garrison under his command consisted only of 1883 men, and of these not more than 200 or 300 were British soldiers, the remainder being sepoy or native infantry; and they were, besides, in want of almost every accommodation and comfort necessary to enable them to endure a siege. They were short of both provisions and medicine; and, from the insufficient shelter which the fort afforded, they were exposed to the inclemencies of the monsoon. Notwithstanding all this, however, this little garrison resisted all the efforts of Tippoo, who commanded at the siege in person, till the 2d of August, two months and a half, when, through the intervention of the envoy from the French court at Tippoo's durbar, a cessation of hostilities took place; but as neither side meant, notwithstanding this parley, to give up the contest, the siege was now converted into a blockade; and though the garrison was thus relieved from the danger of casualties by the hand of the enemy, it was not relieved from the miseries of famine, which had now reduced them to the last extremity of distress.

Soon after the cessation of hostilities took place, Tippoo expressed a wish to see Major Campbell, whose bravery, though an enemy, he had generosity enough to appreciate. Major Campbell accepted

the invitation, and had an audience of the eastern potentate, who received him with much politeness, and paid him many flattering compliments. The major was accompanied by several of his officers on this occasion, and amongst these by two captains of the 42d, in their full costume—a sight with which Tippoo was extremely delighted. To each of the officers he presented a handsome shawl; and after they had returned to the fort, he sent Major Campbell an additional present of a very fine horse, which the famishing garrison—such was the melancholy condition to which they were reduced—afterwards killed and ate.

By the assistance of occasional but extremely inadequate supplies of necessaries, which reached them from time to time by sea, the intrepid defenders of Mangalore held out till the 24th of January, 1784, by which time they were reduced to the most deplorable condition by disease and famine, when Major Campbell determined on calling a council of war, to consider whether they should continue the defence or capitulate. The council decided on the latter, and terms were accordingly submitted to Tippoo, who accepted them; and on the 30th January the troops evacuated the fort, and embarked for Tillicherry, one of the British settlements on the coast of Malabar, after enduring, under all the disadvantageous circumstances already related, a siege of eight months, and sustaining a loss in killed and wounded, besides other casualties, of no less than 749, nearly the half of the whole garrison.

Though thus eventually compelled to capitulate, the service performed by Lieutenant-colonel Campbell (a rank to which he was promoted, 19th February, 1783), by the determined and protracted resistance he had made, was of the last importance to the British interests in India, inasmuch as it concentrated and occupied all Tippoo's forces for eight entire months, at a most critical period, and prevented him from attempting any hostile operations in any other part of the empire during all that time. Of the value of that service the government of Bombay expressed itself deeply sensible; and there is no doubt that some especial marks of its favour and approbation would have followed this expression of its sentiments regarding the conduct of Colonel Campbell, had he lived to receive them; but this was not permitted to him. He was not destined to enjoy the fame he had won, or to reap its reward. The fatigue he had undergone during the siege of Mangalore had undermined his constitution, and brought on an illness, which soon terminated fatally.

Under this affliction he quitted the army on the 19th February, and proceeded to Bombay, where he arrived on the 13th March, past all hope of recovery; and on the 23d of the same month he expired, in the thirty-first year of his age. A monument was erected to his memory in the church at Bombay, by order of the court of directors of the East India Company, as a testimony at once to his merits, and of their gratitude for the important services he had rendered to the British interests in India.

CAMPBELL, REV. JOHN. This active missionary and enterprising traveller, whose many labours procured for him a high estimation in the Christian world, was born at Edinburgh in 1766. He was the youngest of three sons, and had the misfortune to lose his father when only two years old, and his mother four years afterwards. Being placed under the guardianship of Mr. Bowers, his uncle, a pious elder or deacon of the Relief church, John was educated at the high-school of Edinburgh, then under the rectorship of Dr. Adams; but he never in

after-life manifested any particular acquaintanceship with Latin and Greek. His restless temperament and enterprising spirit were more inclined to action than study, and might have led him headlong into evil, had they not been kept in check by the wholesome restraints and religious education established in his uncle's household. On finishing his education at the high-school, he was apprenticed to a goldsmith and jeweller in Edinburgh. Although at this early period he was deprived of the religious instructions he had hitherto enjoyed, in consequence of the death of his uncle, the loss was in some measure supplied by diligent reading and anxious reflection, combined with the intercourse of pious acquaintances, whose benevolence was awakened by his orphan condition. As his years and experience increased, he became a visitor of the sick and dying poor, to whom he imparted the consolations of religion; as well as of the ignorant and the dissolute, whom he was anxious to enlighten and convert. In this way he became a city missionary among the murky lanes and closes of Edinburgh, at a time when such an office was most needed, and, as yet, little thought of.

Mr. Campbell had now commenced that evangelistic public life which was to know neither rest nor interval; and while engaged in the shop of a hardware merchant, an occupation to which he had betaken himself, he was to become a correspondent of the principal characters of the religious world, and be connected with those great public enterprises in which they were the chief movers. But to a life of such varied action, notwithstanding its heroic disinterestedness and important results, we can only devote a very brief enumeration.

One of the earliest of these labours was the establishment of Sabbath-schools. At a time when domestic religious instruction was prevalent in Scotland, their introduction, instead of being a benefit, would have been a mischievous intrusion. But now that this patriarchal style of life was fast passing into a new phase, and that the present was a transition period, which is generally a period fraught with danger, the old system of religious tuition was wofully in abeyance, while nothing as yet had been brought forward to supplement the deficiency. Sabbath-schools, indeed, had even already been introduced into the country; but they were not only few, but regarded as a dangerous novelty—nay, a libel upon our covenanting and well-educated Scotland, whose religious character now stood so high among the nations of Christendom. And yet all the while there were thousands of children for whom no one cared, and who were growing up in ignorance and profligacy, while every year was increasing the evil. Scotland, as is too often the case, was contentedly reposing upon her past character, and therefore blind to the present emergency. To this educational plan, so ungracious, and yet so needful, John Campbell directed his efforts. He opened a large Sabbath-school in the old Archers' Hall; and, finding it succeed, he opened another in the hall of the Edinburgh dispensary. Encouraged by the success of this bold experiment upon the capital, and by the Countess of Leven and several of our Scottish aristocracy, whose religious patriotism was awake to the true interests of their country, he now turned his attention to the rural districts, and opened a school at the village of Loanhead, a few miles distant from Edinburgh. Here he took his station exclusively as teacher, and so effectually, that he soon had 200 pupils. His zealous missionary labours in these and similar undertakings, introduced him to the Haldanes, men of congenial spirit, who were eager to second his efforts; and accordingly, in company with Captain

James Haldane, the younger brother, he set off on a tour through the west of Scotland, partly for the distribution of tracts, but mainly for the establishment of Sabbath-schools. With this view they visited Glasgow, Paisley, and Greenock; and although the trip occupied only a single week, the formation of sixty schools was the result within three months afterwards. A system of religious education was thus prosperously commenced that was soon to overspread the country, and which, we trust, will continue, until society, still better christianized than it is at present, will revert to the good old plan of having the Sunday-school at home, with the head of the house as its zealous affectionate teacher.

From Sabbath-school teaching to preaching was but a step, upon which Mr. Campbell next ventured; it was a change from growing to grown children, where the latter were to the full as unintelligent as the former, but with still greater need of the coercions of religion, while the kind of instruction which had been found so available with the one might be equally so with the other. He commenced in the first instance with Gilmerton, a village in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, chiefly inhabited by colliers, the despised Pariahs of British society; and, having opened a preaching station for Sabbath evening service, he was aided in his labours by students of divinity and lay-preachers; and especially by Rate, Aikman, and the Haldanes, the fathers of Scottish Independency. Encouraged by the success of this trial upon Gilmerton, Messrs. Campbell, Rate, and James Haldane resolved to attempt an itinerancy of lay-preaching over the whole of Scotland north of Edinburgh. It was a novel experiment, for, except the brief visits of Whitefield to Scotland, the practice of preaching in the open air had been discontinued there since the happy accession of William and Mary to the throne. In every town and village to which they came, they announced their purpose and the place of muster, and there the crowds who assembled were roused anew with proclamations of those evangelical doctrines to which very few pulpits of the day were wont to give utterance. This, indeed, was a sufficiently humble mode of preaching; but it was apostolic withal, and suited to the wants of the times; and one of the best fruits of this lay and out-of-door preaching was, that in the present day it is needed no longer. After he had toiled in the work until he broke down from sheer exhaustion, and resumed it as soon as his health had recovered, Campbell saw with satisfaction this field successfully occupied by the Haldanes, and those whom they had trained to an itinerant ministry.

Hitherto it had been the reproach of Protestantism, that it was not a missionary church. Now, however, the reproach was to be rolled away; and one of the first-fruits of this awakened sense of duty was the formation of the London Missionary Society, composed of Christians of all denominations, for a great united aggression upon the heathenism of the world. Similar institutions in connection with the parent branch began rapidly to be established in various cities; and among these, one of the first was in Edinburgh, of which Mr. Campbell was a director. In this way, while, to use the language of one of his biographers, "soldiers and sailors wrote to him for advice; the needy and greedy for money; the reclaimed outcasts for prayer and counsel; dark villages for itinerants; and chapel-builders for help;" and all this while undergoing the weekly cares and toils of a tradesman in the Bow, and those of a village lay-preacher at Gilmerton on the Sabbath, he had the complicated concerns of a new missionary society superadded to his manifold occupations. Zeal,

activity, sagacity, business-habits, prudence, persuasiveness, were all in requisition for the discharge of so many duties: and all these qualities he brought so fully to the task, as to show that he was now in his congenial element. The condition of Africa employed his attention with reference to the establishment of a mission at Sierra Leone; but the unhealthiness of the climate along the coast, and the "terrible unknown" of the interior, equally seemed to bid defiance to the enterprise. In this trying dilemma, an expedient suggested itself to his mind as sufficient to obviate every difficulty; it was to obtain from the British settlement there a number of native children of both sexes, and after educating them in Britain, to send them back as missionaries to their kindred and countrymen. The next step was to procure funds for such a costly but hopeful undertaking, and these were volunteered by Mr. Robert Haldane, who saw at once the soundness of the scheme. Twenty-four children were accordingly brought from Africa to London, and nothing remained but to forward them to Edinburgh, to be trained under the superintendence of those who had originated the plan. But here difficulties arose at the outset with which Mr. Campbell had nothing to do, and the children were educated in London. Still he had taught the way by which Africa was to be opened up, and its hitherto inaccessible regions evangelized; and every succeeding year has justified the sagacity with which the expedient was devised, by the happy results that have already crowned it. It is upon native missions, perhaps, that we must ultimately rely for the Christianization both of India and Africa.

Having been so successful as a home-missionary and lay-preacher, Mr. Campbell now thought it his duty to devote himself wholly to the ministerial work. He could accomplish this with greater facility, as the theological hall which the Independents had lately established required a shorter course of study than that prescribed by the regular colleges. This step also corresponded more fully with his views of church government, which accorded with Independency. He therefore repaired to Glasgow, and prosecuted his studies for the purpose under the Rev. Greville Ewing, who was at the head of the seminary. Here, also, he occasionally joined Mr. Haldane in his itinerary preaching tours; and on one occasion, in 1802, he carried his labours through a considerable part of England, and officiated during part of the summer at Kingsland Chapel, London. For two years after, Mr. Campbell itinerated through various parts of Scotland and the northern counties of England, when, in 1804, he received a regular call from the congregation of Kingsland Chapel to become their minister. He complied, and entered immediately with full ardour upon the sacred duties of his new office. Although now minister of a London chapel, the situation was by no means one either of distinction or emolument. On the contrary, the congregation were so poor, and his salary therefore so scanty, that he was obliged to open a day-school in Kingsland, in addition to his clerical duties. He was also editor of the *Youth's Magazine*, a small religious periodical which he commenced and superintended through the first ten volumes.

The remarkable activity of Mr. Campbell, and the energy with which he entered into the operations of the various religious societies with which he was engaged, besides discharging the offices of minister, schoolmaster, editor, and itinerant preacher, soon brought him into notice in London, and suggested to the London Missionary Society the idea of em-

ploying him in an enterprise of the utmost importance. This was a tour of exploration through Caffraria, for the purpose of examining the state of the Hottentot and Caffre missions, now left helpless by the death of the lamented Dr. Vanderkemp. It was a commission fraught not only with difficulty but peril, but Campbell cheerfully undertook it. He was solemnly set apart for this purpose in Miles' Lane Chapel, the venerable Dr. Waugh presiding on that occasion.

Losing no time, the minister of Kingsland Chapel left London on the 24th of June, 1812. Already he had confronted the fierce waves that girdle the Orkneys, and traversed its little islands to proclaim the gospel; but now he was to "brave the stormy spirit of the Cape," and explore its vast interior, upon a similar errand. His progress in South Africa fully justified the choice that had been made of him; for while no minister or missionary could have been more zealous, active, and efficient in the special duties of his calling among the Christian stations which he visited, he added to these the qualifications of an intrepid, diligent, and enterprising traveller, alive to the interests of general knowledge and science, and sharply observant of every object in his way. Three thousand miles were traversed by him in a country as yet but little known to the British public, and, after an absence of nearly two years, he returned to England in May, 1814. He was not yet done, however, with South Africa, for in little more than four years his services as a traveller, which already had been so useful, were again in requisition. A second journey over the same country was the consequence, which occupied two years and a half, and he returned to London in 1821, just in time for the missionary May meetings, which he gratified by the rich fund of intelligence which he brought from the land of his adventurous pilgrimage. Altogether his published account of these two journeys not only threw much light upon the interior of South Africa, but brought into full view whole towns and tribes whose existence had as yet been unknown in Europe. It was indeed a valuable addition to that portion of the map which had hitherto been little more than a blank, or a few conjectural lines. In consequence of these services, the London Missionary Society were anxious that he should resume his pilgrim's staff, and make a similar exploration of the stations they had established in the Polynesian Islands. But this application he respectfully declined. After his second return from Africa, in consequence of the death of his aunt, and marriage of his niece, who had hitherto been his housekeepers, he took to himself a partner of his home, and resumed his ministerial duties at Kingsland Chapel.

The rest of the life of Mr. Campbell, which was chiefly spent in London, was marked by the same earnest diligence and usefulness which had hitherto characterized it. Decidedly a man of action, his hours, his very minutes, were all turned to good account, while his cheerful lively humour continued to animate him to the last. His piety, his vigorous sound sense, his fluency as a speaker, and his jokes, always made him a favourite upon a London religious platform; and as soon as his little compact figure, dark complexion, and cheerful look, were presented to address them, the whole meeting brightened up with expectation, and hailed him with applauding welcome. Thus he continued unbent and unbroken until he had passed the boundary of threescore and ten, when he was attacked at the commencement of 1840 by his last illness. His end was one full of peace and hope, and his only disquietude was from the thought, that, in spite of all he had done, he had

not done enough—that he had not done what he *could*. A few hours before he died, the missionary spirit that had so essentially predominated during life was strongest within him, and in broken accents of prayer he exclaimed unconsciously, "Let it fly! let the gospel fly!" His death occurred on the 4th of April, 1840.

CAMPBELL, The RIGHT HON. JOHN, Lord-chancellor of England. The remarkable rise of this Scotsman, who, without the advantages of birth, rank, genius, or even polished manners and ingratiating address, fought his way from the humble condition of an unbefriended student of Lincoln's Inn to the highest office which the law can bestow—and this, too, in the nineteenth century, when men of the highest talent were so abundant—contains an important lesson which his countrymen would do well to study. It shows what a resolute unconquerable will, steady perseverance, and clear good sense can achieve, even although those higher qualities and advantages which are thought essential to success should be wanting.

His father, the Rev. Dr. Campbell, like all of his name, claimed a descent from the illustrious house of Argyll, through a junior branch of that family; but this was little better than a mythic distinction, as he held no higher situation than that of minister of the county town of Cupar, Fifeshire. In 1776 he married a Miss Halyburton, through whom he became connected, but distantly, with several noble families, among which was that of Wedderburn, the lord-chancellor. By this lady he became the father of five daughters, one of whom married Dr. Thomas Gillespie, minister of Cults, and professor of humanity in the university of St. Andrews; and two sons, the younger of whom, and subject of the present memoir, was born at Springfield, near Cupar, on September 15, 1779. After the ordinary education at the grammar-school of Cupar, John was sent at a very early age to the university of St. Andrews, with a view of being educated for the church; but after taking his degree of M.A., he resolved to adopt the profession of the law, and for this purpose went to London, and entered himself a student of Lincoln's Inn in November, 1800. Here he was fortunate to have for his guide and instructor in the study of special pleading, Mr. Tydd, whom his grateful pupil thus commemorates: "To the unspeakable advantage of having been three years his pupil, I chiefly ascribe my success at the bar. I have great pride in recording that, when at the end of my first year, he discovered that it would not be quite convenient for me to give him a second fee of 100 guineas, he not only refused to take a second, but insisted on returning me the first. Of all the lawyers I have ever known he had the finest analytical head, and, if he had devoted himself to science, I am sure he would have earned great fame as a discoverer. His disposition and his manners made him universally beloved."

On his arrival in London Campbell naturally associated with his own countrymen, and those especially who were in like circumstances with himself. There was at this time in the great metropolis a club of young Scottish adventurers who were sons of clergymen of the Church of Scotland, of which Serjeant Spankie and Wilkie the painter were members, and to this club Campbell joined himself, being delighted with its associating sentiment thus happily expressed by Wilkie, "Born in the manse, we have all a patent of nobility." This sentiment Campbell delighted to quote long afterwards, when he occupied a place among the British peerage. To

be enabled, however, to study law, and afterwards to await the coming of practice, was his most serious consideration; and to effect this, he supported himself, like many of his brethren in London, by contributing to the public prints. For this purpose he obtained an introduction to his countryman, the well-known Mr. Perry, proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*; and on this paper he was employed as a reporter as well as theatrical critic, which last office he continued to hold until 1810. These were curious occupations for a raw young Scotsman who could scarcely speak intelligible English; but Campbell had a fund of talent within himself, which was adequate for such work, and a resolution that soon surmounted its difficulties, and made the task an easy and agreeable occupation. Nor was the office of reporter to a London newspaper without its literary dignity, as considerable scholarship was required for it, while not a few who had held the office were among the best writers of the day.

Thus trained for his profession by careful study of the law, and the analytical practice of a literary critic, Campbell was called to the English bar in Michaelmas term, 1806. He travelled the Oxford circuit, where he soon obtained considerable practice, and formed an intimate acquaintance with the late Judge Talfourd, in consequence of their mutual sympathy for the drama. But London was his proper place of business, and it was to its practice that he looked for advancement in his profession. To succeed in this it was necessary to be in favour with the attorneys, and in one of his biographical sketches, he remarks of Pratt, that "he persevered for eight or nine years, but not inviting attorneys to dine with him, and never dancing with their daughters, his practice did not improve." Campbell wisely avoided this rock, and by more dignified methods than dancing and dinner-giving: between 1809 and 1816 he published a series of reports at *Nisi Prius*, extending to four volumes. No greater boon could have been conferred upon the attorneys, and especially on those who had personally to do with the trials; for at the end of each decision were the names of those attorneys who had been employed in the trial—a practice wholly new in the history of law-reporting. It was right that the man who thus honoured them should be favoured in return, and the leading solicitors gave him extensive practice, especially in shipping cases, and he was retained in nearly every important case tried before a special jury at the Guildhall sittings. But a higher popularity than that of the attorneys attended the publication of these four volumes; they were received as the admirably-reported decisions of Lord Ellensborough; and Campbell valued himself not without cause in having contributed to found that great lawyer's reputation.

In this way John Campbell continued his course from year to year, finding pleasure from that which to others is a toil and a weariness. But although his practice was constantly increasing, he had as yet received none of those honorary appointments that would have been conferred upon one still less distinguished in his profession—and for this neglect his political sentiments may account. He was a Whig, and the patronage of government was still confined to the opposite party. In 1821 he married Mary Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir James Scarlett, afterwards Lord Abinger—a lady who, to her other attractions, added that of being descended from the Campbells through her mother, the third daughter of Mr. Peter Campbell of Kilmorey, Argyleshire. In 1827, when the coalition ministry came into power, and lawyers of talent were favoured irrespective of their politics, John Campbell shared in the

new promotions, by obtaining the honour of a silk gown, and a seat within the bar. As the Whigs were now acquiring the ascendancy, he resolved to profit in the rise of his party by obtaining a seat in parliament; he accordingly became a candidate for Stafford, and was successful, in consequence of which he represented Stafford during 1830 and 1831. In November, 1832, Campbell was appointed solicitor-general, and in the following month was a member of the first reformed parliament, being returned for Dudley. "Plain John Campbell" was now Sir John, with the prospect of becoming something higher still; and in February, 1834, the way to this rise was opened by his appointment to the office of attorney-general; and although he was rejected in the re-election for Dudley, he was soon after representative in parliament for Edinburgh, in consequence of the retirement of Francis Jeffrey on being appointed a lord of session.

As attorney-general, Sir John Campbell conferred important and lasting services upon the country, by inaugurating a series of legal reforms, which has been continued from year to year. Among these services was the introduction of the act called "Lord Campbell's Act," for the amendment of the law of libel as it affects newspapers, by which the proprietor is permitted to pay a small sum into court, and to escape further damages by proving both that the libel had appeared without malice, and that it was followed by the insertion of an apology. Another beneficial measure of Sir John was the introduction of a bill to limit the powers of arrest, by which the judge was required to be satisfied on oath before the order was issued, and the defendant permitted, when arrested, to dispute the plaintiff's affidavit, and thereby obtain liberation. While thus employed as a legislator, Sir John's career as a barrister continued to acquire additional lustre, and his speeches upon the important trials in which he was engaged were reckoned master-pieces of that diligence, accuracy, and clearness of statement in which he excelled, and which had generally been found more available than the highest style of forensic eloquence. The chief of these occasions was in his defence of Lord Melbourne, in the action for damages raised by Mr. Norton, in a charge so damaging, that had it been established against the premier, it was thought that the stability of the Melbourne cabinet would have been seriously affected by the issue. Sir John so effectually rebutted the charge, and proved the innocence of the calumniated lady, that a unanimous acquittal was the result; and when Sir John, after the trial, entered the House of Commons near midnight, he was greeted by the cheers of the members present.

Notwithstanding his appointment to the high office of attorney-general, Sir John Campbell's merits had scarcely been adequately rewarded, and several law-officers were promoted over his head whose services were not equal to his own. Aware, indeed, of his worth, and that he might not be safely neglected, the Melbourne cabinet endeavoured to propitiate him by raising his lady to the peerage in her own right, under the title of Baroness Stratheden. Finding that this was not enough, they projected a bill "for facilitating the administration of justice in equity," under which he also would have been raised to the peerage. But the Melbourne ministry was already falling, and the opposition was unwilling to admit a bill that would have armed their opponents with fresh influence, through the power of creating new appointments. Thus matters continued from 1836 to 1841, when an opening appeared for Sir John Campbell's promotion, in consequence

of the retirement of Lord Plunkett from the office of chancellor of Ireland. Sir John was raised to the chancellorship, and also to the peerage towards the end of June, and went to Ireland as the head of the legal profession in that country. But there he did not stay one short month, or sit in court more than a day or two, and in the September following he resigned with the Melbourne ministry. "He retained," says his biographer in the *Times*, "the title and a pension of £4000 a year; but he declined the pecuniary reward, and lived for the next five years without office, profession, salary, or pension."

Lord Campbell was now in the miserable plight of a restless, active, laborious man, having nothing to do; and a leading part in a parliamentary debate, or a forensic duel with Lord Brougham, were the only safety-valves by which his superfluous energies could be let off. In this condition his mind turned to the happy days of his youth, when literary occupation was enough for his enjoyment, and he resolved to resume his pen, and console himself in its exercise until fresh paths for his activity should open up. His early aspirations after literary fame had never been extinguished, and now was the time to indulge them to the full. He cast about for a subject, and none appeared to him so fit, or so tempting, as *Lives of the Chancellors*. It was one best suited to his studies and professional knowledge—and it has been surmised that, in his choice of such a subject, he had himself an eye to the chancellorship, when his party should be recalled to office. The first series of the *Lives of the Chancellors* was published early in 1846. The work immediately became popular, and the public pleasure enjoyed in its perusal was enhanced by the wonder, that a lawyer so steeped in his profession could have produced such learned, vigorous, life-like sketches. They did not know that his early studies had all but introduced him into the office of a churchman, and that the career of a student at a Scottish university is peculiarly adapted for the study of biography. Perhaps they were equally unaware of the practice he had acquired as a journalist, when his slashing literary and political articles, and critiques on plays and actors, had enlightened and amused the early days of their fathers. This work Lord Campbell followed by *Lives of the Chief-Justices*, written in the same strain. Of these two biographical works, it would be too much to say that they are grave, elaborated, and elegant productions. Notwithstanding the liveliness of their style, they are carelessly and incorrectly written, and where effect was to be produced he has yielded too much to the gossip or the scandal of the period. But these disqualifications of the *Lives* are far more than counterpoised by their merits; and the following observations of the *Times* are as just as they are laudatory: "With all its defects, however, moral and critical, the portraiture in these volumes is sharp and life-like; there is very little of what he called 'flummery' in his observations; every page is full of interesting matter, displaying immense stores of information at once various and minute, while he deserves credit for the impartiality with which on the whole he has appreciated the characters and acts of politicians differing from him in opinion. The subject was most happily chosen, and the work has been executed with an ability which precludes any future biographer from lightly attempting the same theme."

In 1846, when Lord John Russell's cabinet was formed, it was expected that Lord Campbell would have obtained the great seal; but instead of this, he was offered nothing higher than the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster. At this he demurred, but

finally closed with the offer, when the premier had said to him, "Remember, the office has been held by Sir Thomas More and by Dunning." Although he had thus a seat in the cabinet, his literary occupations went on without interruption, so that while he held the chancellorship of the duchy, he published several volumes of his biographical series. At length he was recalled from his studies to the work of active life in 1850, when Lord Denman having resigned the chief-justiceship of the Queen's Bench, Lord Campbell was appointed in his room. It was no light task to be the successor of Lord Denman, who, besides being an able and skilful lawyer, and eloquent orator, possessed a noble and commanding presence, which compelled respect, while Lord Campbell was neither dignified in appearance nor eloquent of speech, and laboured under the additional disadvantage that his judicial faculty had scarcely as yet been called into action. The contrast, indeed, was so striking, that Lord John Campbell's appointment excited great wonderment and considerable dissatisfaction. But even these obstacles he could surmount through that energy which had never failed him, so that he first equalled, and finally surpassed, the distinction of his illustrious predecessor. Having held the important office of lord chief-justice during nine years with a reputation that was growing every year, Lord Campbell attained his highest and last promotion in 1859, when, in consequence of Lord Palmerston's accession to power, he was selected to fill the office of lord-chancellor, while the appointment gave general satisfaction. In this manner, and step by step, the son of an obscure Scottish clergyman—without patronage, without family influence, without personal advantages, and even without pecuniary means to smooth the difficulties of the commencement—fought his way onward and upward from the condition of a lawyer's clerk dependent upon literary labour for his subsistence, to the highest office which a lawyer or a subject can attain. How ably and uprightly during the eleven last years of his life he discharged his duties as lord-chancellor the present generation has felt, and future years will commemorate.

The death of John Lord Campbell was not only sudden but startling. Living in an age distinguished by the number of its political octogenarians, his vigorous frame and healthy constitution, although he had reached the age of fourscore, seemed to hold out the promise of several years longer, closed by a gentle and gradual decay. On the day preceding his death he was engaged in his ordinary pursuits; in the afternoon he attended a meeting of the cabinet council at Downing Street; and in the evening he entertained a party of eighteen at dinner, where his conversation was of its usual lively character, without any symptom of illness. At one o'clock he bade his daughters good night in the drawing-room, and retired to rest; but in the morning at eight o'clock when the butler entered his lordship's bedroom, he found him seated insensible upon a chair, with his head thrown back, and blood oozing from his mouth. It was found that the rupture of a blood-vessel near the region of the heart had caused his death, which must have been instantaneous. Thus silently John Lord Campbell passed away on Sunday morning, the 23d of June, 1861. By Baroness Stratheden, who died about a year previously, the deceased left issue, three sons and four daughters. His remains were interred within the ruins of Jedburgh Abbey, near which he had purchased an estate.

CAMPBELL, THOMAS. This poet, so justly and poetically called the "Bard of Hope," was born at

Glasgow on the 27th of July, 1777. Like many of his name, he could trace his descent through an illustrious ancestry; but to these genealogies he was indifferent, being contented to be known as the son of Alexander Campbell, merchant, Glasgow, and one of a family of eleven children. The poet was especially fortunate in the intellectual character of his parentage, his father being the intimate friend of Reid, author of the *Inquiry into the Human Mind*, while his mother was distinguished by her love of general literature, combined with sound understanding and a refined taste. Dull, indeed, would that mind naturally be, that could be nursed up under such guardianship to nothing better than mediocrity. Even at the early age of ten, Thomas Campbell had irrevocably become a poet, and such of his productions, composed at that season, as have been preserved, exhibit the delicate appreciation of the graceful flow and music of language for which his poetry was afterwards so highly distinguished. He entered the college of Glasgow in 1791, already a ripe scholar in Latin and Greek—an unwonted circumstance among the young students of our northern universities; and there he had the high privilege of studying under Richardson, the talented and elegant professor of humanity, and Young, one of the most enthusiastic Grecians and accomplished scholars of the day. The example of the latter was not lost upon the congenial mind of his pupil; and the poetical translations which Thomas Campbell produced at this period, as class exercises, from the *Medea* of Euripides, as well as other Greek poets, showed not only his mastery of the language in which they wrote, but the power he already possessed over his own. Some who are alive can still remember the pleasure with which Professor Young, in his college prelections, was wont to advert to these translations, and the pupil by whom they had been produced. Even in original poetry, also, Campbell was at this period distinguished above all his class-fellows, so that, in 1793, his *Poem on Description* obtained the prize in the logic class, although it was composed four years previous, and when he had not passed the age of twelve. Besides being distinguished as a poet and scholar at college, he was also well known as a wit and satirist, and his lampoons were as much dreaded as his lyrics were admired; while his *mots* were so plentiful, that the usual morning question of the students was, "What has Tom Campbell been saying?" Being of a slim delicate figure, and fond of a place near the class-room fire before the professor had entered, but finding it generally surrounded by a phalanx of Irish students, through which he could not break, he used often to disperse it, by causing their attention to be directed to some new roguish effusion he had written on the wall, which was certain to send them all scampering to the place of inscription. On one of these occasions, hearing that he had just written a libel against their country, they rushed away from the blazing grate in fervent wrath to the pencilled spot on the wall, and read, not in rage, but with roars of good-humoured laughter:—

"Vos, Hiberni, collocatis
Summum bonum in—potatoes!"

The great choice of life, whether as to occupation or principles, is often determined by some incident so minute as to escape notice. And such was the case with Thomas Campbell. In common with most youthful minds, before their classical impressions have come in contact with the stern realities of every-day life, his whole heart was with Greece and Rome, with Brutus and Cassius, with liberty and the

enemies of oppression. With him, as with others, all this might have faded away like a dream of boyhood, but for an event that indelibly stamped these feelings upon his mind, and made them become the regulating principles of his after-life. It was now the season when the example of the French revolution was at its height, so that even the grave and solid intellect of Scotland became giddy for a moment in the whirl; and the trials of Muir, Palmer, Gerald, and others, showed how narrowly our country had escaped the establishment of a convention modelled upon that of France. While these trials were going on, the young poet felt an impatient longing to visit Edinburgh, and witness the proceedings; to which his affectionate mother assented. He was to travel to the metropolis and return on foot, a journey of eighty-four miles; and to defray the expenses of such a pilgrimage, he thought himself richly furnished by the sum of 5s., which she gave him for the purpose. He reached Edinburgh with a light foot and buoyant heart, and repaired to the parliament-house, where the trial of Gerald was going on; and it was easy for an imagination such as his to convert the eloquent and impassioned culprit at the bar into a patriot of the old heroic ages, pleading less for his own life than the liberties of his country. "Gentlemen of the jury," said Gerald, at the close of his appeal, "now that I have to take leave of you for ever, let me remind you that mercy is no small part of the duty of jurymen; that the man who shuts his heart on the claims of the unfortunate, on him the gates of mercy will be shut, and for him the Saviour of the world shall have died in vain." Campbell was deeply impressed by these thrilling words, and the universal unbreathing silence of the multitude that listened; and his emotion at last found vent in the exclamation, "By heavens, sir, that is a great man!" "Ay, sir," replied the man beside him, apparently a decent tradesman, to whom the remark was addressed, "he is not only a great man himself, but he makes every other man great who listens to him." Campbell returned to Glasgow, a sadder at least, if not a wiser man, and, to the astonishment of his companions, his jokes and flashes of merriment were now laid aside. He had imbibed those impressions in behalf of freedom, and that hatred of oppression, which burst forth so indignantly in the *Pleasures of Hope*—that ran like an electric gleam through the whole extent of his subsequent productions—and that finally, at his opened grave, called forth the tears of unhappy Poland, represented by the weeping group of her children who stood over it. He was now, and ever after, to be the poet of liberty.

When Campbell reached the age of twenty, he had completed five sessions at the university of Glasgow, during the greater part of which he had been obliged, through the mercantile losses of his father, to contribute to his own support by giving lessons in Latin and Greek as a private tutor. Long before this period he had endeavoured to make choice of a profession, but had been unable to settle upon any; law, medicine, merchandise, the church, had successively presented themselves, and been each in turn abandoned. Already, however, the idea of literature as a profession had occurred to him; and he was now in Edinburgh negotiating with the publishers of the day, and supporting himself, in the meantime, by the drudgery of private tuition, until some path could be struck out by his own talents, or some offer made to him by an Edinburgh bookseller. But even now, also, he was employed upon the *Pleasures of Hope*, and forming those beautiful episodes of the work which became all the brighter and more attractive in consequence of

the darkness that beset him. Such, at this period, was the condition of the young aspirant for literary and poetical fame. If to this the following sketch of him, by a lady, be added, the picture will be complete:—"Mr Campbell's appearance bespoke instant favour; his countenance was beautiful, and as the expression of his face varied with his various feelings, it became quite a study for a painter to catch the fleeting graces as they rapidly succeeded each other. The pensive air which hung so gracefully over his youthful features gave a melancholy interest to his manner, which was extremely touching. But when he indulged in any lively sallies of humour, he was exceedingly amusing; every now and then, however, he seemed to check himself, as if the effort to be gay was too much for his sadder thoughts, which evidently prevailed." "And now," he says of himself, "I lived in the Scottish metropolis by instructing pupils in Greek and Latin. In this vocation I made a comfortable livelihood as long as I was industrious. But the *Pleasures of Hope* came over me. I took long walks about Arthur's Seat, conning over my own (as I thought them) magnificent lines; and as my *Pleasures of Hope* got on, my pupils fell off." At last the work was finished and published, and the celebrity which it reached was sufficient to compensate the author for all his past anxieties. In fact, it took the public mind by storm; and while commendation in all its forms was exhausted in lauding it, the universal wonder was, that such a poem should have been produced by a youth not more than twenty-one years old. Several of the most distinguished of the Edinburgh literati had already been prepared to estimate its merits from quotations which they had heard from the manuscript. But with those who were not thus forewarned, the first sight of the work was irresistible. Among these was the learned and accomplished Dr. Gregory, who, in stepping into the shop of Mr. Mundell, the publisher, saw the volume, fresh from the press, lying on the counter. "Ah! what have we here?" he said, taking it up; "the *Pleasures of Hope*." He looked between the uncut leaves, and was so struck with the beauty of a single passage that he could not desist until he had read half the work. "This is poetry," he enthusiastically exclaimed; and added, "Where is the author to be found? I will call upon him immediately." The promise of the professor was quickly fulfilled, and from that period he became one of Campbell's warmest friends and admirers.

Having thus established for himself a high reputation by his first attempt, and being still in the opening of life, Thomas Campbell was impatient to see the world, and resolved, for this purpose, to take a trip into some foreign country. The proceeds of his work had furnished him with the means, and therefore he had only to select the route of his pilgrimage. His choice settled upon Germany, already become famous in Scotland by its rising literature, and the works of Wieland, Schiller, and Goethe. He crossed over to Hamburg, where his fame had already preceded him, so that he received an enthusiastic welcome from the British residents of that mercantile city. He soon found, however, that he had stumbled unexpectedly upon the outposts of a great and momentous war, so that he was obliged to direct his course according to its movements. But such was the rapidity of the French armies, that even an unencumbered traveller could scarcely avoid them; and on his arriving at Ratisbon, war was raging round its suburbs, and, finally, the French within its gates. Thus Campbell found himself in a situation that falls to the lot of few

poets; he was likely to be the witness, as well as the eulogist and recorder, of great military achievements. From the ramparts close to the Scotch monastery, he witnessed the conflict that gave to the French the possession of Ratisbon, and thus describes the spectacle in a letter to his brother: "Never shall time efface from my memory the recollection of that hour of astonishment and expended breath, when I stood, with the good monks of St. James, to overlook a charge of Klenau's cavalry upon the French under Grenier. We saw the fire given and returned, and heard distinctly the sound of the French *pas-de-charge* collecting the lines to attack in close column. After three hours, awaiting the issue of a severe action, a park of artillery was opened just beneath the walls of the monastery, and several drivers that were stationed there to convey the wounded in spring-waggons were killed in our sight." In a subsequent account of the event, he adds:—"This formed the most important epoch in my life, in point of impressions; but those impressions at seeing numbers of men strewn dead on the field, or, what was worse, seeing them in the act of dying, are so horrible to my memory that I study to banish them. At times, when I have been fevered and ill, I have awoke from nightmare dreams about these dreadful images."

Amidst these fluctuations produced by the war, the poet's rambles were brief and irregular. He returned to Hamburg, visiting Leipzig and a few other towns in his course northward, and finally settled for the winter at Altona. During his residence near the historic and picturesque banks of the Danube, he had composed, or revised for the press, fourteen poetical productions, of which, however, only four were ultimately published. His well-known delicacy, not to say fastidiousness of taste, will sufficiently account for this *reticence*. Altona was soon no safe residence, on account of Denmark's secret alliance with France; and the appearance of the British fleet off the Sound gave sudden warning to our traveller to provide for his safety. He therefore embarked in a small trading vessel bound for Leith; but in consequence of a chase from a Danish privateer, Campbell was landed at Yarmouth, to which the vessel fled for shelter. A trip to London naturally followed; and for the first time he visited the mighty metropolis, little guessing, as he paced along its apparently interminable streets, that he should afterwards see this vastness doubled. After a short stay in the capital, where his *Pleasures of Hope* was a passport to the best of London society, he directed his course homeward. Even yet the inconveniences of his visit to the seat of war had not ended. "Returning to Edinburgh by sea," he writes in his memoranda of 1801, "a lady, passenger by the same ship, who had read my poems, but was personally unacquainted with me, told me, to my utter astonishment, that I had been arrested in London for high treason, was confined to the Tower, and expected to be executed! I was equally unconscious of having either deserved or incurred such a sentence." He found, however, on reaching Edinburgh, that this ridiculous report was no matter to be laughed at, for it was already buzzed through the streets of the northern capital, and had reached the ears of his anxious mother, who now resided in the city. It was a wild period of rumour and suspicion; and he found that the fact of his having messed with the French officers at Ratisbon during the armistice, been introduced to the gallant Moreau, and sailed as fellow-passenger with an Irishman of the name of Donovan, had been amplified into a plot concerted between himself, Moreau, and the Irish at Hamburg, to land a French army in Ireland. He

waited upon Mr. Clerk, the sheriff of Edinburgh, to refute this report, and testify his loyalty at headquarters; but here he found, to his astonishment, that the sheriff believed in his guilt, and that a warrant was issued for his apprehension. This was intolerable, and Campbell could not help exclaiming, "Do I live to hear a sensible man like you talking about a boy like me conspiring against the British empire?" He offered himself for a strict examination previous to being sent to prison, and the inquisition was held amidst an array of clerks ready to note down his answers. A box of letters and papers which he had left at Yarmouth to be forwarded to Edinburgh, but which had been seized at Leith, was at the same time brought forward, opened, and carefully examined. But the contents soon put all suspicion to the rout: nothing in the whole collection could be found more treasonable than *Ye Mariners of England*, which was already prepared for the press, with a few others of its afterwards distinguished brethren. "This comes of trusting a Hamburg spy!" cried the discomfited sheriff; for it seems that a rogue in Hamburg had been manufacturing for the credulity of his employers on this side of the water such treason as he could not find ready-made, and had treasured up Campbell's movements there as a fit groundwork for his ingenuity. The whole inquest ended in a hearty laugh and a bottle of wine.

On returning to Edinburgh, Campbell found that instant action was necessary. His father had died during his absence in Germany; his widowed mother, now old and frail, was in necessitous circumstances; and his three sisters were all invalids under the maternal roof. It was also such a period of scarcity and mercantile depression over the whole island, that the prices of the common necessities of life were nearly doubled, so that famine-riots, popularly called meal-mobs, became the order of the day among the lower classes. Urged by present emergencies, he betook himself, in the first instance, to the precarious resources of miscellaneous authorship, until something more permanent could be adopted. This latter opportunity seemed to occur from an invitation he received from Lord Minto to visit him in London; and on Campbell's repairing thither, in 1802, he was employed by his lordship as private secretary, and afterwards as travelling companion to Scotland. During this temporary absence from Edinburgh he had composed *Lochiel's Warning* and the *Battle of Hohenlinden*. This, in the estimation of modern authorship, will appear to be very slow progress; but even in the most depressed period of his circumstances, his aim was to write for immortality, so that every expression was carefully considered, and every line touched and retouched, before it could satisfy that most severe of all critics—himself. Even that striking line—

"Coming events cast their shadows before,"

had cost him a whole week of study and anxiety. But who will say that the price of such a stanza was too high. Writing of the poet to a friend at this time, Telford, the celebrated engineer, asks, "Have you seen his *Lochiel*? He will surpass everything ancient or modern—your Pindars, your Drydens, and your Grays." A similar feeling, but in a more poetical fashion, was expressed of its merits by Mrs. Dugald Stewart, wife of the distinguished philosopher. When the poet read it to her in manuscript, she listened in deep silence, and when it was finished, she gravely rose, laid her hand upon his head, and said, "This will bear another wreath of laurel yet," after which she retired to her seat without uttering

another word. "This," said Campbell, "made a stronger impression upon my mind than if she had spoken in a strain of the loftiest panegyric. It was one of the principal incidents in my life that gave me confidence in my own powers."

After having laboured for some time in fugitive articles for the newspapers, and the compilation of history for the booksellers of Edinburgh, by which he managed to secure a respectable temporary livelihood, Campbell once more repaired to London. A poet by choice, he was now a prose author from necessity, and the British metropolis he knew to be the best mart in which his literary commodities could find a ready sale. Here, then, he was employed fagging, as he informs us, for ten hours a-day, and purloining the opportunity for calls and recreation from the hours of sleep. At this time, also, he published the seventh edition of the *Pleasures of Hope*, and several of his smaller pieces, in a quarto volume, which brought him such a profitable return as to relieve him from all his pecuniary embarrassments, as well as his anxieties about the future. This happy deliverance he forthwith proceeded to signalize in a fitting manner, by selecting for himself a permanent home, and a partner to gladden it. He married one who had been the object of his youthful admiration nine years before, and had latterly become the object of his more matured affections. This was Matilda Sinclair, daughter of his mother's cousin, a gentleman who had formerly been a wealthy merchant and provost in Greenock, and was now a trader in London. The prudent father demurred at the thought of bestowing his daughter upon one who, kinsman though he was, and now of high reputation, was still nothing more than a poet. It was indeed a perilous venture; but the ardour of the young couple overpowered the old man's scruples, and wrung from him a reluctant assent. They were married on the 10th September, 1803. It was a poetical union, for Campbell's whole fortune at this time amounted to the sum of £50; but he had fifty thousand pleasures of hope in perspective, and was therefore rich in his own imagination. At length he became a father; and here we cannot refrain from quoting his own account of feelings so common to every father at the arrival of his first-born, but which Campbell, in a letter announcing the event, has described with such beauty and tenderness:—"Our first interview was when he lay in his little crib, in the midst of white muslin and dainty lace, prepared by Matilda's hands long before the stranger's arrival. I verily believe, in spite of my partiality, that lovelier babe was never smiled upon by the light of heaven. He was breathing sweetly in his first sleep. I durst not waken him, but ventured to give him one kiss. He gave a faint murmur, and opened his little azure lights. . . . Oh, that I were sure he would live to the days when I could take him on my knee, and feel the strong plumpness of childhood waxing into vigorous youth! My poor boy! shall I have the ecstasy of teaching him thoughts, and knowledge, and reciprocity of love to me? It is bold to venture into futurity so far. At present, his lovely little face is a comfort to me; his lips breathe that fragrance which it is one of the loveliest kindnesses of nature that she has given to infants—a sweetness of smell more delightful than all the treasures of Arabia. What adorable beauties of God and nature's bounty we live in without knowing! How few have ever seemed to think an infant beautiful! But to me there seems to be a beauty in the earliest dawn of infancy, which is not inferior to the attractions of childhood—especially when they sleep. Their looks excite a more tender train of emotions. It is like

the tremulous anxiety we feel for a candle new lighted, which we dread going out." Such was an event, which, though an important era in the life of every man, is especially so in that of a poet; and such is the description, which none but a poet, and that of the highest order, could have so embodied. To our thinking, the above quotation may take its place in the highest rank of Campbell's poetical productions.

A happiness like this was not to be enjoyed without a due mixture of life's cares and anxieties; and at this period the income of the poet for the support of such a home and family consisted of the proceeds of his daily literary toil, which was so severe as seriously to injure his health. He had not, indeed, that splash-dash facility of writing which characterizes most of those who follow literature as a profession; nor could he, when the hours of study were ended, abandon the subject of his thoughts as lightly as the man of business can leave his shop or counting-house, when he shuts it up for the evening, and repairs to the enjoyments of his fireside. Instead of this, the fastidious taste that abode with him through life, made him slow in the selection of ideas, as well as scrupulous in their expression; and thus, when the price of his labour was to be estimated by bulk, his toil was scarcely half paid. One of his resources at this time, in addition to periodical literature, was an engagement in the *Star* newspaper, which produced him four guineas a-week. At this time, also, he was willing to endure expatriation for the advantages of a permanent living; so that, when a regency in the university of Wilna had become vacant, he sent his name to the Russian minister as a candidate. But here his sentiments in favour of liberty, and his sympathy for Poland, which he had expressed in the *Pleasures of Hope*, intervened to damp the ardour of his application, which might otherwise have been successful. After having established himself in authorship as a profession, he removed from London to Sydenham, where he resided for the next seventeen years; and it was here, during the first summer after his removal, that, amidst many articles written for the *Philosophical Magazine* and the *Star*, upon every uncongenial subject, agriculture not excepted, he published "Lord Ullin's Daughter," the "Soldier's Dream," the "Turkish Lady," and the "Battle of the Baltic." But for one so delicately organized both in mind and body as Campbell, the daily hard work which he had to encounter was so exhausting that his health gave way; and in his letters at this period, we find him labouring under fits of gloomy despondency, alternated by attacks of sickness. To add also to his cares, the sole support of his aged mother, and partially of his sisters, was still devolved upon him, so that he had to maintain two household establishments, the one at Sydenham, and the other at Edinburgh. But just when it seemed inevitable that he must break down under the double pressure, relief was at hand. Some unknown but highly influential friend had interposed with royalty itself in his behalf, and the result was a pension of £200 per annum conferred by his majesty upon the Bard of Hope. His application of this munificent boon was truly honourable to the poet's heart and memory; for, after reserving only a portion to himself, he allotted the remainder to the support of his mother and sisters.

Four years went onward at Sydenham under these improved circumstances, but still the necessity for continued exertion was little abated; for the pension, comfortable as it looked in the abstract, underwent such mutilation, through fees of office and taxation, that it reached him in the shape of £140, while out

of this he paid an annuity of £70 to his mother. The comfort to be derived from it depended more upon its permanency, than its specific bulk. He therefore continued his toil, amidst alternate fits of lassitude and sickness. His contributions to the *Star*, which consisted chiefly of translations from foreign journals, occupied him four hours a-day, and the remainder of his time was filled up by a *History of the Reign of George III.*, in three volumes, for which he had contracted with an Edinburgh publisher before he left Scotland; and with his *Specimens of the British Poets*, a compilation in which the selection of materials for extracts, as well as the composition of biographical notices, cost him abundance of labour and anxiety. All this, however, was for mere daily subsistence, not future fame; and even to keep up the reputation which his first work had procured him, it was necessary to follow it with one of at least equal excellence. To this necessity he was far from being insensible; and therefore, amidst his seasons of intermission, he had devoted himself with all the ardour of a first and undiminished love to the production of *Gertrude of Wyoming*, which at length was published in London in 1809. It was much that it should have fully sustained the fame that had been acquired by the *Pleasures of Hope*; but it did more—it evinced equal poetical power, with a more matured judgment and better taste. Jeffrey, that prince of critics, who had seen the work while passing through the press, thus characterized its excellencies:—"There is great beauty, and great tenderness and fancy in the work, and I am sure it will be very popular. The latter part is exquisitely pathetic, and the whole touched with those soft and skyish tints of purity and truth, which fall like enchantment on all minds than can make anything of such matters. Many of your descriptions come nearer the tone of *The Castle of Indolence* than any succeeding poetry, and the pathos is much more graceful and delicate." After this commendation, which has been fully borne out by the admiration of the public for nearly sixty years, the talented critic introduces the emphatic "BUT," and proceeds to specify the faults which he found in *Gertrude of Wyoming*; and these, also, were such as the world has continued to detect. It consisted too much of finished episodes rather than a continuous poem. The language was still over-laboured, as if he had "hammered the metal in some places till it had lost all its ductility." These were faults, or blemishes, so inseparable from the mind of Campbell that they were part and parcel of his intellectual existence, and he could only have abandoned them by relinquishing his individual identity. After this affectionate chastisement, Jeffrey adds, "Believe me, my dear C., the world will never know how truly you are a great and original poet, till you venture to cast before it some of the rough pearls of your fancy. Write one or two things without thinking of publication, or of what will be thought of them, and let me see them, at least, if you will not venture them any farther. I am more mistaken in my prognostics than I ever was in my life, if they are not twice as tall as any of your full-dressed children." In the same volume were published several smaller poems, some of which had previously appeared before the public. Among these were "Lochiel" and "Hohenlinden," the first characterized by the *Edinburgh Review* as the most spirited and poetical denunciation of woe since the days of Cassandra, and the second as the only representation of a modern battle which possesses either interest or sublimity; and "Ye Mariners of England," and the "Battle of the Baltic," two songs that have justly ranked their author as the naval Alcæus of Britain.

In a subsequent edition of *Gertrude*, which appeared in the following year, the volume was enriched by the addition of "O'Connor's Child," the best, perhaps of all his minor poems. Its origin was in the highest degree poetical. A little flower called "love-lies-bleeding," grew in his garden, and the sentiments which it inspired, as he looked at it in his morning walks, gathered and expanded into the most beautiful of his ballads.

With a new task thus ended, relaxation was necessary; and with such an increase to his poetical reputation, it was natural that the society of Campbell, on re-entering the world, should be courted with renewed eagerness. Amidst the many introductions to the most distinguished of the day, there were two that gave him especial pleasure: the one was to Mrs. Siddons, the "Queen of Tragedy;" the other, to Caroline, Queen of Great Britain. He was now also to appear in a new literary capacity. This was as a lecturer on poetry at the Royal Institution, a task for which perhaps no poet of this period, so prolific of distinguished bards, was so well qualified. He commenced this course on the 24th of April, 1812, and had the gratification not only of numbering among his audience some of the most illustrious in the literary world, but of being crowned with their approbation. There was indeed only one dissenting voice that made itself be heard at the third lecture. "At the most interesting part," he says, "a storm of thunder, lightning, and rain came on. The window above me was open, and the rain poured down on my paper as it did on Leander in the Hellespont. The lightning had given me an electrical headache, and the thunder, aided by the pattering rain, being my competitor in my endeavours to gain the public attention, it required all my lungs to obtain a hearing." His lectures were so popular in London, that he resolved to repeat them in Edinburgh; but this purpose he could not at present find time to execute. The peace of 1814, that threw Paris open to the world, enabled Campbell to accomplish the design of visiting that wonderful city, which he had entertained in 1802, but was prevented from executing by the sudden renewal of war. He accordingly crossed the Channel, one of many thousands of visitors, and, amidst all the marvels of Paris, nothing seems to have delighted him so much as the Louvre. The great masterpieces of ancient art seemed to burst upon him like the creations of another world, and made him shed tears of mingled awe and delight. In describing, immediately afterwards, the effect they produced on him, although he tells us he was no judge in statuary, yet we at once see he was more—he was a poet, feeling the inspiration of a kindred spirit manifested in a different department of their common art. Of the Apollo Belvidere he says, "Oh how that immortal youth in all his splendour, majesty, divinity, flashed upon us from the end of the gallery! He seems as if he had just leaped from the sun." His visits, which were made to the Louvre in company with Mrs. Siddons, were of too transporting a character to be exclusively repeated, and therefore he gladly had recourse to the theatres, concerts, and conversaziones, the promenades, and public spectacles, with which the great metropolis of earth's pleasures is pervaded as its living principle. "But still," he adds, "after the Louvre, I know scarcely anything that is quite transcendent." After nearly two months that were spent well and happily in Paris, Campbell returned fresh with new sensations, that continued to animate him for years, and resumed his necessary studies at Sydenham. In 1815 an event also happened to alleviate the necessity of continual toil, and brighten the prospects of his future life.

This was a legacy bequeathed to him by his Highland cousin, M'Arthur Stewart of Ascot, which, though nominally not more than £500, was increased to nearly £5000, through his share in the unappropriated residue bequeathed to the legatees by the testator.

The practice of public lecturing had now become so congenial to the mind of Campbell, and his course had been so popular, that he repeated it in Liverpool, Birmingham, and Edinburgh, to numerous and delighted audiences. The merits of these *Lectures on Poetry* are now familiar to the public, as they were afterwards published, as well as his *Specimens of the British Poets*, in which the germs of his prelections were first displayed. In 1820 he was enabled to revisit Germany with his family, and after a trip, in which the romantic scenery of the Rhine, and the distinguished literary societies of Germany, were enjoyed with equal pleasure, he returned with fresh zest to England and his literary engagements. The most important of these was the editorship of the *New Monthly Magazine*, which had been offered him on the most liberal terms. It was a wholly new task, and therefore he was anxious to gather from his more experienced literary friends such advice as might direct him in his course. Some of these admonitions could not have been very gratifying to a mind so sensitive and enthusiastic as his. In a letter written to him by the Rev. Sydney Smith upon the subject, that witty divine thus lectures him: "Remember that a *mag.* is not supported by papers evincing *wit* and *genius*, but by the height of the tide at London Bridge, by the price of oats, and by any sudden elevation or depression in the price of boiling pease. If your *mag.* succeeds, it will do so as much by the diligence and discretion you will impress upon your nature, as by the talents with which you are born." The *Magazine*, however, acquired a new impulse from his superintendence; and, among his own contributions, the poem entitled *The Last Man*, one of the happiest of his productions, was universally applauded. While thus employed, his *Theodoric* appeared at the end of 1824. The following year Campbell started the plan of the London University, which he calls "the only important event in his life's little history," and pursued the object with a life-and-death earnestness; and, aided by the practical minds of Brougham and Hume, the project, after much conflict, was brought to a successful termination. So earnest, indeed, did he labour in the whole affair, that, not contented with the experience he had already acquired of German colleges, he also travelled to Berlin, to study whatever was excellent in the university of the Prussian capital, and transplant it into London. And well did he evince his enthusiasm for the improvement of our national education by undertaking such a journey, for, although not more than forty-eight years of age, he was already a weakly old man. His indeed had been a premature decay; all the more, perhaps, because he had enjoyed a precocious intellectual manhood. But education rewarded him in return with one of the highest distinctions, and the most grateful to the mind of Campbell, which she had to bestow. In his own *alma mater*, the university of Glasgow, a canvass had for some time been going on to elect him to the honoured office of lord-rector; and in the winter of 1826, the students, by whom the election is made, had been so unanimous in their choice, that he was appointed to the office by unanimous vote of the "four nations." Nor did the honour conferred upon him stop here; for, in the following year, and also the one after, his appointment was renewed by the suffrages of the students. He was thus three times

successively lord-rector of the university of Glasgow, a repetition unusual among the holders of that high academic office. But, amidst all this distinction, the mind of the poet had much to grieve and try him. Of his two sons, the younger had died in childhood, while the elder, his first-born, who had opened such a fountain of tenderness within his heart, had for years been in a state of lunacy, and was obliged to be kept in confinement. He was thus even worse than childless. In 1826, also, his affectionate wife Matilda, in whom he had possessed so congenial a partner, died, and he found himself alone in the world. The *New Monthly Magazine*, too, that had prospered so greatly under his care, and been a comfortable source of emolument, passed from under his management by one of those unlucky accidents to which periodical literature is especially exposed. A paper was inserted by mistake in its pages, without having been subjected to his editorial examination, and as the article in question was offensive in the highest degree, Campbell in 1830 abandoned the *Magazine*, and a salary of £600 per annum which he derived from it. Soon after this, an event of a public and political nature moved him still more highly than any pecuniary loss could have done. This was the sanguinary capture of Warsaw in 1831, and the national miseries with which Poland was afterwards visited. He had embraced the cause of that most injured and most afflicted of the nations with a poet's enthusiasm; and now he predicted the final result of its wrongs with a poet's prophetic prescience. His words upon the subject are well worth considering—for are they not even at the present day, after a lapse of more than thirty years, undergoing their fulfilment? "All is over now; and a brave nation is thrust a second time, assassinated, into her grave. Mysterious are the ways of Heaven! We must not question its justice—but I am sick, and fevered with indignation at Germany, for suffering this foolish Emperor of Austria; he fears letting his people taste a little freedom, more than resigning his own freedom to Russia, for he will soon be the very vassal of the inhuman Slaves, which will be worse for him than if he had a free parliament under his nose—and so also will the King of Prussia be henceforth! All continental Europe, I distinctly anticipate, will be enslaved by Russia. France and Austria will worry each other till they are exhausted; and then down will Russia come on all the south of Europe, with millions and millions, and give law and the knout both to Germany and France." It is gratifying to add that when Campbell's heart was thus occupied, he did not, like too many, withdraw from the throng, that he might brood in solitude over the luxury of sensibility. Instead of this, he spoke, wrote, declaimed upon the miseries of Poland, pictured them in poetry and in prose, appealed against them in companies of every political shade of belief, exerted himself to make all feel that, instead of being a mere party question, it was the common cause of justice, honour, and humanity; and, to evince his sincerity, bestowed liberally, not only of his time and labour, but also of his money, in behalf of the Polish sufferers, at a season when money was the commodity which he least could spare. And his labours were not in vain. He awoke a deep sympathy in behalf of Poland wherever his influence extended, and succeeded in associating the Polish committee in London, which for years has been so successful in relieving thousands of the expatriated.

While employed in these avocations, the literary duties of Campbell still continued to be of a varied character. After his editorship of the *New Monthly*

Magazine had ceased, he was employed in the same capacity in the *Metropolitan*; and subsequently his attention was occupied with letters and pamphlets in support of the London University, and upon the subject of education in general; with reviews on works of classical history and fiction; and with a wide and laborious correspondence in French, German, and Latin, which employed him four hours every morning. To these, also, was added his *Life of Mrs. Siddons*, a work to which he devoted himself with all his characteristic enthusiasm, and finished in 1833. Thus, even when his name was least before the public, he was toiling generally in behalf of some great benevolent object with an earnestness under which his health frequently sank, and by which his final decay was accelerated. Still, however, he was earnest to produce one poem more—a closing work, by which his poetical reputation should be confirmed, and, if possible, extended—and as health was necessary for this purpose, he resolved to make the classical tour of Italy, by which mind and body should be braced alike for the contemplated enterprise. He therefore passed over to Paris in 1834; and although the Apollo Belvidere and Venus de Medicis were no longer there, he found the same cheerful society, and more than the same cordial welcome that had gladdened his visit of 1814. After having remained several weeks in the French capital, he resumed his journey, but with a very different destination; for, instead of Rome, he now embarked for Algiers. His friends at home were as much astonished at the tidings as if he had set off on a pilgrimage to Timbuctoo. But he had been poring in the king's library at Paris over books and maps of ancient geography, where the Roman city of Icosium, that had occupied the site of Algiers, met his eye; and the late changes by which this Mauritanian city of the waters had been converted into the capital of a French province, fired his imagination with pictures of the future civilization of Africa. This was enough to decide him on embarking at Toulon, on the 11th September, 1834, and seven days after he was traversing the crooked streets of Algiers, beneath the blaze of an African sun. But he was still among French society, to whom his literary reputation was a welcome passport; he even found one of the French officers there employed in a translation of his poems with a view to publication. New health, nay, a new life itself, was the reward of this journey, and he describes the scenery and his own feelings in the following buoyant style: "Oh, my old crony! it would do your heart good to see your friend prancing gloriously on an Arabian barb over the hills of the white city (for Algiers, with all its forts, battlements, mosques, and minarets, is as dazzling white as snow), and enjoying the splendid scenery. I have no words to convey the impression it has made on me. I felt, on my ride, as if I had dropped into a new planet! Some parts of the hills, it is true, are bare; but wherever there is verdure, it has a bold, gigantic richness, a brilliancy and odour, that mock even the productions of our hot-houses. Never shall I forget my first ride! It was early morning: the blue Mediterranean spread a hundred miles beneath—a line of flamingoes shot over the wave—the white city blazed in the rising sun—the Arabs, with their dromedaries loaded with fruits for the market, were coming down the steeps. Around, in countless numbers, were the white, square, castle-looking country-houses of the Moors, inclosed in gardens; the romantic tombs of the Marabouts, held sacred, and surrounded with trees and flowers, that are watered with a perpetual spring from marble fountains, where you see the palm towering with its feathery tufts as high as a

minaret. . . . Then the ravines that run down to the sea! I alighted to explore one of them, and found a *burn* that might have gurgled in a Scottish glen. A thousand sweet novelties of wild flowers grew above its borders; and a dear little bird sang among its trees. The view terminated in the discharge of the stream among the rocks and foam of the sea,—

'And where this valley wined out below,
The murmuring main was heard—and scarcely heard to flow.'

In short, my dear John, I feel as if my soul had grown an inch taller since I came here. I have a thousand, and a thousand curious things to tell you; but I shall keep them all bottled up to tell you in Fludyer Street—unless the cholera comes over me. If it should, I have at least had some happy days; and the little void that I leave in the world will be soon filled up."

These "happy days" were extended over the two following months, during which the poet made short trips among the native tribes, and explored whatever was curious in the past and present history of these children of the desert, and the localities they occupied. And fortunately for him, the dreaded cholera did not come, so that he revelled uninterrupted amidst the healthy and spirit-stirring enjoyments of the new scenes into which he had entered. The consequence was, that on his return to London, his friends congratulated him on being several years younger than when he had set out on his travels. This healthy effect of a glowing Moorish atmosphere was afterwards improved and made permanent by a trip to his native north, that followed soon after—an alternation that resembled the sudden plunge from a hot bath into a cold. But where was the poem which was to be produced on his return? Let no poet say to himself, "Go to, I will sit down on such and such a day, and write an epic." History and antiquity, past events and living realities, the rich landscapes around Algiers and Oran, and their stirring throng of Moors and Frenchmen, had so wholly occupied his thoughts, that laying aside his poetical purposes to an indefinite period, he devoted himself to the preparation of *Letters from Algiers*, which were afterwards published in two volumes. His financial affairs, too, notwithstanding his habitual disregard of money, and thoughtless facility in parting with it, were in a more prosperous condition than they had been at any former period. Such was the tranquil course of his life from 1835 to 1841, when a return of his former ailments so stirred his impatience, that without any previous notice or preparation, he suddenly started for Weisbaden, expecting to find a miraculous recovery among its Brunnen. Such, indeed, was his hurry, that he forgot to provide himself with money, so that on arriving at the baths, he was obliged to write to a friend in London, commissioning him to enter his house in Victoria Square, take out all the money he found there, and after remitting him a portion, to lodge the rest at his banker's. It was truly marvellous that such a man should have money to leave behind him! Fortified with this authority, his friend, accompanied by a lawyer, went to Campbell's house, opened the press-door in his bedroom, which did not seem to be even locked, and commenced his exploration. But though every shelf, drawer, cranny, every shirt-fold and coat-pocket of this poetical chaos was searched and rummaged, there was nowhere a token of money. The lawyer was grievously scandalized, and talked professionally of careless custody and burglary. At length, when closing the press-door in despair, the process was interrupted by the point of a red em-

broidered slipper, stuffed, as it appeared, with paper matches for lighting candles, and on unrolling these, they found that the apparently worthless papers consisted of bank-notes to the amount of more than £300! By an inconsistency not unusual in human nature, Campbell at this very period was grumbling at the rate of exchange in Weisbaden, where not more than 19s.6d. was given for an English sovereign. His stay was only for six weeks, and during this period he composed the ballad of the *Child and Hind*. He published also *The Pilgrim of Glencoe*, with other poems, in which the *Child and Hind*, the *Song of the Colonists*, and *Moonlight*, appeared for the first time. Unfortunately, however, the *Pilgrim*, notwithstanding its excellencies, was felt to be inferior to his first productions, and was rated accordingly. But he was no longer the same youthful spirit that had produced the *Pleasures of Hope* and *Gertrude of Wyoming*. Flashes, indeed, of his former self would still break out from his poetry and conversation, but they were the fitful irradiations of a once steady but now departing sunshine. He had now reached the age of sixty-six, and perhaps he had drawn too fervently and fast upon the resources of a naturally delicate constitution, to be otherwise than a feeble broken-down man at such a period of life. To add also to his distresses, the sale of his poems, which for some years had produced him about £500 per annum, could not now realize above £60 or £70. From the double motive of health and economy, he resolved to make his future residence in Boulogne, to which he repaired in July, 1843. His friends—and few had more attached friends than Campbell—felt as if this was a final departure, to be followed by no happy return.

These mournful forebodings were too truly verified. His constitution was already so old, and so completely exhausted, that no change of climate could enable it to rally; and the winter of Boulogne, instead of alleviating his ailments, only seemed to aggravate them beyond the power of removal. Spring came, and summer succeeded; but their bright sunshine only half lighted the curtained sick-room, and finally flickered upon the death-bed of him who had so often watched its changes, and delighted in its beauty. But in his last hours he was not alone, for besides his affectionate niece, who attended him with a daughter's solicitude, his bedside was solaced by the presence of Dr. Beattie, his faithful friend, physician, and biographer, who had crossed from London to Boulogne, to soothe the departing hours of his affectionate patient. Amidst such gentle guardianship, by which every aid and alleviation was administered, Thomas Campbell died without a struggle, and apparently without pain, solaced to the last moment by the consoling portions of Scripture that were read to him, in which he expressed his earnest faith and hope; and by the prayers, in which he joined in look and attitude when the power of speech had departed. His death occurred on the 15th of June, 1844, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. The body was removed from Boulogne to London, and interred in Westminster Abbey; a handful of earth from the tomb of Kosciusko, the Polish hero, that had been treasured for the purpose, was thrown into the grave of the poet who had written so eloquently and laboured so much in behalf of Poland; and his ashes now repose in the neighbourhood of the monuments erected to Addison, Goldsmith, and Sheridan.

CANT, ANDREW, a Presbyterian preacher of great vigour and eloquence at the period of the second reformation. In 1638 he was minister of Pitsligo in Aberdeenshire. Unlike the generality

of the clergy in that district of Scotland, he entered heartily into the national covenant for resisting the episcopalian encroachments of Charles I., and took an active part in the struggles of the time for civil and religious liberty. He was associated with the celebrated Alexander Henderson, David Dickson, the Earls of Montrose and Kinghorn, and Lord Cupar, in the commission appointed in July, 1638, by the tables or deputies of the different classes of Covenanters, noblemen, gentlemen, burgesses, and ministers, to proceed to the north and endeavour to engage the inhabitants of the town and county of Aberdeen in the work of reformation. The doctors of divinity in the town had steadily resisted the progress of reforming principles, and were greatly incensed when they heard of this commission. They fulminated against it from the pulpit; and the town council, under their influence and example, enacted, by a plurality of votes, that none of the citizens should subscribe the covenant. The deputies arrived on the 20th of the month, and were hospitably received by the magistrates; but they declined their proffers of friendship, till they should first show their favour to the object of their visit. Montrose, "in a bold and smart speech," remonstrated with them on the danger of Popish and Prelatical innovations; but the provost excused himself and his coadjutors by pleading that they were Protestants and not Papists, and intimating their desire not to thwart the inclination of the king. Immediately after their interview with the magistrates, the deputies received from the doctors of the two universities a paper containing fourteen ensnaring propositions respecting the covenant, promising compliance should the commissioners return a satisfactory answer. These propositions had been carefully conned over previously, and even printed and transmitted to the court in England before the arrival of the deputies. They were speedily answered by the latter, who sent their replies to the doctors in the evening of the next day. Meanwhile the nobles applied to the magistrates for the use of the pulpits on the Sabbath following, for the ministerial commissioners, but this being refused, the three ministers preached in the open air, to great multitudes, giving pointed and popular answers to the questions of the doctors, and urging the subscription of the covenant with such effect that 500 signatures were adhibited to it upon the spot, some of the adherents being persons of quality. On Monday the deputies went out into the country districts, and although the Marquis of Huntly and the Aberdeen doctors had been at pains to pre-occupy the minds of the people, yet the covenant was signed by about forty-four ministers and many gentlemen. Additional subscriptions awaited the deputies on their return to Aberdeen, where they preached again as on the former Sabbath; but finding that they could produce no effect upon the doctors of divinity whose principles led them to render implicit obedience to the court, they desisted from the attempt and returned to Edinburgh.

In the subsequent November, Mr. Cant sat in the celebrated Glasgow Assembly (of 1638), and took part in the abolition of Episcopacy with the great and good men whom the crisis of affairs had brought together on that memorable occasion. In the course of the procedure, the Assembly was occupied with a presentation to Mr. Cant to the pastoral charge of Newbattle:—"My Lord Lowthian presented an supplication to the Assemblée, anent the transportation of Mr. Andrew Cant from Pitsligo to Newbattle in the Presbitrie of Dalkeith. Moderatour (Henderson) said—It would seeme reasonable that your Lordship should get a favourable answer, considering your diligence and zeale in this cause above many others,

and I know this not to be a new motion, but to be concludit by the patron, presbitrie, and parochie. The commissioner of Edinr. alleadged that they had made an election of him twenty-four yeares since. Then the mater was put to voiting—Whither Mr. Andro Cant should be transported from Pitsligo to Edinburgh? And the most pairt of the Assembly voited to his transplantation to Newbotle; and so the Moderatour declaired him to be minister at Newbotle."

From his proximity to Edinburgh in his new charge, Mr. Cant was enabled to devote much of his attention to public affairs, with which his name is closely connected at this period. In 1640, he, and Alexander Henderson, Robert Blair, John Livingston, Robert Baillie, and George Gillespie, the most eminent ministers of the day, were appointed chaplains to the army of the Covenanters, which they accompanied in the campaign of that year. When the Scots gained possession of Newcastle, August 30, Henderson and Cant were the ministers nominated to preach in the town churches. In the same year the General Assembly agreed to translate Mr. Cant from Newbattle to Aberdeen. In 1641 we again find him at Edinburgh, where public duty no doubt often called him. On the 21st of August he preached before Charles I., on the occasion of his majesty's second visit for the purpose of conciliating his Scottish subjects. When the union of the church and nation, cemented by the covenant, was dislocated by the unhappy deed known as the Engagement, in 1648, Cant, as might have been expected from his zeal and fidelity, stood consistently by the covenanting as now distinguished from the political party. When General David Leslie was at Aberdeen in November, 1650, on an expedition against some northern insurgents, he was visited by Messrs. Andrew Cant, elder and younger, ministers of Aberdeen, who, amongst many other discourses, told the lord general, "that wee could not in conscience assist the king to recover his crowne of England, but *he thoughte one kingdome might serve him wery well, and one crowne was enuche for any one man; one kingdome being sufficient for one to reuell and governe*" (*Balfour's Annals*, iv. 161).

In the year 1660, a complaint was presented to the magistrates, charging Mr. Cant with having published Rutherford's celebrated book, entitled *Lex Rex*, without authority, and for denouncing *anathemas* and *imprecations* against many of his congregation, in the course of performing his religious duties. A variety of proceedings took place on this question before the magistrates, but no judgment was given; Mr. Cant, however, finding his situation rather unpleasant, withdrew himself from his pastoral charge, removed from the town with his wife and family, and died about the year 1644.

A clergyman, named Mr. Andrew Cant, supposed to have been son to the above, was a minister of Edinburgh during the reign of Charles II., and consequently must have been an adherent of Episcopacy. He was also principal of the university between the years 1675 and 1685. The same person, or perhaps his son, was deprived of his charge in Edinburgh, at the revolution, and, on the 17th of October, 1722, was consecrated as one of the bishops of the disestablished Episcopal church in Scotland. This individual died in 1728.

How far it may be true, as mentioned in the *Spectator*, that the modern word *Cant*, which in the beginning of the last century was applied to signify religious unction, but is now extended to a much wider interpretation, was derived from the worthy minister of Aberdeen, we cannot pretend to deter-

mine. The more probable derivation is from the Latin *cantus*, singing or chanting.

CARDROSS, LORD. See ERSKINE.

CARGILL, DONALD, an eminent preacher of the more uncompromising order of Presbyterians in the reign of Charles II., was the son of respectable parents in the parish of Rattray, in Perthshire, where he was born about the year 1610.¹ We find the following account of the state of his mind in early life amongst the memoranda of Mr. Wodrow, who appears to have written down every tradition of the fathers of the church which came to his ears.² "Mr. Donald Cargill," says the pious historian, "for some twenty or thirty years before his death, was never under doubts as to his interest, and the reason was made known to him in an extraordinary way, and the way was this, as Mr. C. told my father. When he was in his youth he was naturally hasty and fiery, and he fell under deep soul exercise, and that in a very high degree, and for a long time after all means used, public and private; and the trouble still increasing, he at length came to a positive resolution to make away with himself, and accordingly went out more than once to drown himself in a water, but he was still scarred by people coming by, or somewhat or other. At length, after several essays, he takes on a resolution to take a time or place where nothing should stop, and goes out early one morning by break of day to a coal-pit; and when he comes to it, and none at all about, he comes to the brink of it to throw himself in, and just as he was going to jump in he heard an audible voice from heaven, 'Son, be of cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee,' and that stopped him, and he said to —, that he never got leave to doubt of his interest. But, blessed be God, we have a more sure word of prophecy to lean to, though I believe where such extraordinary revelations are, there is an inward testimony of the Spirit cleaving marks of grace to the soul too."

We learn from other sources that Mr. Cargill, having studied at Aberdeen, and, being persuaded by his father to enter the church, became minister of the Barony parish in Glasgow, some time after the division among the clergy, in 1650. He continued to exercise the duties of this situation in a very pious and exemplary manner, until the restoration of the Episcopal church, when his refusing to accept collation from the archbishop, or celebrate the king's birth-day, drew upon him the attention of the authorities, and he was banished, by act of council, to the country beyond the Tay. To this edict he appears to have paid little attention; yet he did not excite the jealousy of the government till 1668, when he was called before the council, and commanded peremptorily to observe their former act. In September, 1669, upon his petition to the council, he was permitted to come to Edinburgh upon some legal business, but not to reside in the city, or to approach Glasgow. For some years after this period he led the life of a field-preacher, subject to the constant vigilance of the emissaries of the government, from whom he made many remarkable escapes. So far from accepting the *indulgence* offered to the Presbyterian clergy, he was one of that small body who thought it their duty to denounce openly all who did so. In 1679 he appeared amongst the unfortunate band which stood forward at Bothwell Bridge in vain resistance to an overpowering tyranny. On this occasion he was wounded, but had the good fortune to make his escape. Subsequent to this

period, he took refuge for a short time in Holland. In the months of May and June, 1680, he was again under hiding in Scotland, and seems to have been concerned in drawing up some very strong papers against the government. He, and a distinguished lay member of the same sect, named Henry Hall, of Haughhead, lurked for some time about the shores of the Firth of Forth above Queensferry, till at length the Episcopal minister of Carriden gave notice of them to the governor of Blackness, who, June 3d, set out in search of them. This officer having traced them to a public-house in Queensferry, went in, and pretending a great deal of respect for Mr. Cargill, begged to drink a glass of wine with him. He had, in the meantime, sent off his servant for a party of soldiers. The two fugitives had no suspicion of this man's purpose, till, not choosing to wait any longer for the arrival of his assistants, he attempted to take them prisoners. Hall made a stout resistance, but was mortally wounded with the dog-head of a carbine by one George, a waiter. Cargill, escaping in the struggle, though not without wounds, was received and concealed by a neighbouring farmer. He even fled to the south, and next Sunday, notwithstanding his wounds, he preached at Cairn-hill, near Loudoun. A paper of a very violent nature was found on the person of the deceased Mr. Hall, and is generally understood to have proceeded from the pen of Mr. Cargill. It is known in history by the title of the QUEENSFERRY COVENANT, from the place where it was found. Mr. Cargill also appears to have been concerned, with his friend Richard Cameron, in publishing the equally violent declaration at Sanquhar, on the 22d of June. In the following September, this zealous divine proceeded to a still more violent measure against the existing powers. Having collected a large congregation in the Torwood, between Falkirk and Stirling, he preached from 1 Corinth. v. 13, and then, without having previously consulted a single brother in the ministry, or any other individual of his party, he gave out the usual form of excommunication against the king, the Duke of York, the Dukes of Monmouth, Lauderdale, and Rothes, Sir George Mackenzie, and Sir Thomas Dalzell of Binns. His general reasons were their exertions against the supremacy of the pure church of Scotland. The privy-council felt that this assumption of ecclesiastical authority was not only calculated to bring contempt upon the eminent persons named, but tended to mark them out as proper objects for the vengeance of the ignorant multitude; and they accordingly took very severe measures against the offender. He was intercommunicated, and a reward of 5000 merks were offered for his apprehension. For several months he continued to exercise his functions as a minister when he could find a convenient opportunity; and many stories are told of hair-breadth escapes which he made on those occasions from the soldiers, and others sent in search of him. At length, in May, 1681, he was seized at Covington in Lanarkshire, by a person named Irving of Bonshaw, who carried him to Lanark on horseback, with his feet tied under the animal's belly. Soon after he was conducted to Glasgow, and thence to Edinburgh, where, on the 26th of July, he was tried and condemned to suffer death for high treason. He was next day hanged and beheaded, his last expressions being suitable in their piety to the tenor of his whole life. Cargill is thus described by Wodrow, who by no means concurred with him in all his sentiments: "He was a person of a very deep and sharp exercise in his youth, and had a very extraordinary outgate from it. Afterwards he lived a most pious and religious life, and

¹ Howie's *Scots Worthies*.

² Wodrow's *Analecta*.

was a zealous and useful minister, and of an easy sweet natural temper. And I am of opinion, the singular steps he took towards the end of his course were as much to be attributed unto his regard to the sentiments of others, for whom he had a value, as to his own inclinations."

CARLYLE, ALEXANDER, an eminent divine, was born about the year 1721. His father was the minister of Prestonpans, and he received his education at the universities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Leyden. While he attended these schools of learning, the extreme elegance of his person, his manners, and his taste, introduced him to an order of society far above any in which such students as he generally mingle, and rendered him the favourite of men of science and literature. At the breaking out of the insurrection of 1745, he was an ardent youth of four and twenty, and thought proper to accept a commission in a troop of volunteers, which was raised at Edinburgh for the purpose of defending the city. This corps having been dissolved at the approach of the Highland army, he retired to his father's house at Prestonpans, where the tide of war, however, soon followed him. Sir John Cope having pitched his camp in the immediate neighbourhood of Prestonpans, the Highlanders attacked him early on the morning of the 21st of September, and soon gained a decided victory. Carlyle was awoke by an account that the armies were engaged, and hurried to the top of the village steeple in order to have a view of the action. He was just in time to see the regular soldiers fleeing in all directions to escape the broadswords of the enemy. This incident gave him some uneasiness on his own account, for there was reason to apprehend that the victors would not be over kind to one who had lately appeared in arms against them. He therefore retired in the best way he could to the manse of Bolton, some miles off, where he lived unmolested for a few days, after which he returned to the bosom of his own family. Having gone through the usual exercises prescribed by the Church of Scotland, Mr. Carlyle was presented, in 1747, to the living of Inveresk, which was perhaps the best situation he could have obtained in the church, as the distance from Edinburgh was such as to make intercourse with metropolitan society very easy, while, at the same time, he enjoyed all the benefits of retirement and country leisure. From this period till the end of the century, the name of Dr. Carlyle enters largely into the literary history of Scotland; he was the intimate associate of Hume, Home, Smith, Blair, and all the other illustrious men who flourished at this period. Unfortunately, though believed to possess talents fitting him to shine in the very highest walks of literature and intellectual science, he never could be prevailed upon to hazard himself in competition with his distinguished friends, but was content to lend to them the benefit of his assistance and critical advice in fitting their productions for the eye of the world. In his clerical character, Mr. Carlyle was a zealous moderate; and when he had acquired some weight in the ecclesiastical courts, was the bold advocate of some of the strongest measures taken by the General Assembly for maintaining the ascendancy of his party. In 1757 he himself fell under censure as an accomplice—if we may use such an expression—of Mr. Home, in bringing forward the tragedy of *Douglas*. At the first private rehearsal of this play, Dr. Carlyle enacted the part of Old Norval; and he was one of those clergymen who resolutely involved themselves in the evil fame of the author by attending the first representation. During the run of the play, while the general public, on the

one hand, was lost in admiration of its merits, and the church, on the other, was preparing its sharpest thunders of condemnation, Dr. Carlyle published a burlesque pamphlet, entitled *Reasons why the Tragedy of Douglas should be Burned by the Hands of the Common Hangman*; and afterwards he wrote another calculated for the lower ranks, and which was hawked about the streets, under the title, "*History of the Bloody Tragedy of Douglas*, as it is now performed at the theatre in the Canongate." Mr. Mackenzie informs us, in his *Life of Home*, that the latter pasquinade had the effect of adding two more nights to the already unprecedented run of the play. For this conduct Dr. Carlyle was visited by his presbytery with a censure and admonition. A person of right feeling in the present day is only apt to be astonished that the punishment was not more severe; for, assuredly, it would be difficult to conceive any conduct so apt to be injurious to the usefulness of a clergyman as his thus mixing himself up with the impurities and buffoneries of the stage. The era of 1757 was perhaps somewhat different from the present. The serious party in the church were inconsiderately zealous in their peculiar mode of procedure, while the moderate party, on the principle of antagonism, erred as much on the side of what they called liberality. Hence, although the church would not now, perhaps, go to such a length in condemning the tragedy of *Douglas*, its author and his abettors, neither would the provocation be now given. No clergyman could now be found to act like Home and Carlyle; and therefore the church could not be called upon to act in so ungracious a manner as it did towards those gentlemen. Dr. Carlyle was a fond lover of his country, of his profession, and, it might be said, of all mankind. He was instrumental in procuring an exemption for his brethren from the severe pressure of the house and window tax, for which purpose he visited London, and was introduced at court, where the elegance and dignity of his appearance are said to have excited both admiration and surprise. It was generally remarked that his noble countenance bore a striking resemblance to the Jupiter Tonans in the Capitol. Smollett mentions in his *Humphrey Clinker*, a work in which fact and fancy are curiously blended, that he owed to Dr. Carlyle his introduction to the literary circles of Edinburgh. After mentioning a list of celebrated names, he says, "These acquaintances I owe to the friendship of Dr. Carlyle, who wants nothing but inclination to figure with the rest upon paper." It may be further mentioned, that the world owes the preservation of Collins' fine ode on the superstitions of the Highlands, to Dr. Carlyle. The author, on his death-bed, had mentioned it to Dr. Johnson as the best of his poems; but it was not in his possession, and no search had been able to discover a copy. At last Dr. Carlyle found it accidentally among his papers, and presented it to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, in the first volume of whose *Transactions* it was published.

Dr. Carlyle died August 25, 1805, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and the fifty-eighth of his ministry. By his wife, who was a woman of superior understanding and accomplishments, he had had several children, all of whom died many years before himself. Dr. Carlyle published nothing but a few sermons and *jeux d'esprit*, and the statistical account of the parish of Inveresk in Sir John Sinclair's large compilation; but he left behind him a very valuable memoir of his own life and times, which has only been lately published.

CARRICK, JOHN DONALD. This excellent writer

in the comic and more humble departments of literature, was born at Glasgow in April, 1787. His parents being in limited circumstances, were unable to afford him more than the elements of an ordinary education; the rest he accomplished in after-years by his own application and industry. Apparently he was brought up to no particular trade or profession, for at one time we find him employed in the office of an architect in Glasgow, and at another as a clerk in a counting-house. As was natural for a bold independent spirit under such irregular training, he resolved to find or make a way for himself, and with this view he in 1807 set off to London. It was a daring adventure for a youth in his twentieth year, and with only a few shillings in his pocket; the distance was four hundred miles, and he resolved to travel the whole way on foot. A sound constitution, light heart, and active limbs enabled him to set at nought those difficulties by which most people would have been deterred; and after travelling all day upon scanty fare, he was wont at night to lodge in some cheap roadside alehouse, or bivouac on the leeward side of a hedge, or behind the sheaves of a corn-field. In this way he saw sights and learned lessons both of men and things which books could not have taught, and which he treasured in his memory for future description. On reaching Liverpool half-starved and wearied, and seeing a party of soldiers beating up for recruits, he deliberated whether he should end his journey at once by enlisting as a soldier, or trudge onward to the metropolis. In this dilemma, where both sides were equally balanced, he had recourse to divination, and gravely throwing his cudgel into the air, he resolved to fix his choice by the direction in which it fell. The fallen staff pointed Londonward, and to London accordingly he resolved to go. After another journey as long and toilsome as the first, he arrived at the capital; and such had been his frugality and self-denial that he had still half-a-crown in his pocket.

On reaching London, John Carrick's first task was to find employment; but although he offered his services to several shopkeepers, his appearance was so raw and his tongue so broadly Scotch, that the Cockney citizens were unwilling to give him a place behind their counters. While employed however in this cheerless quest, he stumbled upon a countryman of his own, whose ears were charmed by the melody of his Doric, and who forthwith took him into his service. After circulating from one temporary engagement to another, Carrick at last obtained, in 1809, a situation in a house that dealt extensively in Staffordshire pottery, and here he remained until 1811, when he returned to Glasgow, and opened a large establishment in Hutcheson Street for the sale of stoneware, china, &c., in which he continued nearly fourteen years, until unforeseen reverses reduced him to bankruptcy. His losses were also aggravated by a tedious and expensive litigation, from which, although his character came out unscathed, it was with pockets utterly emptied. Obligated to abandon business on his own account, he became a travelling agent chiefly in the West Highlands for two or three Glasgow houses; but this source of subsistence having also dried up, he resolved to leave business altogether, and devote himself wholly to the profession of literature. Nor was he so disqualified for this as his early education would seem to intimate. He had seen much of society both Scotch and English, both Lowland and Highland, chiefly of the humble and comic character, to which his powers of writing were best adapted; and by reading and study, since the time of his first arrival in London, he had acquired a ready and vigorous style of writing. He

had also felt his way in this new and perilous path by writing a *Life of Sir William Wallace* in two volumes, published in *Constable's Miscellany*, which was favourably received by the public, and producing certain songs and humorous sketches on which his friends had set some value. His first engagement, when this resolution was adopted, was as sub-editor of the *Scots Times*, a journal of liberal principles then published in Glasgow, and its amusing paragraphs of local fun and satire which he contributed, gave celebrity and circulation to the paper. Afterwards he was employed as a regular contributor to *The Day*, a literary newspaper published daily in Glasgow, and commenced in 1832, but which expired after a short existence of six months. During the same year appeared *Whistle-Binkie*, a collection of Scottish songs chiefly humorous, and to this publication Carrick contributed two of the most comic of its articles, "The Scottish Tea Party" and "Mister Peter Paterson." In the following year he was offered the management of the *Perth Advertiser*, which he accepted. Great were the hopes of Carrick's friends that this situation would be profitable and honourable both to the editor and newspaper. His literary talents were considerably above the common average, his knowledge of the world and everyday life was extensive and minute; and from past experience he was well acquainted with the mechanical details that enter into the management of a journal. What editor, therefore, could be better qualified to give weight and respectability to a provincial newspaper, and insure for it success? But these natural calculations were grievously disappointed by the reality. Carrick might be sole editor of the *Perth Advertiser*; but he had viceroys over him—a committee of management, to wit, composed of men far inferior to himself in talent and judgment, but who revised, mutilated, and altered his articles according to their own good pleasure. This crowning indignity, which authorship can least endure, was too much for the proud and independent spirit of Carrick; and he threw up his editorship after he had held it eleven months.

During this kind of annoyance which decided him to leave Perth, certain parties in the burgh of Kilmarnock were on the look-out for an editor to a newspaper which they were about to start in the liberal interest; and Carrick's friends in Glasgow, who were aware of the state of matters in Perth, had powerfully recommended him for this new appointment. Their application was successful, and Carrick, leaving Perth in February, 1834, assumed his editorial duties in Kilmarnock. In a short time the new-born *Kilmarnock Journal* attested the excellence of his management; its articles were vigorous and popular, and the sale of the paper was increasing; but unfortunately it was, like its brother of Perth, under a committee of management composed of the chief proprietors, and as there was a variety of tastes, opinions, and rivalries among them, while each member wished his own to predominate, the situation of the editor with such a divided conclave was far from being easy or enviable. He had made no escape by fleeing from Perth to Kilmarnock; on the contrary, he had only landed upon the same evil in a more aggravated form. He was also less able now to bear up against it, as before he left Perth, he had been afflicted with neuralgic attacks in some of the nerves and muscles of his mouth and head, which in Kilmarnock settled into confirmed tic-douloureux. Under the worry by which this painful disease was aggravated, he petitioned for a short leave of absence, while his friend Mr. Weir of the *Glasgow Argus* (already a rising man in the literary world) had en-

gaged to supply the leading articles for the *Kilmarnock Journal*; but, contrary to every principle of justice and humanity, his reasonable request was refused by the managing committee. As no other alternative remained to him, Carrick resigned his editorship, and returned to Glasgow in January, 1835. During his stay in Kilmarnock, however, and notwithstanding the annoyances of his position and decline of health, his intellect had been as active as ever: and besides the management of his newspaper, he editorially superintended the first series of *The Laird of Logan*, an admirable collection of Scotch jokes and stories, of which a considerable number of the best pieces were from his own pen. The work was published in Glasgow in June, 1835, where the sensation it produced, and the popularity it established, bore witness to the happiness of the plan, and the good taste with which it was executed. After the volume had issued from the press, Carrick went to Rothesay in quest of that health which he could no longer find; in that gentle climate he even became worse; and, with the feeling which so often prompts the dying man to return to his birthplace, as if it were a privilege to die there, he came back to Glasgow, and calmly awaited the inevitable change. Even yet, however, he could make a momentary rally for his beloved occupation, and write a few articles for the *Scottish Monthly Magazine*, a Glasgow periodical of brief duration; but it was the last flash of the expiring lamp, and he died on the 17th of August, 1837.

Of the character of John Donald Carrick, an estimate may be formed from the events of his varied life. Necessity made him an author, and a growing liking confirmed his choice; while to fit himself for such a task, the world was his only training school and college. Both as a poet and prose writer, he displayed considerable ability, and was always equal to the literary situation he occupied; while his choice inclined to the comic and mirthful, rather than to the grave and sentimental, aspect of nature. The same buoyant spirit and love of the ludicrous which directed his pen, also animated his conversation; and while society sought his company, the wise and the good were charmed with his merriment, which they found contagious, because it was just and observant, but neither satirical nor offensive.

CARSTAIRS, WILLIAM, an eminent political and ecclesiastical character, was born at the village of Cathcart, in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, on the 11th of February, 1649. His father was Mr. John Carstairs, descended of a very ancient family in Fife, and minister in the High-church of Glasgow, where he had for his colleague the Rev. James Durham, well known for his *Commentary on the Revelation* and other learned and pious works. His mother's name was Jane Muir, of the family of Glanderston, in the county of Renfrew. Giving early indications of an uncommon genius, young Carstairs was by his father placed under the care of a Mr. Sinclair, an indulgent Presbyterian minister, who at that time kept a school of great celebrity at Ormiston, a village in East Lothian. Under Mr. Sinclair, in whose school, as in all schools of that kind at the time, and even in the family, no language but Latin was used, Carstairs acquired a perfect knowledge of that language, with great fluency of expressing himself in it, and a strong taste for classical learning in general. He had also the good fortune to form, among the sons of the nobility who attended this celebrated seminary, several friendships, which were of the utmost consequence to him in after-life.

Having completed his course at the school, Mr.

Carstairs entered the college of Edinburgh in his nineteenth year, where he studied for four years under Mr. (afterwards Sir) William Paterson, who in later life became clerk to the privy-council of Scotland. Under this gentleman he made great proficiency in the several branches of the school philosophy then in vogue; but the distracted state of the country determined his father to send him to study divinity in Holland, where many of his brethren, the persecuted ministers of the Church of Scotland, had already found an asylum. He was accordingly entered in the university of Utrecht, where he studied Hebrew under Leusden, and divinity under Herman Witsius, at that time two of the most celebrated professors in Europe. He had also an opportunity, which he carefully improved, of attending the lectures of the celebrated Grævius, who was at this time in the vigour of his faculties and the zenith of his reputation. The study of theology, however, was what he made his main business, which having completed, he was licensed as a preacher of the gospel, but where or by whom seems not to have been known by any of his biographers. In all probability it was by some of the *classes* of Holland. Being strongly attached to the Presbyterian system, in which he had been educated, and for adherence to which his father was a sufferer at home, and himself, in a limited sense, a wanderer in a strange land (for it was to avoid the taking of unnecessary or unlawful oaths imposed by the bishops that he had been sent by his father to study at Utrecht), he naturally took a deep interest in the affairs of his native country, and was early engaged in deliberating upon the means of her deliverance. On sending him to Holland by the way of London, his father had introduced him by letter to an eminent physician of that city, who kindly furnished him with a letter to the physician of the Prince of Orange. This latter gentleman, upon the strength of his friend's recommendation, introduced Carstairs to the Pensionary Fagel, who, finding him so much a master of everything relative to the state of parties and interests in Great Britain, introduced him to a private interview with his master the prince, who was at once struck with his easy and polite address, and with the extent of his political knowledge. This favourable opinion was heightened by subsequent interviews, and in a short time nothing of consequence was transacted at his court relative to Great Britain till Carstairs had been previously consulted. Holland had, from the first attempts of the British court after the restoration to suppress the Presbyterians, been the general resort of such of the Scottish clergy as found it impossible to retain their stations, and they were soon followed by numbers of their unhappy countrymen who had vainly perilled their lives on the fatal fields of Pentland and Bothwell, with the principal of whom Carstairs could not, in the circumstances in which he was placed, fail to become acquainted. Being well connected, and in no way obnoxious to the government, he seems to have been selected both by his expatriated countrymen and by the agents of the Prince of Orange, to visit Scotland on a mission of observation in the year 1682.

Nothing could be more hopeless than the condition of Scotland at this time. Her ministers were everywhere silenced: Cargill and Cameron, the only two that remained of the intrepid band that had so long kept up the preached gospel in the fields, had both fallen, the one on the scaffold by an iniquitous sentence, the other on the open heath by the hand of violence. Her nobles were either the slaves of arbitrary royalty, or they had already expatriated themselves, or were just about to do so; while the body of her people, Issachar-like, were crouching beneath

their burdens in the most hopeless dejection. Finding no encouragement in Scotland, where the few individuals that felt any of the true aspirations of liberty were seriously engaged in a project of emigration to Carolina in North America, Mr. Carstairs determined to return to Holland. He however, probably not without instructions, took London in his way, where he arrived in the month of November, 1682, at the very time when Shaftesbury, Monmouth, Sydney, Essex, Russell, Hampden, and Howard were engaged in what has been called Shaftesbury's Plot, or more generally, from a forged story of a design to murder the king and the Duke of York at a farm called the Rye, possessed by Colonel Rumbold, the Ryehouse Plot. These gentlemen were actuated by very different views. Monmouth had probably no object but the crown; Russell and Hampden were for restraining the prerogative, and securing the nation's liberties, civil and religious; Sydney and Essex were for restoring the republic; while Howard, a man without principle, seems to have had nothing in view but to raise a tumult, whereby he might by accident promote his private interest. All of them, however, agreed in soliciting the co-operation of those Scotsmen who, no longer able to subsist under the impositions of a tyrannous government, were about to transport themselves to a distant and desert country. Most of the conspirators having some previous knowledge of Carstairs, he was employed to negotiate between the parties; and he was empowered by a letter from Sir James Stewart, afterwards lord-advocate for Scotland, to assure the English conspirators that, upon furnishing a certain sum of money for the purchase of arms and ammunition, the Scottish refugees in Holland were ready to co-operate with them by an immediate descent upon the west coast of Scotland. This letter he communicated to Russell and Sydney, seconding its contents by a fervent eulogium upon the influence, the talents, and the particular merits of Argyle, whose numerous vassals, extensive jurisdictions, as well as his past sufferings, pointed him out as the most proper person to head an insurrection in that country. All this must have been self-evident to the whole party; yet they do not seem to have been so cordial as might have been expected. Though Carstairs ceased not to press the object of his mission, he was put off from time to time, till he was at length told by Shepherd, one of the subaltern conspirators, that he had heard Sydney declare that he would have nothing to do with Argyle, being well aware that, whatever his present circumstances might prompt him to undertake, he was too strongly attached to the reigning family and to the present government, both in church and state, to unite cordially with them in their measures. At the same time, he was told both by Shepherd and Ferguson that the party were jealous of Sydney, as driving a secret design of his own; and Ferguson hinted to Mr. Carstairs that there might be an easier method of attaining their point than by an open rebellion, as by taking the lives of at most two men they might spare the lives of thousands, meaning thereby the assassination of the king and the Duke of York. Feeling himself insulted, and the cause disgraced by such a proposal, Mr. Carstairs told Ferguson that he and the men with whom he was engaged thought themselves warranted, even with arms in their hands, to demand, for redress of their grievances, those constitutional remedies which had been so often denied to their complaints and remonstrances; but they held it beneath them to adopt any such mean and cowardly contrivances either against the king or his brother. From that time forward Ferguson never mentioned any such thing in his presence, nor did he ever hear it alluded to in his

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intercourse with any other of the party. Disgusted, however, with their procrastination, he took his departure for Holland, without carrying any message, having refused to do so except it were a full compliance with his demands.

Scarcely had he landed in Holland, than Shaftesbury found it convenient to follow him, not daring to trust himself any longer in England; and by his desertion, the remaining conspirators, finding their connection with the city of London broken, saw it the more necessary to unite with Argyle and the refugees abroad, as well as with the Scots at home. Sydney now dropped all his objections, and letters were immediately forwarded to Carstairs, requesting him to come over, and an express was sent down to Scotland, for his friends to come up, in order to a speedy adjustment of an insurrection and consensual invasion. In consequence of this, consultations were held among the refugees, Argyle, Stair, Loudoun, Stewart, and others, where it was proposed that the conspirators in England should contribute £30,000 sterling in money, and 1000 horse, to be ready to join Argyle the moment he should land upon the west coast of Scotland. Mr. Stewart was for accepting a smaller sum of money, if so much could not be obtained; but all agreed in the necessity of raising the horse before anything should be attempted. Stair seemed more cold in the matter than the others; but Argyle having assured Carstairs that, so soon as the preliminaries were settled, he would be found abundantly zealous, he consented to carry their proposals, and lay them before the committee or council that had been appointed by the conspirators to conduct the business at London. When he arrived there he was mortified to find that the difficulty of raising the money now was as formidable an obstacle as the opposition of Sydney had formerly been. Russell frankly acknowledged that the whole party could not raise so much money; and begged that £10,000 might be accepted as a beginning, and even this was never paid to Shepherd, who was appointed cashier to the concern, nor was one single step taken for levying the proposed number of troops upon the borders. After having spent several weeks in London, Carstairs became perfectly convinced, from the temper of the men and their mode of procedure, that the scheme would come to nothing. This opinion he communicated to a meeting of his countrymen, where were present Baillie of Jerviswood, Lord Melville, Sir John Cochrane, the Campbells of Cessnock, and others, recommending them to attend to their own safety, by putting an immediate stop to further preparations, till their brethren of England should be better prepared to join them. Baillie of Jerviswood, the most ardent of all his countrymen engaged in this enterprise, reflected bitterly upon the timidity of the English, who had suffered their zeal to evaporate in talk, when they might, by promptitude of action, have been already successful, and insisted that the Scots should prosecute the undertaking by themselves. There was, no doubt, in this something very heroic; but alas! it was vain, and he himself was speedily brought to confess that it was so. It was agreed to, however, by all that a communication should be made to their English friends, that, unless they were determined to act with more vigour, they were not to expect co-operation on the part of the Scots any longer. In the meantime they wrote to their friends in Scotland, to suspend their preparations till further notice. This was a very proper and wise determination; only it came too late. The English conspirators had no unity of purpose, and they had no decision. They had talked away the time of action, and the whole scheme was already

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falling to pieces by its own weight. In short, before they could return an answer to their Scottish brethren, the whole was betrayed, and they were alone to a man in the hands of the government.

The prudence of the Scots saved them in part; yet the government got immediate information that there had been a correspondence carried on with Argyle by the conspirators, and Major Holmes, the person to whom all Argyle's letters were directed, was taken into custody, having a number of the letters and the cypher and key in his possession. The cypher and key belonged to Mr Carstairs, who had sent it to Monmouth only two days before, to enable him to read a letter from Argyle, which, having done, he returned it to Major Holmes, in whose hands it was now taken. The Earl of Melfort no sooner saw the cypher than he knew part of it to be the handwriting of Carstairs; and an order was instantly issued for his apprehension, as art and part in the assassination plot. Though Mr. Carstairs was conscious of being innocent as to this part of the plot, he had gone too far with the conspirators for an examination on the subject to be safe either for himself or his friends. He therefore assumed a fictitious name, and concealed himself among his friends in Kent the best way he could. Being discovered, he was suspected to be the notorious Ferguson, of all the conspirators the most obnoxious to government, and as such was seized in the house of a friend at Tenterden, and thrown into the jail of that place on the Monday after the execution of Lord Russell. Here he continued for a fortnight, when orders came for his being brought up to London, where he was for some days committed to the charge of a messenger-at-arms. During this interval Sir Andrew Forrester brought him a message from the king informing him, that though his majesty was not disposed to believe that he had any direct hand in plotting either his death, or that of the Duke of York; yet as he had corresponded with Argyle and Russell, he was convinced that he knew many particulars relative to the Rye-house Plot, which, if he would discover, with what he knew of any other machinations against the government, he would not only receive an ample pardon for the past, but the king would also show him all manner of favour for the time to come. If, however, he rejected this, he was to abide by the consequences, which, in all likelihood, would be fatal to him. His answer not proving satisfactory, he was committed to close custody in the Gatehouse, where he continued upwards of eleven weeks. During this time he was often before the privy-council, but revealed nothing. At length, finding that he could obtain no favour through the king, but upon dishonourable conditions, he petitioned the court of King's Bench for his *habeas corpus*, instead of which he received an intimation that he was to be sent down to Scotland within twenty-four hours, to take his trial in that kingdom. It was in vain that he represented it as a breach of law to send him to be tried in Scotland for a crime said to be committed in England. He was sent off next day with several others who were consigned into the hands of the Scottish privy-council, to be tried for compassing the death of the king in London, or at the Rye-house, between London and Newmarket. Among that unhappy number was a servant of Argyle, of the name of Spence, who was instantly brought before that most abominable tribunal, the privy-council of Scotland, where, because he refused to take an oath to criminate himself, he was first put to the torture of the boot, which he endured with unshrinking firmness; then kept from sleep upwards of nine nights together—which not answering the

expectations that had been formed, steel screws were invented for his thumbs, which proved so exquisite a torment, that he sunk under it, the Earl of Perth assuring him at the same time that they would screw every joint of his body in the same manner till he took the oath. Even in this state, Spence had the firmness to stipulate that no new questions should be put to him, that he should not be brought forward as a witness against any person, and that he himself should be pardoned. He then acquainted them with the names of Argyle's correspondents, and assisted them in decyphering the letters, by which it was seen what Argyle had demanded, and what he had promised to do upon his demands being granted; but there was nothing in them of any agreement being then made.

Carstairs, in the meantime, was laid in irons, and continued in them several weeks, Perth visiting him almost daily, to urge him to reveal what he knew, with promises of a full pardon, so far as he himself was concerned. On this point, however, Mr. Carstairs was inflexible; and when brought before the council, the instruments of torture being laid before him, and he asked by the Earl of Perth if he would answer upon oath such questions as should be put to him, he replied, with a firmness that astonished the whole council, that in a criminal matter he never would, but, if they produced his accusers, he was ready to vindicate himself from any crime they could lay to his charge. He was then assured, that if he would answer a few questions that were to be put to him concerning others, nothing he said should ever militate against himself, nor should they ever inquire whether his disclosures were true or false; but he peremptorily told them, that with him, in a criminal cause, they should never found such a detestable precedent. To the very foolish question put to him, if he had any objections against being put to the torture, he replied, he had great objections to a practice that was a reproach to human nature, and as such banished from the criminal courts of every free country. Here he repeated the remonstrances he had given in to the council at London, and told them that he did consider his trial a breach of the *habeas corpus* act. To this Perth replied, that he was now in Scotland, and must be tried for crimes committed against the state by the laws of that country, had they been committed at Constantinople. The executioner was now brought forward, and a screw of a particular construction applied to his thumb, with such effect, that large drops of sweat streamed over his brow. Yet he was self-possessed, and betrayed no inclination to depart from his first resolution. The Earl of Queensberry was much affected, and after telling Perth that he saw the poor man would rather die than confess, he ran out of the council, followed by the Duke of Hamilton, both being unable longer to witness the scene. Perth sat to the last without betraying any symptoms of compassion for the sufferer. On the contrary, when by his express command the executioner had turned the screw with such violence as to make Carstairs cry out that now he had squeezed the bones to pieces, the monster, in great indignation, told him that if he continued longer obstinate, he hoped to see every bone in his body squeezed to pieces. Having kept their victim under this cruel infliction for an hour and a half without effect, the executioner was ordered to produce the iron boots, and apply them to his legs; but, happily for Mr. Carstairs, the executioner, young at his trade, and composed of less stern stuff than his masters, was so confused that he could not fix them on. After repeated attempts, he was obliged to give it up, and the council adjourned.

Torture having thus proved vain, the council once more assailed him in the way of flattery, promising him an ample pardon for himself, and that he should never be called in any court as a witness on any trial; and they further stipulated that none of his answers to the interrogatories to be put to him, should ever be produced in evidence, either directly or indirectly, in any court or against any person whatsoever. On these conditions, as they had already extracted from Mr. Spence and Major Holmes nearly all that he could inform them of upon the stipulated questions, he consented to answer them, provided the promise made him was ratified by a deed of court, and recorded in their books. He had, however, scarcely given his answers, when they were printed and hawked through the streets, under the name of *Carstairs' Confession*. Had they been printed correctly, less might have been said; but they were garbled to suit the purpose of the ruling party, which was to criminate Jerviswood, on whose trial Mackenzie the advocate read them to the jury as an *adminicle* of proof, without taking any notice of the qualifications with which they were clothed, the alleviating circumstances with which the facts to which they related were accompanied, or the conditions upon which he delivered them. They were so far true to their agreement, however, as to relieve him from his confinement in a dungeon of the castle, where he had remained for some months cut off from all communication with his friends, and struggling under the infirmities of a shattered constitution. He was also permitted to leave Scotland, on condition that he should wait on the secretaries at London, on his way to Holland. Milport being then at court, he went to him and demanded a pass, which he found no difficulty in obtaining; but the king was desirous to see him, and the secretary thought he ought in duty to wait upon him, and receive his commands. On stating, however, that, in such a conversation with the king, he might be led to say what might not be so honourable to some of his majesty's servants in Scotland, the secretary made out his pass, and he departed for Holland, where he arrived in the end of the year 1684, or the beginning of 1685, only a few months before the death of Charles II., and the accession of James VII.

This was by far the most important event in the life of Carstairs, and it is impossible to say how much the human race may be indebted to his firmness and his address on this occasion. He had, at this very time, secrets of the greatest consequence from Holland, trusted to him by the Pensionary Fagel, of which his persecutors had no suspicion. The discovering of these secrets would not only have saved him from torture, but have brought him a high reward, and, had they been at that time discovered, the glorious revolution might have been prevented, and these kingdoms, instead of being the first and most exalted, as they are at this day, been among the lowest and most debased. The great anxiety the Scottish managers were under to take the life of Baillie, by implicating him in the Ryehouse Plot, seems so totally to have blinded them, that they had no suspicion of the Dutch connection, which Carstairs was so apprehensive about, and which he was so successful in concealing. On his return to Holland, William, fully appreciating his merits, received him into his family, appointed him one of his own chaplains, and at the same time procured him to be elected minister of the English Protestant congregation at Leyden. To the day of his death William reposed upon the advice of Carstairs with the most perfect confidence. He was now, indeed, much better qualified than ever for being

serviceable to his illustrious patron. During his stay in Britain he had had a fair opportunity of judging of public men and public measures. He had not only witnessed in others, but he had felt himself, the severities of a Popish administration; and he saw the universal alienation of all ranks from the system of government they had adopted, and perceived that the very methods fallen upon for stilling popular clamour was only tending to its increase. The narrow politics of the Duke of York he had thoroughly penetrated, was aware of all the schemes he had laid for enslaving the nation, and saw that the tools with which he was working could easily be turned to his own destruction. Of all these interesting particulars he was admitted to give his sentiments freely to the Prince of Orange, who was no longer at pains to conceal his aversion to the means James was employing to restore the Catholic church. This encouraged still greater numbers of suffering British subjects to place themselves under his protection, for the characters of whom his royal highness generally applied to Carstairs, and he was wont to remark, that he never in one instance had occasion to charge him with the smallest attempt to mislead or deceive him. It cannot indeed be doubted that he was made the channel of many complaints and advices to William, which were never made known to the public. Of these secret warnings the prince had sagacity enough to make the best use, even when he was to outward appearance treating them with neglect, and Carstairs himself was in all probability not a little surprised when he was summoned to attend him on an expedition to Great Britain. Notwithstanding all that has been spoken and written and printed about it, we believe that William felt very little, and cared very little, about the sufferings of the British people; but he had an eye steadily fixed upon the British crown, to which, till the birth of a Prince of Wales, June 10th, 1688, his wife was the heir-apparent, and so long as he had the prospect of a natural succession, whatever might be the disorders of the government or the wishes of the people, he was not disposed to endanger his future greatness by anything like a premature attempt to secure it. The birth of the prince, however, gave an entirely new aspect to his affairs. He behoved now to embrace the call of the people, or abandon all reasonable hopes of ever wearing that diadem which he so fondly coveted, and by which alone he could ever hope to carry his great plans of European policy into effect. Equally wise to discern and prompt to act, he lost not a moment in hesitation: he hastened his preparations, and on the 19th of October, 1688, set sail for Britain with sixty-five ships of war, and 500 transports, carrying upwards of 15,000 men. The subject of this memoir accompanied him as his domestic chaplain aboard his own ship, and he had in his train a numerous retinue of British subjects, whom the tyranny of the times had driven to Holland. On the evening of the same day, the fleet was dispersed in a tremendous hurricane, and by the dawn of next morning not two of the whole fleet were to be seen together. On the third day William returned to port, with only four ships of war and forty transports. The ship in which he himself sailed narrowly escaped being wrecked, which was looked on by some about him as an evil omen, and among the rest by Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, who remarked that it seemed predestined they should not set foot on English ground. A few days, however, collected the whole fleet once more; on the 1st of November it sailed again with a fair wind; and on Monday the 5th, the troops were safely landed at

Torbay in Devonshire, the English fleet all the while lying wind-bound at Harwich. On the landing of the troops, Mr. Carstairs performed divine service at their head, after which the whole army drawn up along the beach sang the 118th psalm before going into camp. From this time till the settlement of the crown upon William and Mary, Carstairs continued about the person of the prince, being consulted and employed in negotiating affairs of peculiar delicacy, and disposing of sums of money with which he was intrusted, in various quarters. "It was during this interval," says his biographer, and the editor of his state papers, the Rev. Joseph M'Cormick, "that he had it in his power to be of the greatest service to the Prince of Orange, nothing being carried on relative to the settlement of Scotland which the prince did not communicate to him, and permit him to give his sentiments of in private." He was highly instrumental in procuring the settlement of the Church of Scotland in its present Presbyterian form; which was found to be a matter of no small difficulty, as the king was anxious that the same system should continue in both parts of the island. Carstairs has been often blamed for having acceded to the king's wishes for maintaining patronage, and also for recommending that some of the worst instruments of the late monarch should be continued in office, which he did upon the plea that most of them were possessed of influence and qualifications, which, if properly directed, might be useful under the new régime. It must be recollected, that, at such a critical time, a man of Carstairs' political sagacity was apt to be guided rather by what was practically expedient than what was abstractly proper. It is probable that Carstairs, who was unquestionably a sincere man, was anxious to render the settlement of the church and of the government as liberal as he thought consistent with their stability, or as the circumstances he had to contend against would permit. King William now took an opportunity of atoning to his counsellor for all his former sufferings; he appointed Mr. Carstairs his chaplain for Scotland, with the whole revenue of the chapel royal. He also required the constant presence of Mr. Carstairs about his person, assigning him apartments in the palace when at home, and when abroad with the army allowing him £500 a year for camp equipage.

He was of course with his majesty at all times, and by being thus always at hand, was enabled on some occasions to do signal service both to his king and his country. Of this we have a remarkable instance which happened in the year 1694. In 1693 the Scottish parliament had passed an act obliging all who were in office to take the oath of allegiance to their majesties, and at the same time to sign the assurance, as it was called, whereby they declared William to be king *de jure* as well as *de facto*. This was one of the first of a long series of oppressive acts intended secretly to ruin the Scottish church by bringing her into collision with the civil authorities, and in the end depriving her of that protection and countenance which she now enjoyed from them. This act had been artfully carried through the parliament by allowing a dispensing power to the privy-council in cases where no known enmity to the king's prerogative existed. No honest Presbyterian at that time had any objection to King William's title to the crown; but they had insuperable objections to the taking of a civil oath as a qualification for a sacred office. Numerous applications were of course made to the privy-council for dispensations; but that court, which had still in it a number of the old persecutors, so far from complying with the demand, re-

commended to his majesty to allow no one to sit down in the ensuing General Assembly till he had taken the oath and signed the assurance. Orders were accordingly transmitted to Lord Carmichael, the commissioner to the Assembly, to that effect. When his lordship arrived in Edinburgh, however, he found the clergy obstinately determined to refuse compliance with his demand, and they assured him it would kindle a flame over the nation which those who had given his majesty this pernicious counsel would be unable to extinguish. Lord Carmichael, firmly attached to his majesty, and aware that the dissolution of this Assembly might not only be fatal to the Church of Scotland, but to the interests of his majesty in that country, sent a flying packet to the king, representing the difficulty, and requesting further instructions. Some of the ministers at the same time wrote a statement of the case to Carstairs, requesting his best offices in the matter. Lord Carmichael's packet arrived at Kensington on a forenoon in the absence of Mr. Carstairs, and William, who, when he could do it with safety, was as fond of stretching the prerogative as any of his predecessors, peremptorily renewed his instructions to the commissioner, and despatched them for Scotland without a moment's delay. Scarcely was this done when Carstairs arrived; and, learning the nature of the despatch, hastened to find the messenger before his final departure, and having found him, demanded back the packet in his majesty's name. It was now late in the evening, but no time was to be lost; so he ran straight to his majesty's apartment, where he was told by the lord in waiting that his majesty was in bed. Carstairs, however, insisted on seeing him; and, being introduced to his chamber, found him fast asleep. He turned aside the curtain and gently awakened him; the king, astonished to see him at so late an hour, and on his knees by his bedside, asked, with some emotion, what was the matter. "I am come," said Carstairs, "to beg my life!" "Is it possible," said the king, with still higher emotion, "that you can have been guilty of a crime that deserves death?" "I have, sire," he replied, showing the packet he had just brought back from the messenger. "And have you, indeed," said the king, with a severe frown, "presumed to countermand my orders?" "Let me be heard but for a few moments," said Carstairs, "and I am ready to submit to any punishment your majesty shall think proper to inflict." He then pointed out very briefly the danger of the advice he had acted upon, and the consequences that would necessarily follow if it was persisted in, to which his majesty listened with great attention. When he had done, the king gave him the despatches to read, after which he ordered him to throw them into the fire, and draw out others to please himself, which he would sign. This was done accordingly; but so many hours' delay prevented the messenger from reaching Edinburgh till the very morning when the Assembly was to meet, and when nothing but confusion was expected, the commissioner finding himself under the necessity of dissolving the Assembly, and the ministers being determined to assert their own authority independent of the civil magistrate. Both parties were apprehensive of the consequences, and both were happily relieved by the arrival of the messenger with his majesty's letter, signifying that it was his pleasure that the oaths should be dispensed with. With the exception of the act establishing Presbytery, this was the most popular act of his majesty's government in Scotland. It also gained Mr. Carstairs, when his part of it came to be known, more credit with his brethren and with Presbyterians in general than perhaps any other part of his public procedure.

From this period down to the death of the king there is nothing to be told concerning Carstairs but that he continued still in favour, and was assiduously courted by all parties, and was supposed to have so much influence, particularly in what related to the church, that he was called CARDINAL CARSTAIRS.

Having only the letters that were addressed to him, without any of his replies, we can only conjecture what these may have been. The presumption is, that they were prudent and discreet. Though he was so great a favourite with William, there was no provision made for him at his death. Anne, however, though she gave him no political employment, continued him in the chaplainship for Scotland, with the same revenues he had enjoyed under her predecessor. In the year 1704 he was elected principal of the college of Edinburgh, for which he drew up a new and very minute set of rules; and, as he was wanted to manage affairs in the church courts, he was, at the same time (at least in the same year), presented to the church of Greyfriars; and, in consequence of uniting this with his office in the university, he was allowed a salary of 2200 merks a year. Three years after this he was translated to the High-church. Though so deeply immersed in politics, literature had always engaged much of Carstairs' attention; and he had, so early as 1693, obtained a gift from the crown to each of the Scottish universities of £300 sterling per annum out of the bishops' rents in Scotland. Now that he was more closely connected with these learned bodies, he exerted all his influence with the government to extend its encouragement and protection towards them, and thus essentially promoted the cause of learning. It has indeed been said that from the donations he at various times procured for the Scottish colleges he was the greatest benefactor, under the rank of royalty, to those institutions that his country ever produced. The first General Assembly that met after he became a minister of the Church of Scotland made choice of him for moderator; and in the space of eleven years he was four times called to fill that office. From his personal influence and the manner in which he was supported he may be truly said to have had the entire management of the Church of Scotland. In leading the church he displayed great ability and comprehensiveness of mind, with uncommon judgment. "He moderated the keenness of party zeal, and infused a spirit of cautious mildness into the deliberations of the General Assembly.¹ As the great body of the more zealous clergy were hostile to the union of the kingdoms, it required all his influence to reconcile them to a measure which he, as a whole, approved of as of mutual benefit to the two countries; and although after this era the Church of Scotland lost much of her weight in the councils of the kingdom, she still retained her respectability, and perhaps was all the better of a disconnection with political affairs. When Queen Anne, among the last acts of her reign, restored the system of patronage, he vigorously opposed it; and, though unsuccessful, his visit to London at that time was of essential service in securing on a stable basis the endangered liberty of the church. The ultra-Tory ministry, hostile to the Protestant interests of these realms, had devised certain strong measures for curtailing the power of the Church of Scotland, by discontinuing her assemblies, or at least by subjecting them wholly to the nod of the court. Mr. Carstairs prevailed on the administration to abandon the attempt; and he, on his part, promised to use all his influence

to prevent the discontents occasioned by the patronage bill from breaking out into open insurrection. It may be remarked that, although patronage is a privilege which, if harshly exercised, acts as a severe oppression upon the people; yet, while justified so far in abstract right by the support which the patron is always understood to give to the clergyman, it was, to say the least of it, more expedient to be enforced at the commencement of last century than perhaps at present, as it tended to reconcile to the church many of the nobility and gentry of the country, who were, in general, votaries of Episcopacy, and therefore disaffected to the state and to the general interests."

Principal Carstairs was, it may be supposed, a zealous promoter of the succession of the house of Hanover. Of so much importance were his services deemed, that George I., two years before his accession, signified his acknowledgments by a letter, and immediately after arriving in England, renewed his appointment as chaplain for Scotland. The last considerable duty upon which the principal was engaged was a mission from the Scottish church to congratulate the first prince of the house of Brunswick upon his accession. He did not long survive this period. In August, 1715, he was seized with an apoplectic fit, which carried him off about the end of the December following, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. His body lies interred in the Greyfriars' churchyard, where a monument is erected to his memory, with a suitable inscription in Latin. The university, the clergy, and the nation at large, united in lamenting the loss of one of their brightest ornaments and most distinguished benefactors.

Carstairs was one of the most remarkable men ever produced by this country. He appears to have been born with a genius for managing great political undertakings; his father, in one of his letters, expresses a fear lest his "boy Willie" should become too much of a *public political* man, and get himself into scrapes. His first move in public life was for the emancipation of his country from tyrannical misrule; and nothing could well equal the sagacity with which he conducted some of the most delicate and hazardous enterprises for that purpose. In consequence of the triumph of the principles which he then advocated, he became possessed of more real influence in the state than has fallen to the lot of many responsible ministers; so that the later part of his life presented the strangest contrast to the earlier. What is strangest of all, he preserved through these vicissitudes of fortune the same humble spirit and simple worth, the same zealous and sincere piety, the same amiable and affectionate heart. It fell to the lot of Carstairs to have it in his power to do much good; and nothing could be said more emphatically in his praise, than that he improved every opportunity. The home and heart of Carstairs were constantly alike open. The former was the resort of all orders of good men; the latter was alive to every beneficent and kindly feeling. It is related of him, that, although perhaps the most efficient enemy which the Episcopal church of Scotland ever had, he exercised perpetual deeds of charity towards the unfortunate ministers of that communion who were displaced at the revolution. The effect of his generosity to them, in overcoming prejudice and conciliating affection, appeared strongly at his funeral. When his body was laid in the dust, two men were observed to turn aside from the rest of the company, and, bursting into tears, bewailed their mutual loss. Upon inquiry, it was found that these were two non-jurant clergymen, whose families had been supported for a considerable time by his benefactions.

¹ We here quote from a memoir of Principal Carstairs, which appeared in the *Christian Instructor*, for March, 1827.

In the midst of all his greatness, Carstairs never forgot the charities of domestic life. His sister, who had been married to a clergyman in Fife, lost her husband a few days before her brother arrived from London on matters of great importance to the nation. Hearing of his arrival, she came to Edinburgh to see him. Upon calling at his lodgings in the forenoon, she was told he was not at leisure, as several of the nobility and officers of state were gone in to see him. She then bid the servant only whisper to him, that she desired to know when it would be convenient for him to see her. He returned for answer—*immediately*; and, leaving the company, ran to her and embraced her in the most affectionate manner. Upon her attempting to make some apology for her unseasonable interruption to business, "Make yourself easy," said he, "these gentlemen are come hither, not on my account, but their own. They will wait with patience till I return. You know I never pray long,"—and, after a short, but fervent prayer, adapted to her melancholy circumstances, he fixed the time when he could see her more at leisure, and returned in tears to his company.

The close attention which he must have paid to politics does not appear to have injured his literature any more than his religion, though it perhaps prevented him from committing any work of either kind to the press. We are told that his first oration in the public hall of the university, after his installation as principal, exhibited so much profound erudition, so much acquaintance with classical learning, and such an accurate knowledge of the Latin tongue, that his hearers were delighted, and the celebrated Dr. Pitcairn declared, that when Mr. Carstairs began his address, he could not help fancying himself in the forum of ancient Rome. In the strange mixed character which he bore through life, he must have corresponded with men of all orders; but, unfortunately, there is no collection of his letters known to exist. A great number of letters addressed to him by the most eminent men of his time were preserved by his widow, and conveyed through her executor to his descendant, Principal M'Cormick, of St. Andrews, by whom they were published in the year 1774.

CHALMERS, ALEXANDER, M.A., F.S.A. The life of this laborious literary workman is more remarkable for untiring industry, and its immense amount of produce, than for greatness or originality of genius. He was born at Aberdeen on the 29th of March, 1759, and was the youngest son of James Chalmers, printer in Aberdeen, an accomplished scholar, who established the first newspaper that existed in that town. Alexander, after completing a classical education, continued his studies for the medical profession; and, on finally being appointed to practise as surgeon in the West Indies, he left Aberdeen in 1777, to join the ship which was to carry him to his destination. But on reaching Portsmouth, instead of stepping on board, he suddenly flew off to London. He had either lost heart at the thought of a residence in the West Indies, at that time one of the worst of exiles, or had suddenly become enamoured with the charms of a literary life in the metropolis. At all events, thither he went, and although his line of existence was stretched out nearly sixty years beyond this period, his native city saw him no more.

On entering London, Mr. Chalmers commenced as a contributor to the periodical press, and became editor of the *Public Ledger* and *London Packet*. It was a stirring and prolific period for journalists, in consequence of the American war; and so ably did he exert himself, that he soon became noted as a

vigorous political writer. Besides his own, he exercised his talents in other established journals of the day, the chief of which was the *St. James' Chronicle*, where he wrote many essays, most of them under the signature of Senex. He was also a valuable assistant for some years to his fellow-townsmen, Mr. James Perry, editor and proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*, who had come to London at the same time as himself, and to whose newspaper Chalmers contributed racy paragraphs, epigrams, and satirical poems. He was likewise a contributor to the *Analytical Review*, published by Mr. Johnson, and to the *Critical Review*. As the last-named magazine was published by Mr. George Robinson of Paternoster Row, a close connection was established between Mr. Chalmers and that eminent publisher, which continued till the death of the latter, and was of important service to both parties. Chalmers, who lived almost wholly with his friend, assisted him in the examination of manuscripts offered for publication, and also revised, and occasionally altered and improved, those that were passed through the press. With most, indeed, of the principal publishers and printers in London during fifty years Chalmers maintained a friendly intercourse, and of many of them he has left interesting biographies in the obituary of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, a favourite periodical to which he frequently contributed. These literary exertions, however, numerous though they were, and extended over a long course of years, were as nothing compared with his permanent labours as editor of many of the most important works of British authorship; and it is by these, of which we can only give a very brief notice, that his merits are chiefly to be estimated.

In 1793 he published a continuation of the *History of England in Letters*, two volumes. This work was so well appreciated, that four editions successively appeared, the last being in 1821.

In 1797 he compiled a *Glossary to Shakspeare*—a task peculiarly agreeable to a Scotsman, who finds in the copious admixture of unpolluted Saxon existing in his own native dialect, a key to much that is now obsolete in the English of the Elizabethan period.

In 1798 he published a *Sketch of the Isle of Wight*, and in the same year an edition of *The Rev. James Barclay's Complete and Universal English Dictionary*.

In 1803 he published a complete edition of the *British Essayists*, beginning with the *Taller*, and ending with the *Observer*, in forty-five volumes. The papers of this long series he carefully compared with the originals, and enriched the work with biographical and historical prefaces, and a general index.

During the same year he produced a new edition of Shakspeare, in nine volumes, with a life of the author, and abridgment of the notes of Stevens, accompanied with illustrations from the pencil of Fuseli.

In 1805 he wrote lives of Robert Burns, and Dr. Beattie, author of the *Minstrel*, which were prefixed to their respective works.

In 1806 he edited Fielding's works, in ten volumes octavo; Dr. Johnson's works, in twelve volumes octavo; Warton's essays; the *Taller*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*, in fourteen volumes octavo; and assisted the Rev. W. L. Bowles in his edition of the works of Alexander Pope.

In 1807 he edited *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, in twelve volumes octavo, to which he prefixed a Life of the Author.

In 1808, and part of the following year, he selected and edited, in forty-five volumes, the popular work known as *Walker's Classics*.

In 1809 he edited Bolingbroke's works, in eight volumes octavo. During this year, and the intervals of several that followed, he contributed many of the lives contained in that splendid work, the *British Gallery of Contemporary Portraits*.

In 1810 he revised an enlarged edition of *The Works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper*, and prefixed to it several biographical notices omitted in the first collection. During the same year he published *A History of the Colleges, Halls, and Public Buildings attached to the University of Oxford*. This work he intended to continue, but did not complete it.

In 1811 he revised Bishop Hurd's edition of Addison's works, in six volumes octavo, and an edition of Pope's works, in eight volumes octavo. During the same year he published, with many alterations, *The Projector*, in three volumes octavo, a collection of original articles which he had contributed to the *Gentleman's Magazine* from the year 1802 to 1809.

In 1812 he prefixed a "Life of Alexander Cruden" to a new edition of *Cruden's Concordance*.

During the last-mentioned year, also, Chalmers commenced the largest and most voluminous of all his literary labours, and the work upon which his reputation chiefly rests. This was "*The General Biographical Dictionary*, containing an historical and critical account of the lives and writings of the most eminent men in every nation, particularly the British and Irish; from the earliest accounts to the present times." The original work, published in 1798, had consisted of fifteen volumes. Large though it was, Chalmers found it incomplete, and resolved to expand it into a full and perfect work. He therefore commenced this gigantic labour in May, 1812, and continued to publish a volume every alternate month for four years and ten months, until thirty-two volumes were successively laid before the public. The amount of toil undergone during this period may be surmised from the fact, that of the nine thousand and odd articles which the *Dictionary* contains, 3934 were entirely his own production, 2176 were re-written by him, and the rest revised and corrected.

After these toils, it might have been supposed that the veteran editor and author would have left the field to younger men. He had now reached the age of fifty-seven, and had crowded that period with an amount of literary exertion such as might well indicate the full occupation of every day, and every hour of the day. But no sooner was the last volume of the *Biographical Dictionary* ended, than he was again at work, as if he had entered freshly into action; and from 1816 to 1823 a series of publications was issued from the press that had passed under his editorial pen, chiefly consisting of biographies. But at last the "pitcher was broken at the fountain, and the wheel broken at the cistern." During the latter years of his life, he had been employed by the booksellers to revise and enlarge his *Biographical Dictionary*, and upon this he had continued to employ himself until about a third of the work was finished, when the breaking up of his constitution obliged him to lay aside his well-worn pen. His last years were years of suffering, arising chiefly from diseases incident to such a sedentary life, until he sank under an attack of bronchial inflammation. His death occurred in Throgmorton Street, London, on the 10th of December, 1834, in his seventy-sixth year. His wife had died eighteen years previous, and his remains were interred in the same vault with hers, in the church of St. Bartholomew, near the Royal Exchange.

In the foregoing summary we have omitted the

mention of not a few of Chalmers' less essential literary performances, conceiving the list to be already long enough to give an idea of his character and well-spent life. We can only add, that his character was such as to endear him to the literary society with whom he largely mingled, and by whom his acquaintance was eagerly sought. He was what Dr. Johnson would have termed "a good clubbable man," and was a member of many learned societies during half a century, as well as the affectionate biographer of many of his companions who had been wont to assemble there. He was charitable almost to a fault—a rare excess with those in whom a continued life of toil is too often accompanied with an undue love of money, and unwillingness to part with it. He was also in his private life an illustration of that Christian faith and those Christian virtues which his literary exertions had never failed to recommend.

CHALMERS, GEORGE, an eminent antiquary and general writer, was born in the latter part of the year 1742, at Fochabers, in Banffshire, being a younger son of the family of Pittensear, in that county. He was educated, first at the grammar-school of Fochabers, and afterwards at King's College, Aberdeen, where he had for his preceptor the celebrated Dr. Reid, author of the *Inquiry into the Human Mind*. Having studied law at Edinburgh, Mr. Chalmers removed, in his twenty-first year (1763) to America, as companion to his uncle, who was proceeding thither for the purpose of recovering some property in Maryland. Being induced to settle as a lawyer in Baltimore, he soon acquired considerable practice, and, when the celebrated question arose respecting the payment of tithes to the church, he appeared on behalf of the clergy, and argued their cause with great ability against Mr. Patrick Hendry, who subsequently became so conspicuous in the war of independence. He was not only defeated in this cause, but was obliged, as a marked royalist, to withdraw from the country. In England, to which he repaired in 1775, his sufferings as a loyalist at last recommended him to the government, and he was in 1786 appointed to the respectable situation of clerk to the Board of Trade. The duties of this office he continued to execute with diligence and ability for the remainder of his life, a period of thirty-nine years.

Before and after his appointment, he distinguished himself by the composition of various elaborate and useful works, of which, as well as of all his subsequent writings, the following is a correct chronological list:—1. *The Political Annals of the Present United Colonies, from their Settlement to the Peace of 1763*, of which the first volume appeared in quarto, in 1780: the second was never published. 2. *Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain, during the present and four preceding reigns, 1782*. 3. *Opinions on interesting subjects of Public Law and Commercial Policy; arising from American Independence, 1784*, 8vo. 4. *Life of Daniel Defoe*, prefixed to an edition of the *History of the Union, London, 1786*; and of *Robinson Crusoe, 1790*. 5. *Life of Sir John Davies*, prefixed to his *Historical Tracts regarding Ireland, 1786*, 8vo. 6. *Collection of Treaties between Great Britain and other powers, 1790*, 2 vols. 8vo. 7. *Life of Thomas Paine, 1793*, 8vo. 8. *Life of Thomas Ruddiman, A.M., 1794*, 8vo. 9. *Prefatory Introduction to Dr. Johnson's Debates in Parliament, 1794*, 8vo. 10. *Vindication of the Privilege of the People in respect to the constitutional right of free discussion; with a retrospect of various proceedings relative to the Violation of that right, 1796*, 8vo. (An Anonymous Pamphlet.)

11. Apology for the Believers in the Shakspeare Papers, which were exhibited in Norfolk Street, 1797, 8vo. 12. A Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the Shakspeare Papers, being a reply to Mr. Malone's Answer, &c., 1799, 8vo. 13. Appendix to the Supplemental Apology; being the documents for the opinion that Hugh Boyd wrote Junius' Letters, 1800, 8vo. 14. Life of Allan Ramsay, prefixed to an edition of his Poems, 1800, 2 vols. 8vo. 15. Life of Gregory King, prefixed to his Observations on the State of England in 1696, 1804, 8vo. 16. The Poetical Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, with a Life of the Author, prefatory Dissertations, and an appropriate Glossary, 1806, 3 vols. 8vo. 17. Caledonia, &c., vol. i. 1807, 4to; vol. ii. 1810; vol. iii. 1824. 18. A Chronological Account of Commerce and Coinage in Great Britain, from the Restoration till 1810; 1810, 8vo. 19. Considerations on Commerce, Bullion and Coin, Circulation and Exchanges; with a view to our present circumstances, 1811, 8vo. 20. An Historical View of the Domestic Economy of Great Britain and Ireland, from the earliest to the Present Times (a new and extended edition of the *Compare Estimate*), Edinburgh, 1812, 8vo. 21. Opinions of Eminent Lawyers on various points of English Jurisprudence, chiefly concerning the Colonies, Fisheries, and Commerce of Great Britain, 1814, 2 vols. 8vo. 22. A Tract (privately printed) in answer to Malone's Account of Shakspeare's *Tempest*, 1815, 8vo. 23. Comparative Views of the State of Great Britain before and since the war, 1817, 8vo. 24. The Author of Junius ascertained, from a concatenation of circumstances amounting to moral demonstration, 1817, 8vo. 25. Churchyard's Chips concerning Scotland; being a Collection of his Pieces regarding that Country, with notes and a Life of the Author, 1817, 8vo. 26. Life of Queen Mary, drawn from the State Papers, with six subsidiary memoirs, 1818, 2 vols. 4to; reprinted in 3 vols. 8vo. 27. The Poetical Reviews of some of the Scottish Kings, now first collected, 1824, 8vo. 28. *Robene and Makyne*, and the Testament of Cresseid, by Robert Henryson, edited as a contribution to the Bannatyne Club, of which Mr. Chalmers was a member; Edinburgh, 1824. 29. A Detection of the Love-letters lately attributed in Hugh Campbell's work to Mary Queen of Scots, 1825, 8vo. All these works, unless in the few instances mentioned, were published in London. The author's *Caledonia* astonished the world with the vast extent of its erudition and research. It professes to be an account, historical and topographical, of North Britain, from the most ancient to the present times; and the original intention of the author was, that it should be completed in four volumes quarto, each containing nearly 1000 pages. Former historians had not presumed to inquire any further back into Scottish history than the reign of Canmore, describing all before that time as obscurity and fable, as Strabo, in his maps, represents the inhabitants of every place which he did not know as Ichthyophagi. But George Chalmers was not contented to start from this point. He plunged fearlessly into the dark ages, and was able, by dint of incredible research, to give a pretty clear account of the inhabitants of the northern part of the island since the Roman conquest. The pains which he must have taken in compiling information for this work, are almost beyond belief—although he tells us in his preface that it had only been the amusement of his evenings. The remaining three volumes were destined to contain a topographical and historical account of each county, and the second of these completed his task so far as the Lowlands were

concerned, when death stepped in and arrested the busy pen of the antiquary, May 31, 1825.

As a writer, George Chalmers does not rank high in point of elegance of style; but the solid value of his matter is far more than sufficient to counterbalance both that defect, and a certain number of prejudices by which his labours are otherwise a little deformed. Besides the works which we have mentioned, he was the author of some of inferior note, including various political pamphlets on the Tory side of the question.

CHALMERS, REV. THOMAS, D.D. This eminent orator, philosopher, and divine, by whom the highest interests of his country during the present century have been so materially influenced, was born in the once important, but now unnoticed town of Anstruther, on the south-east coast of Fife, on the 17th March, 1780. He was the son of Mr. John Chalmers, a prosperous dyer, ship-owner, and general merchant in Easter Anstruther, and Elizabeth Hall, the daughter of a wine merchant of Craig, who, in the course of twenty-two years, were the parents of nine sons and five daughters, of which numerous family, Thomas, the subject of this memoir, was the sixth. After enduring the tyranny of a severe nurse, he passed in his third year into the hands of an equally severe schoolmaster, a worn-out parish teacher, whose only remaining capacity for the instruction of the young consisted in an incessant application of the rod. Thus early was Thomas Chalmers taught the evils of injustice and oppression; but who can tell the number of young minds that may have been crushed under a process by which his was only invigorated! After having learned to read, and acquired as much Latin as he could glean under such unpromising tuition, he was sent, at the age of twelve, to the United College of St. Andrews. Even long before this period he had studied with keen relish Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and resolved to be a minister. It appears that, like too many youths at their entrance into our Scottish universities, he had scarcely any classical learning, and was unable to write even his own language according to the rules of orthography and grammar. All these obstacles, however, only called forth that indomitable perseverance by which his whole career in life was distinguished; and in his third year's course at college, when he had reached the age of fifteen, he devoted himself with such ardour to the study of mathematics, that he soon became distinguished by his proficiency in the science, even among such class-fellows as Leslie, Ivory, and Duncan. These abstract studies required some relief, and in the case of Chalmers they were alternated with ethics, politics, and political economy. After the usual curriculum of four years he enrolled as a student of theology, but with a heart so devoted to the abstractions of geometry, that divinity occupied little of his thoughts; even when it was afterwards admitted, it was more in the form of sentimental musings, than of patient laborious inquiry for the purposes of public instruction. But he had so successfully studied the principles of composition, and acquired such a mastery of language, that even at the age of sixteen, many of his college productions exhibited that rich and glowing eloquence which was to form his distinguished characteristic in after-years. He had also acquired that occasional dreaminess of look and absence of manner which so often characterizes deep thinkers, and especially mathematicians; and of this he gave a curious illustration, when he had finished his seventh year at college, and was about to enter a family as private tutor. His father's household had repaired to the door, to

bid him farewell; and after this was ended, Thomas mounted the horse that was to carry him to the Dundee ferry. But in accomplishing this feat, he put his right foot (the wrong one on this occasion) into the stirrup, and was in the saddle in a trice, with his face to the horse's tail! When ready to apply for license as a preacher, an obstacle was in his way; for as yet he had not completed his nineteenth year, while the rules of the church required that no student should be licensed before he had reached the age of twenty-one. This difficulty, however, was overruled by an exceptional clause in favour of those possessing "rare and singular qualities;" and it having been represented by the member of presbytery who discovered this qualification in the old statute, that Thomas Chalmers was a "lad o' pregnant pairts," the young applicant, after the usual trials, was licensed as a preacher of the gospel on the 31st of July, 1799.

On entering the sacred office, Chalmers was in no haste to preach; on the contrary, he refused the numerous demands that were made upon his clerical services, took up his abode in Edinburgh during the winter of 1799-1800, for the purpose of prosecuting his mathematical studies under Professor Playfair, and deprecated the idea of even a church presentation itself, lest it should prove an interruption to the progress of his beloved pursuits. The following winter he also spent in Edinburgh, almost exclusively occupied in the study of chemistry. As there was a prospect of the parish of Kilmany soon becoming vacant, which was in the gift of the United College of St. Andrews, and to which his nomination by the professors was certain, Chalmers might now have awaited in tranquillity that happy destination for life to which his studies hitherto had been ostensibly devoted. But science and scientific distinction were still the great objects of his ambition, and the mathematical assistantship of St. Andrews having become vacant, he presented himself as a candidate for the charge, in the hope that such an appointment would ultimately lead to the professorship, without obliging him to forego the ministerial charge of Kilmany—for St. Andrews was the head-quarters of ecclesiastical pluralities. In both objects he was successful; and having lectured and taught mathematics at college in the winter of 1802-3, on 12th May, 1803, he was inducted into his expected parish. The arjour with which he threw himself into his college prelections, and the unwonted eloquence with which he imbued a science so usually delivered in the form of dry detail and demonstration, constituted a novelty that astonished while it delighted his pupils, and their earnest application and rapid proficiency fully corresponded with the efforts of their youthful teacher. At the close of the session, however, a bitter disappointment awaited him; he was told by his employer that his services as assistant teacher were no longer required, while inefficiency for the office was stated as the cause of his dismissal. This charge was not only most unjust in itself, but would have operated most injuriously against Mr. Chalmers, by closing the entrance to any scientific chair that might afterwards become vacant in our universities. To refute this charge, therefore, as well as to silence his maligners, he resolved to open on the following winter a class of his own in the town of St. Andrews, and there show whether or not he was fitted to be a professor of mathematics. He accordingly did so, and was so completely attended by the pupils of his former class, that he felt no change, except in the mere locality. In taking this bold independent step, also, he was anxious to repudiate those resentful or malignant motives to which it might have been

attributed. "My appearance in this place," he said, "may be ascribed to the worst of passions; some may be disposed to ascribe it to the violence of a revengeful temper—some to stigmatize me as a firebrand of turbulence and mischief. These motives I disclaim. I disclaim them with the pride of an indignant heart which feels its integrity. My only motive is, to restore that academical reputation which I conceive to have been violated by the aspersions of envy. It is this which has driven me from the peaceful silence of the country—which has forced me to exchange my domestic retirement for the whirl of contention." In spite of the determined hostility of the professors, whose influence was all-prevalent in the town, the three classes of mathematics which Chalmers opened were so fully attended, that he opened a class of chemistry also, and in this science his eloquent expositions and successful experiments were so popular that the whole country was stirred in his favour. His labours at this youthful commencement of his public career could only have been supported by an enthusiasm like his own; for, in addition to daily attendance on his classes, and preparation of lectures, demonstrations, and experiments, he fulfilled the duties of the pulpit, returning for that purpose to Kilmany on the Saturday evenings, and setting out to St. Andrews on Monday morning. Even his enemies thought this labour too much, and resolved to lighten it, though with no benevolent feeling; and the presbytery was moved, for the purpose of compelling him to reside permanently at Kilmany, and attend exclusively to the duties of the parish. It was not the evils of plurality and non-residence in the abstract which they cared about, but that these should furnish an opportunity for the lecturer to intrude into St. Andrews, and teach within the very shadow of its university. Chalmers felt that this was their motive, and wrote to the presbytery an eloquent defence of his conduct. On the following session he conceded so far as to discontinue his mathematical classes, and only attend to that of chemistry, which had become very popular in the county, and would require his attendance only two or three days of each week. Even this did not satisfy the presbytery, and one of its members requested it to be inserted in their minutes, that, "in his opinion, Mr. Chalmers' giving lectures in chemistry is improper, and ought to be discontinued." This was done; upon which Chalmers, as a member of the presbytery, begged that it should also be inserted in their minutes, that "after the punctual discharge of his professional duties, his time was his own; and he conceived that no man or no court had a right to control him in the distribution of it."

An opportunity soon occurred for which Chalmers had ardently longed. It was nothing less than a vacancy in the professorship of natural philosophy in St. Andrews, and he became one of three candidates for the chair. But the whole three were set aside in favour of Mr. Jackson, rector of Ayr Academy. In the following year (1805) a similar vacancy occurred in the university of Edinburgh, by the death of Dr. Robinson, and again Chalmers entered the lists; but here also he was disappointed, with the consolation, however, that the successful candidate was no other than the celebrated Leslie. This competition called forth his first effort in authorship, in the form of a pamphlet, in consequence of the assertion, that a ministerial charge and scientific appointment combined in one person were incompatible—a pamphlet which, in subsequent years, he laboured to suppress, and gladly would have forgot. At present, however, his expressed opinion was, that

"after the satisfactory discharge of his parish duties, a minister may enjoy five days in the week of uninterrupted leisure, for the prosecution of any science in which his taste may dispose him to engage." This, alas! was too true, if that "satisfactory discharge" of parochial duty involved nothing more than the usual routine of a parish minister. Chalmers, therefore, had to find some other outlet for his "uninterrupted leisure;" and after having exhausted the field of St. Andrews, he resumed his lectureship on chemistry in his little parish of Kilmany, and the county town of Cupar. But even yet something additional was needed, besides the delivery of lectures formerly repeated, and experiments that had been twice tried; and this was soon furnished by Napoleon's menace of invasion. The hostile camp of the modern Cæsar at Boulogne, and the avowed purpose for which it had been collected, roused the spirit of Britain, so that military associations were formed, from the metropolis to the hamlet, in every part of our island. This was more than enough for the ardent spirit of Chalmers, and he enrolled himself in the St. Andrews corps of volunteers, not only as chaplain, but lieutenant. It is well known how this threat of an invasion of Britain was exchanged for an attack upon Austria, and how suddenly the breaking up of the hostile encampment at Boulogne dismissed a million of armed Britons to their homes and workshops. On doffing his military attire, the minister of Kilmany had other and more professional occupation to attend to at the bedside of a dying brother, who had returned to his father's home afflicted with consumption, under which he died in a few months. During the last illness of the amiable sufferer, one of the duties of Thomas Chalmers was to read to his brother portions of those religious works which he had denounced from the pulpit as savouring of fanaticism, and to hear the criticism pronounced upon them by the lips of the dying man, as he fervently exclaimed, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes." After this departure from life, which was one of solemn and impressive resignation, Chalmers gave relief to his thoughts, first by a journey to England, in which he visited London, Cambridge, and Oxford, and afterwards by authorship. Independently of mathematics, chemistry, and botany, which his ardent spirit of inquiry had successively mastered, he had studied the science of political economy; and now that Bonaparte had published his famous Berlin decree, by which the mercantile and manufacturing community of Britain was panic-struck, Chalmers produced his *Inquiry into the Extent and Stability of National Resources*, to show that this apprehension was groundless. The analysis of this work can be best given in his own account of it. In a letter to his brother he says, "The great burden of my argument is, that the manufacturer who prepares an article for home consumption is the servant of the inland consumer, labouring for his gratification, and supported by the price which he pays for the article; that the manufacturer of an article for exportation is no less the servant of the inland consumer, because, though he does not labour immediately for his gratification, he labours for a return from foreign countries. This return comes in articles of luxury, which fetch a price from our inland consumers. Hence, it is ultimately from the inland consumer that the manufacturer of the exported article derives his maintenance. Suppose, then, that trade and manufacture were destroyed, this does not affect the ability of the inland consumer. The whole amount of the mischief is, that he loses the luxuries

which were before provided for him, but he still retains the ability to give the same maintenance as before to the immense population who are now discarded from their former employments. Suppose this ability to be transferred to government in the form of a tax. Government takes the discarded population into its service. They follow their subsistence wherever it can be found; and thus, from the ruin of our trading and manufacturing interest, government collects the means of adding to the naval and military establishments of the country. I therefore anticipate that Bonaparte, after he has succeeded in shutting up the markets of the Continent against us, will be astonished—and that the mercantile politicians of our own country will be no less astonished—to find Britain as hale and vigorous as ever, and fitter than before for all the purposes of defence and security, and political independence." Such was the theory of Chalmers, studied with much care, written with patriotic enthusiasm, and published at Edinburgh in the spring of 1808. It was perhaps as well that no opportunity occurred of testing its soundness, owing to the remissness with which the Berlin decree was executed, so that it gradually became a dead letter. Chalmers, however, was so impressed with the urgency of the danger, and the efficacy of his plan to remove it, that he was anxious to obtain a national publicity for his volume; and with this view he had resolved to repair to the capital, and negotiate for bringing out a new edition by the London publishers. But this event, which might have altered the whole current of his life, and changed him into a Malthus or Adam Smith, was prevented by a trying family dispensation, so that instead of embarking in a Dundee smack as he had purposed, he was obliged to attend the deathbed of one of his sisters. It is to be observed, however, that his studies in political economy were not to be without important results. In after-years they were brought vigorously and successfully to bear upon the management of towns and parishes, and the cure of pauperism; and, above all, in organizing the provision of a church that threw aside, and at once, the support and maintenance of the state, when conscience demanded the sacrifice.

In this way the first twenty-nine years in the life of the subject of this memoir had passed. But still, it gives little or no indication of that Dr. Chalmers who was afterwards so widely renowned throughout the Christian world—of that very Dr. Chalmers whom the present generation so fondly loved, and still so vividly remembers. As yet, the record might serve for an amiable enthusiastic *savant* of England, France, or Italy, rather than a Scottish country minister intrusted with the care of souls, and preparing his accounts for the close of such a solemn stewardship. But a series of events occurred at this time by which the whole character of his mind and ministry was to be changed. The first and perhaps the most important of these was the death of his sister, an event to which we have already alluded. She had departed amidst feelings of hope and joy that far transcended the mere passive resignation of philosophy; and the affectionate heart that pined within the lonely manse of Kilmany, while remembering her worth, and lamenting her departure, had a subject of anxious inquiry bequeathed to him, as to whence that hope and joy had arisen. The first indication of this was given in a change that took place in the course of his authorship. Previous to his sister's decease, and while the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia* was in progress, he had been invited by Dr. Brewster, the distinguished editor, to contribute to the work; and this Chalmers had resolved to do,

by writing the article "Trigonometry," for which purpose he had devoted himself to the study of Cagnoli's *Trigonometria Plana e Sferica*, at that time the standard work upon the subject. But after her death he changed his purpose, and earnestly requested that the article "Christianity" should be committed to his management, offering, at the same time, to live three or four months in St. Andrews, for the purpose of collecting the necessary materials in the college library. After his sister's decease, the admonitory blow was repeated; this was the death of Mr. Ballardie, a childless old officer of the navy, in whose affection he had found a second father, and who was one evening discovered dead upon his knees, having been called away into life eternal in the very midst of prayer. These warnings were succeeded by a long and severe illness, that reduced him to the helplessness of infancy, and threatened to be fatal; and amidst the musings of a sick chamber, and quiet tossings upon what he believed to be a deathbed, the anxious mind of Chalmers had full scope for those solemn investigations which the previous calamities had awoken into action. But the trial ended; and after passing through such a furnace, he emerged into life, and the full vigour of life, a purified and altered man. His own account of the change and its process is truly characteristic, and it will be seen from the following extract, that a congenial spirit from the dwellings of the dead had hovered, as it were, beside his pillow, and spoken to him words of counsel and encouragement. "My confinement," he wrote to a friend, "has fixed on my heart a very strong impression of the insignificance of time—an impression which, I trust, will not abandon me though I again reach the hey-day of health and vigour. This should be the first step to another impression still more salutary—the magnitude of eternity. Strip human life of its connection with a higher scene of existence, and it is the illusion of an instant, an unmeaning farce, a series of visions, and projects, and convulsive efforts which terminate in nothing. I have been reading Pascal's *Thoughts on Religion*; you know his history—a man of the richest endowments, and whose youth was signalized by his profound and original speculations in mathematical science, but who could stop short in the brilliant career of discovery, who could resign all the splendours of literary reputation, who could renounce without a sigh all the distinctions which are conferred upon genius, and resolve to devote every talent and every hour to the defence and illustration of the gospel. This, my dear sir, is superior to all Greek and to all Roman fame."

This change which had taken place in the man, was soon manifested in the minister, and the pulpit of Kilmany no longer gave forth an uncertain sound. Hitherto Chalmers had advocated virtuous feeling and a virtuous life as the head and front of Christianity, to which the righteousness and death of our blessed Saviour were make-weights and nothing more. And yet, even how that little was supplemented, and what was its mode of agency, he could not conjecture. "In what particular manner," he thus preached, "the death of our Redeemer effected the remission of our sins, or rather, why that death was made a condition of this remission, seems to be an unrevealed point in the Scriptures. Perhaps the God of nature meant to illustrate the purity of his perfection to the children of men; perhaps it was efficacious in promoting the improvement, and confirming the virtue, of other orders of being. The tenets of those whose gloomy and unenlarged minds are apt to imagine that the Author of nature required the death of Jesus merely for the reparation

of violated justice, are rejected by all free and rational inquirers." In this manner he groped his way in utter uncertainty—a blind leader of the blind, upon a path where to stumble may be to fall for ever. But a year had elapsed, and his eyes were opened. "I am now most thoroughly of opinion," he writes, "and it is an opinion founded on experience, that on the system of 'Do this and live,' no peace, and even no true and worthy obedience, can ever be attained. It is, 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' When this belief enters the heart, joy and confidence enter along with it. The righteousness which we try to work out for ourselves eludes our impotent grasp, and never can a soul arrive at true or permanent rest in the pursuit of this object. The righteousness which by faith we put on, secures our acceptance with God, and secures our interest in his promises, and gives us a part in those sanctifying influences by which we are enabled to do with aid from on high what we never can do without it. We look to God in a new light—we see him as a reconciled Father; that love to him which terror scares away re-enters the heart, and with a new principle and a new power, we become new creatures in Jesus Christ our Lord." Not only the change in the spirit of his pulpit ministrations was now remarkable, but the manner in which they were prepared. Of this we have a striking proof in the following incident. Mr. John Bonthron, a near neighbour and intimate acquaintance, one day remarked to Mr. Chalmers before his illness had commenced: "I find you aye busy, sir, with one thing or another; but come when I may, I never find you at your studies for the Sabbath." "Oh, an hour or two on the Saturday evening is quite enough for that," replied the minister. After the change the visitor found that, call when he might, he found Mr. Chalmers employed in the study of the Scriptures, and could not help expressing his wonderment: "I never come in now, sir, but I find you aye at your Bible." "All too little, John, all too little," was the altered minister's reply.

Two years had passed onward in this state, during which the changed condition of the church of Kilmany and its talented minister had been a subject of speculation throughout the whole country. It was not that he had abandoned scientific pursuits, for he still cultivated these as ardently as ever; nor relinquished his devotedness to literature, for he was more eager for the labours and enjoyments of authorship than before. But all these were kept in suberviency to a more important principle of existence, and consecrated to a higher aim. He had now reached the matured age of thirty-two, a period of life at which the most active may well wish for a partner in their labours, and the most recluse and studious a companion of their thoughts. He had also been the occupant of a lonely manse during nine long years, but was still as ignorant of the management and details of housekeeping as when he first entered that dwelling and sat down to resume his college problems. His heart, too, had been lately opened and expanded by the glorious truths of the gospel—and how earnestly does it then seek a congenial heart into which it may utter its emotions, a kindred soul with whom it may worship and adore! And such a one was already provided; one who through life was to soothe his cares, animate his labours, console him in his disappointments, and finally to rejoin him in a happier world than that he had left after a brief separation. This was Miss Grace Pratt, second daughter of Captain Pratt, of the first Royal Veteran Battalion. Mr. Chalmers, indeed, on account of the smallness of his stipend, had previously resolved

never to marry: but when this amiable lady appeared for a short time in his neighbourhood, the resolution was somehow lost sight of; and when she was about to remove to her own home, he felt that there was no further leisure for delay. He was accepted, and they were married on the 4th August, 1812. The following picture of the state of life into which he had entered, forms the *beau ideal* of a happy country manse, and its newly-married inmates. Writing to his sister he says, "I have got a small library for her; and a public reading in the afternoon, when we take our turns for an hour or so, is looked upon as one of the most essential parts of our family management. It gives me the greatest pleasure to inform you, that in my new connection, I have found a coadjutor who holds up her face for all the proprieties of a clergyman's family, and even pleads for their extension beyond what I had originally proposed. We have now family worship twice a-day; and though you are the only being on earth to whom I would unveil the most secret arrangements of our family, I cannot resist the pleasure of telling you, because I know that it will give you the truest pleasure to understand, that in those still more private and united acts of devotion which are so beautifully described in the *Cottar's Saturday Night*, I feel a comfort, an elevation, and a peace of mind of which I was never before conscious."

Allusion has already been made to the connection of Mr. Chalmers with the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, and the earnest desire he had expressed, so early as the year 1809, to have the article "Christianity" intrusted to his management. This request was complied with, and early in 1813 his treatise under that title appeared in the sixth volume of the work. It consisted, as is well known, of the evidences of the divine origin of Christianity, based, not upon the internal excellence of its character, or the proofs of its heaven-derived origin, as exhibited in the divine nature of its teaching, but simply upon the historical proofs of its authenticity. No fact in the whole range of history could be more certain than that Christ and his apostles had lived at the period assigned to them, and that they had acted and taught precisely according to the record which revelation has handed down to us. This being satisfactorily ascertained, all cavil must be silenced, and all hesitation abandoned: that teaching has been shown to be from God, and nothing more remains for man but implicitly to receive and humbly to obey it. This was his line of argument, and it had been so early matured in his mind, that he had developed the idea in one of his chemical lectures delivered at St. Andrews. "The truth of Christianity," he said, "is neither more nor less than the truth of certain facts that have been handed down to us by the testimony of reporters." The originality of his arguments, the force of his conclusions, and the eloquent, clear, and vigorous style in which they were expressed, arrested the public attention, and secured for the article such a favourable reception, that for the purpose of diffusing its benefits more widely, the proprietors of the *Encyclopedia* caused it to be published as a separate work. Still, however, there were not a few who complained that the base of Christian evidence had been unnecessarily lessened by such an exclusive mode of reasoning; and he was addressed on the subject, not only with private remonstrance, but also with sharp criticisms through the press. The effect of all this was gradually to enlarge his conceptions upon the subject, so that more than twenty years after, when the work reappeared in his *Institutes of Theology*, it was with the internal evidences added to the external. In this way he surrendered a long-cherished and beloved

theory to more matured convictions, and satisfied, while he answered, the objections which the first appearance of his treatise had occasioned.

These were not the only literary labours of Chalmers at this period. About the same time that his article on Christian evidence appeared in the *Encyclopedia*, he published a pamphlet, entitled *The Influence of Bible Societies upon the Temporal Necessities of the Poor*. It had been alleged, that the parochial associations formed in Scotland in aid of the Bible Society would curtail the voluntary parish funds that were raised for the relief of the poor. This argument touched Chalmers very closely; for he was not only an enthusiastic advocate for the relief of poverty by voluntary contribution instead of compulsory poor-rates, but also an active agent in the multiplication of Bible Society associations over the country. He therefore endeavoured to show that these different institutions, instead of being hostile, would be of mutual aid to each other; and that Bible societies had a tendency not only to stimulate and enlarge Christian liberality, but to lessen the amount of poverty, by introducing a more industrious and independent spirit among the poor. This was speedily followed by a review of *Cuvier's Essay on the Theory of the Earth*, which was published in the *Christian Instructor*, and in which Chalmers boldly ventured to call in question the generally received chronology which theologians have ventured to engraft upon the Mosaic account of the creation. They had asserted hitherto that the world was not more than 6000 years old, and adduced the sacred history as their warrant, while the new discoveries in geology incontestably proved that it must have had a much earlier origin. Here, then, revelation and the facts of science were supposed to be completely at variance, and infidelity revelled in the contradiction. But Chalmers boldly cut the knot, not by questioning the veracity of Moses, but the correctness of his interpreters; and he asked, "Does Moses ever say that there was not an interval of many ages betwixt the first act of creation, described in the first verse of the book of Genesis, and said to have been performed at the beginning, and those more detailed operations, the account of which commences at the second verse? Or does he ever make us to understand, that the genealogies of man went any further than to fix the antiquity of the species, and, of consequence, that they left the antiquity of the globe a free subject for the speculations of philosophers?" These questions, and the explanations with which they were followed, were of weight, as coming not only from a clergyman whose orthodoxy was now unimpeachable, but who had distinguished himself so lately in the illustration of Christian evidence;—and, perhaps, it is unnecessary to add, that the solution thus offered is the one now generally adopted. The subject of "missions" next occupied his pen, in consequence of an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, which, while giving a notice of Lichtenstein's *Travels in Southern Africa*, took occasion, by lauding the Moravian missionaries, to disparage other missions, as beginning their instructions at the wrong end, while the Moravian brethren had hit upon the true expedient of first civilizing savages, and afterwards teaching them the doctrines of Christianity. Chalmers showed that, in point of fact, this statement was untrue; and proved, from the testimony of the brethren themselves, that the civilization of their savage converts was the effect, and not the cause—the sequel rather than the prelude of Christian teaching. They had first tried the civilizing process, and most egregiously failed; they had afterwards, and at hap-hazard, read to the obdurate savages the ac-

count of our Saviour's death from the evangelists, by which they were arrested and moved in an instant; and this process, which the Moravians had afterwards adopted, was the secret of the wonderful success of their missions. These were subjects into which his heart fully entered, as a Christian divine and a lover of science, and therefore he brought to each of these productions his usual careful research and persuasive eloquence. It is not, however, to be thought that amidst such congenial occupations the intellectual labour necessary for the duties of the pulpit was in any way remitted. On the contrary, many of his sermons, prepared at this period for the simple rustics of Kilmany, were afterwards preached before crowds of the most accomplished of our island in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and London, and afterwards committed to the press, almost without any alteration. The highest eloquence is the utterance of a full heart that cannot be silent. And such was the eloquence of Chalmers. During three years he had been intensely occupied with the most important and soul-engrossing of all themes: they brought to his awakened perceptions the charm of a new existence; and these sermons were but the expressions of love, and wonder, and delight, which every fresh discovery of that new existence evolved from him. And where, in such a state, was the need of listening thousands, or the deep muttered thunder of popular applause? He must thus write though no eye should peruse the writing, and give it utterance although it were only to the trees or the winds. And when such productions are spoken before living men, the orator, while his auditors appear before him in glimpses and at intervals, does not pause to gauge their intellectuality, their rank, or their numbers. He only feels that they are immortal beings, and that he is commissioned to proclaim to them the tidings of eternity.

But the time had now arrived when this training, in the course of Providence, was to be turned to its proper account, and such powers to find their proper field of action. His renown as a preacher, by which all Fifeshire was stirred, had gone abroad, while his literary reputation and intellectual powers were stamped by his published productions beyond the possibility of doubt or cavil. In this case, too, as was most fitting, he did not seek, but was sought. Dr. Macgill, minister of the Tron Church, Glasgow, had been translated to the divinity chair of the university of that city, and the task of finding a successor to the vacant pulpit devolved upon the town-council. The name of the minister of Kilmany was forthwith heard, and, after due-consideration, the usual overtures were made to him to accept the charge of the Tron Church. But tempting though such an offer might be, the rural minister demurred and held back. He could not persuade himself to abandon a people whom his lately-awakened spirit had inspired with a kindred sympathy, and who were wont every Sabbath to throng their long-deserted pews with such eager solicitude, and listen to his teaching with such solemn interest. But, above all, the secularities of a great city charge, and the inroads which it would make upon his time and attention, filled him with alarm. "I know of instances," he wrote in reply, "where a clergyman has been called from the country to town for his talent at preaching; and when he got there they so belaboured him with the drudgery of their institutions, that they smothered and extinguished the very talent for which they had adopted him. The purity and independence of the clerical office are not sufficiently respected in great towns. He comes among them a clergyman, and they make a mere

churchwarden of him." His objections were at length overruled, and on being elected by a large majority of the town-council of Glasgow, he signified his acceptance, and was inducted into his important charge on the 21st July, 1815, when he had reached the matured and vigorous age of thirty-five. It was a day of impatient expectation in our metropolis of manufactures and commerce, as after his acceptance, and four months previous to his admission, its citizens had enjoyed the opportunity of hearing with their own ears a specimen of that eloquence which hitherto they had known only by report. The occasion was the annual meeting of the Society of the Sons of the Clergy, held at Glasgow, before which Chalmers was appointed to preach; and the feeling of the vast multitude that sat electrified beneath his wondrous power might have been expressed in the language of the Queen of Sheba: They had heard of it only, and could not believe; but now they found that half of the truth had not been told them.

As soon as he had got fairly located in Glasgow, Chalmers found that, notwithstanding all his previous stipulations to that effect, his time was no longer to be his own. But still worse than this, he found that it was to be frittered away in ten thousand frivolous occupations, with which, he justly thought, his sacred office had nothing to do. Three months had scarcely elapsed, when we find him thus writing on the subject: "This, sir, is a wonderful place; and I am half-entertained, half-provoked, by some of the peculiarities of its people. The peculiarity which bears hardest upon me is, the incessant demand they have upon all occasions for the personal attendance of the ministers. They must have four to every funeral, or they do not think that it has been genteelly gone through. They must have one or more to all the committees of all the societies. They must fall in at every procession. They must attend examinations innumerable, and eat of the dinners consequent upon these examinations. They have a niche assigned them in almost every public doing, and that niche must be filled up by them, or the doing loses all its solemnity in the eyes of the public. There seems to be a superstitious charm in the very sight of them; and such is the manifold officiality with which they are covered, that they must be paraded among all the meetings and all the institutions." It was not without cause that he thus complained; for in coming to details, we find him at one time obliged to sit in judgment as to whether such a gutter should be bought up and covered over, or left alone as it stood; and whether ox-head soup or pork-broth was the fittest diet for a poorhouse; alternated, on going home, with the necessity of endorsing applications of persons wishing to follow the calling of spirit-sellers and pedlars. This, indeed, was to have "greatness thrust upon him!" But the evil had originated in Glasgow so early as the days of the covenant, when every movement was more or less connected with religion; and it was perpetuated and confirmed by the mercantile bustle that succeeded in later periods, when every merchant or shopkeeper was eager to devolve upon the minister those occupations that would have interfered with his own professional pursuits. These difficulties Chalmers was obliged to wrestle down as he best could, and at the risk of being complained of as an innovator; but a persevering course of sturdy refusal at length reduced the grievance to a manageable compass. When this was surmounted, there was still another trial to be got rid of, that originated in his own daily increasing popularity. He was now the great mark of admiration and esteem, so that all were not only eager to

visit him, but to have their visits reciprocated. When these demands were also compressed within tolerable limits, a third difficulty was to be confronted, that could not so easily be overcome, as it arose from his own parish, of which he had the oversight. That our ministers might be able, like the apostles of old, to give themselves "continually to prayer and to the ministry of the Word," our church had wisely appointed not only deacons to take charge of the temporalities of the congregation, but elders to assist the pastor in the visitation of the sick and all the out-door duties of his ecclesiastical charge. But while the work of the deaconship had become of late little more than a dead letter, the duties of the eldership had diminished almost entirely to the Sabbath collections in the church-porch, and their allocation to the poor of the parish. Most truly, therefore, did a certain minister of Edinburgh, after a charity-sermon, announce, in full simplicity of heart, to those who might be disposed to contribute still farther, that in going out they would find standing at the door "the church-plates, and their concomitants the elders." Chalmers felt that this worn-out machinery must be renewed and restored to its former efficiency; for otherwise, in a parish containing nearly 12,000 souls, he could be little more than its Sabbath preacher. To this important task he therefore addressed himself, and the result of his labours in the ecclesiastical organization of his parish, which were followed by general imitation, proved how justly he had appreciated the difficulties that beset a city minister, and the most effectual remedies by which they are obviated.

While he was thus contending with this "mortal coil" of secular occupation, and shuffling it off as well as he might, the pulpit preparations of the new minister evinced that it was not his own ease that he sought by this earnest desire of silence and seclusion. For it was not by mere eloquence and originality of style that his weekly sermons not only retained, but increased, his reputation and efficiency; on the contrary, their depth of thought and originality of sentiment were more wonderful than their language, powerful and startling though it was. His preaching was in some measure the commencement of a new era in the history of the Scottish church. To understand this aright, we must keep in mind the two parties into which the church had been divided, and the solicitude they had manifested for nearly a century to avoid every meeting except a hostile collision. On the one side was the Evangelical party, with whom the sympathies of the people were enlisted; and on the other the Moderates, who, generally speaking, comprised the aristocracy, the philosophers, and politicians of the community—men who talked of the "march of mind" and the "progress of improvement," and who thought that religion, as well as everything else, should accommodate itself to that progress. With such men the theology of our fathers was distasteful because it was old-fashioned, and their aim was to dilute it so effectually with modern liberalism as to adapt it to the tastes and exigencies of the day. Hence the cautiousness with which they were wont, in their sermons, to avoid all such topics as election, regeneration, and the atonement, and the decided preference which they showed for those moral duties upon which man can decide and act for himself. In this way they too often confined their teaching to those virtues on which all creeds are more or less agreed, so that sometimes it would have been difficult to divine, from the tenor of such discourses, whether the speaker was Christian, pagan, or infidel. With the Evangelical party the case was wholly different. Eager to preach the

paramount importance of faith, they were too ready to lose sight of its fruits as exemplified in action; while every mention of human virtue was apt to be condemned as legalism, self-seeking, and reliance on the covenant of works instead of the covenant of grace. That the heavenly and divine might be everything, the human was reduced to nothing; and to exalt the all-in-all sufficiency of redemption, man was to sit still, not only under its present coming, but also its future influences. And to impress upon their hearers more fully the necessity of this redemption, an odious picture was generally drawn of human nature, in which all that is helpless, and worthless, and villanous was heaped together indiscriminately, and made to constitute a picture of man in his original condition. In this way either party diverged from the other, the one towards Socinianism, and the other to Antinomianism, so that it was sometimes hard to tell which of these aberrations was the worst; while of their flocks it might too often be said—

"The hungry sheep looked up, and were not fed."

It would be insulting to ask which of these two parties Chalmers followed as a public spiritual teacher. His was a mind not likely to be allured either by the shrivelled philosophy of the one, or the caricatured Calvinism of the other. He rejected both, and adopted for himself a course which was based upon the fulness of revelation itself, instead of the exclusive one-sided nook of a body of mere religionists—a course which reconciled and harmonized the anomalies of everyday reality with the unerring declarations of Scripture. Thus, he could not see that every man at his birth was inevitably a liar, a murderer, and a villain. Instead of this, there was such a thing as innate virtue; and men might be patriots, philanthropists, and martyrs, even without being Christians. And here he drew such pictures of the natural man in his free unconstrained nobleness—such delineations of disinterestedness, humanity, integrity, and self-denial welling forth from hearts that were still unrenewed, as Plato might have heard with enthusiasm, and translated into his own richest Attic eloquence. And was not all this true? Was it not daily exhibited, not only in our empire at large, but even in the mercantile communities of that city in which his lot had been cast? But while the self-complacent legalist was thus carried onward delighted and regaled with such descriptions of the innate nobleness of human character as his own teachers had never furnished, he was suddenly brought to an awful pause by the same resistless eloquence. The preacher proceeded to show that still these words were an incontestable immutable verity, "There is none righteous, no not one." For in spite of all this excellence, the unrenewed heart was still at enmity with God, and in all its doings did nothing at his command or for his sake. And therefore, however valuable this excellence might be for time and the world, it was still worthless for eternity. It was of the earth, earthy, and would pass away with the earth. It sought a requital short of heaven, and even already had obtained its reward.

An event soon occurred after the arrival of Mr. (now Dr.) Chalmers in Glasgow, by which his reputation as a preacher was no longer to be confined to Scotland, but diffused over the world wherever the English language is known. We allude to his well-known *Astronomical Discourses*, which, of all his writings, will perhaps be the most cherished by posterity. It was the custom of the city clergymen to preach every Thursday in rotation in the Tron Church; and as there were only eight ministers, the turn of each arrived after an interval of two months. Dr.

Chalmers took his share in this duty, for the first time, on the 15th November, 1815, and commenced with the first lecture of the astronomical series, which he followed up during his turn in these week-day services for the year 1816. To those who have only read these discourses it would be enough to say, in the words of Æschines, "What would you have said if you had seen him discharge all this thunder-storm of eloquence?" They were published at the commencement of 1817; and the avidity with which they were read is shown by the fact that 6000 copies were disposed of in a month, and nearly 20,000 within the course of the year. Nothing like this had occurred in the publication of sermons either in England or Scotland; and while the most illiterate were charmed with the production, the learned, the scientific, and the critical read, admired, and were convinced. London would not rest until it had seen and heard the living man; and Dr. Chalmers was invited to preach the anniversary sermon for the London Missionary Society. Thither he accordingly went, and delivered a discourse in Surrey Chapel on the 14th May. The service was to commence at eleven, but so early as seven in the morning that vast building of 3000 sittings was crowded, while thousands of disappointed comers were obliged to go away. An account of what followed, written home by Mr. Smith, one of his friends who accompanied him from Glasgow, is thus expressed: "I write under the nervousness of having heard and witnessed the most astonishing display of human talent that perhaps ever commanded sight or hearing. Dr. Chalmers has just finished his discourse before the Missionary Society. All my expectations were overwhelmed in the triumph of it. Nothing from the Tron pulpit ever exceeded it, nor did he ever more arrest and wonder-work his auditors. I had a full view of the whole place. The carrying forward of minds never was so visible to me: a constant assent of the head from the whole people accompanied all his paragraphs, and the breathlessness of expectation permitted not the beating of a heart to agitate the stillness." Other demands for sermons followed; for, in the words of *Wilberforce's Diary*, "all the world was wild about Dr. Chalmers." Even Canning, who was one of his hearers, and who was melted into tears by his sermon for the Hibernian Society, declared that, "notwithstanding the northern accent and unpolished manner of the speaker, he had never been so arrested by any kind of oratory." "The tartan," he added, "beats us all." But the best and most valuable testimony was that of the Rev. Robert Hall, himself the Chalmers of England, whose generous heart rejoiced in the eclipse which he had just sustained by the arrival of his northern brother; and in writing to him, after his return to Glasgow, he says: "It would be difficult not to congratulate you on the unrivalled and unbounded popularity which attended you in the metropolis. . . . The attention which your sermons have excited is probably unequalled in modern literature; and it must be a delightful reflection that you are advancing the cause of religion in innumerable multitudes of your fellow-creatures, whose faces you will never behold till the last day."

It is now time to turn from Dr. Chalmers in his study and pulpit, to Dr. Chalmers in his hard-working life of everyday usefulness. And here we shall find no dreaming theorist, contented with fireside musing upon the best plans of ameliorating the evils of society, or daunted midway by the difficulties of the attempt. Considering what he had already done, there was none who could more justly have claimed the full privileges of literary leisure and retirement.

But when he threw off the throng of extraneous occupation that surrounded him, it was only that he might have room for equally arduous employment, in which the "full proof of his ministry" more especially consisted. It was not enough that he should see and address his congregation; he must visit the houses, examine the families, and become acquainted with the individuals of which that congregation was composed. He must also bring himself in contact with those of his parish who belonged to no congregation—the vicious, the reckless, the ignorant, and the poor—and endeavour, by his favourite process of "excavation," to bring them out from their murky concealments into the light of day, and the elevating influence of gospel ordinances. Twelve thousand souls to be visited!—but is not a soul worth looking after? To work therefore he went as soon as he became minister of the Tron Church parish, undergoing an amount of bodily labour such as few would have cared to encounter, but resolute not to abandon the task until it was completed. A few weeks thus employed enabled him to ascertain what evils existed as well as what remedies should be applied. It was necessary that the destitute and the outcast of his parish should be frequently visited, and for the performance of this duty he infused his own active spirit into the eldership by which he was surrounded. The fearful ignorance that was accumulating among the young of the lower orders must be dispersed; and, for this purpose, he organized a society among his congregation for the establishment of Sabbath-schools in the parish. These schools became so numerous, and so well attended, that in two years they numbered 1200 children, receiving regular religious instruction. A single close furnished the necessary amount of pupils for a school; and the teacher who visited its families for the purpose of bringing them out was taught to watch over that little locality as his own especial parish.

This course of daily labour and visitation had its prospective as well as immediate benefits. Dr. Chalmers had hitherto witnessed poverty and its results only upon a small scale. It was here a family, and there an individual, over the extent of a country parish; and for these cases private benevolence and the contributions at the church-door had generally been found sufficient. But now he was brought into close contact with poverty and destitution acting upon society in thousands, and producing an aggravation of crime as well as misery, such as his rural experience had never witnessed. For all this, however, he was not wholly unprepared. He had already studied the subject in the abstract, and he found that now was the time, and here the field, to bring his theories on the subject into full operation. His idea, from all he witnessed, was but the more strongly confirmed that the simple parochial apparatus of Scotland, so effectual for the relief of a village or country parish, would be equally efficacious for a populous city, and that recourse to poor-rates and compulsory charity would only foster the evil which it aimed to cure. This conviction he now endeavoured to impress, not only in conversation and by public speeches, but also by his articles on "Pauperism" in the *Edinburgh Review*, and a series of essays, which he afterwards published, on the *Civic and Christian Economy of Large Towns*. But to go to the very source of poverty, and strike at once at the root, was his chief aim; and this could only be accomplished by indoctrinating the masses of a crowded city with the principles of Christian industry, independence, and morality. Even this, too, the parochial system had contemplated, by an adequate provision of church accommodation and in-

struction; but unfortunately, while the population of the country had been nearly trebled, the church provision had remained stationary. The consequence was, that even in his own parish of the Tron there were not a third who attended any church, notwithstanding the additional accommodation which dissent had furnished. And such, or still worse, was the state of matters over the whole of Glasgow. What he therefore wanted was "twenty more churches, and twenty more ministers" for that city alone; and this *desideratum* he boldly announced in his sermon on the death of the Princess Charlotte in 1817. Such a conclusion was but the unavoidable result of a train of premises to which all were ready to assent, while the demand itself, instead of being extravagant, was considerably short of the emergency. And yet it was clamoured at, and cried down in every form of argument and ridicule as the wildest of all benevolent extravagancies, and even the addition of a single church, which the magistrates had decided a few months previous, was thought too much. But strong in the confidence of truth, Dr. Chalmers held fast to his much-decried doctrine until he had the satisfaction of finding his church-extension principle generally adopted, and not 20, but 200, additional churches erected in our towns and cities, to attest the soundness of his argument, and reward the zeal with which he had urged it.

The one additional church to which we have adverted was that of St. John's, of which he was elected to be minister, with a new parish attached to it of 10,000 persons, almost entirely operatives. It re-echoed to the honour of the magistrates and town-council of Glasgow to state, that this erection of a new parish and church was for the purpose of giving Dr. Chalmers full opportunity of testing the parochial principle as applied to large towns; and that for this purpose they freed him from those restrictions which had gathered upon the old city charges, and conceded to him and his kirk-session a separate independent parochial jurisdiction. The building being finished, was opened on the 26th September, 1819, and crowded by its new parishioners, who had now their own church and minister, while the latter met them with equal ardour, and commenced at once the duties of his new sphere. He was ably seconded by his elders, a numerous body of active, intelligent, devoted men, and by the deacons, whose office was restored to its original efficiency under his superintendence; and as each had his own particular district to which his labours were confined, every family and every individual in the new parish, containing a population of 10,000, had his own spiritual and temporal condition more or less attended to. In addition to these aids, he was soon surrounded by eighty Sabbath-school teachers, each superintending the religious education of the children belonging to his own little locality. These labours were not long continued until another great parochial want called forth the attention of Dr. Chalmers. It was the state of secular education, which, defective as it was throughout Glasgow in general, was peculiarly so in the new parish, whose population chiefly consisted of weavers, labourers, and factory-workers—persons who were unable to obtain a good education for their children, notwithstanding its cheapness as compared with that of England. On account of this, it was soon found in the Sabbath-schools that many of the children could not read a single verse of Scripture without such hammering as to make its meaning unintelligible. Something must be done, and that instantly, to counteract the evil. But mere charity-schools and gratis education were an abomination to the doctor, who well knew that what is got for nothing is

generally reckoned worth nothing, and treated accordingly. The best education at the cheapest rate—the independence of the poor secured, while their children were efficiently taught—this was the happy medium which he sought, and which he found ready to his hand in the plan of Scottish parochial education. Let such a salary be secured for the teacher, that an active and accomplished man will find it worth his while to devote himself to the work; but, at the same time, let the small school-fees of the pupils be such as to secure the feeling of personal independence, and make them value the instruction for which a price is exacted. An "education committee" was therefore established for St. John's; subscriptions were set on foot for the erection and endowment of schools; and when a sufficient sum was procured, a desirable site was found for the building of the first school. The ground was the property of the college, and Dr. Chalmers repaired to its head, the venerable Principal Taylor, to obtain it upon such cheap terms as the case justly demanded. "Ah!" said the principal shaking his head, "we have been talking about establishing parochial schools in Glasgow for these twenty years." "Yes," replied Dr. Chalmers, "but now we are going to do the thing, not to talk about it; we are going to take the labour of talking and planning completely off your hands." This good-humoured application was successful; and by the middle of 1820 the school was finished, and the work of teaching commenced under two efficient schoolmasters. Another school was soon erected by the same prompt liberality that had supplied funds for the first, and conducted also by two able masters. The four teachers had each a fixed salary of £25 per annum, and a free house, in addition to the fees of 2s. per quarter for reading, and 3s. for reading, writing, arithmetic and book-keeping, while the right of admission was limited to parishioners exclusively. There was full need of this restriction, for so highly were the benefits of this system of education appreciated, that the two schools had 419 pupils. Even when the doctor left Glasgow, also, the work was still going on through fresh contributions and erections, so that about 800 children belonging to the parish were furnished with the means of a complete and liberal education, at a small expense. Such a heavy and complicated amount of toil as all this organization involved, would have been impossible for any one man, however energetic, and even Dr. Chalmers himself would have sunk beneath the load before his four years' experiment in St. John's had expired, had it not been for the efficient aid which he received from his assistant the Rev. Edward Irving. Contemplating the vast amount of work which he had proposed to himself in his trial of the parochial system, as applied to large towns, it had been considerably resolved that a regular assistant should be allowed him in the task; and by a train of fortuitous circumstances, that office was devolved upon a congenial spirit—one to the full as wonderful in his own way as Dr. Chalmers, but whose career was afterwards to be so erratic, and finally so mournful and disastrous. At present, however, the mind of Irving, although swelling with high aspirations, was regulated, controlled, and directed by the higher intellect and gentler spirit of his illustrious principal, so that his vast powers, both physical and mental, were brought fully to bear upon their proper work. Nothing, indeed, could be a more complete contrast than the genuine simplicity and rustic bearing of Dr. Chalmers, compared with the colossal form, *Salvator Rosa* countenance, and startling mode of address that distinguished his gifted assistant. But different as they were in external

appearance and manner, their purpose and work were the same, and both were indefatigable in advancing the intellectual and spiritual interests of the parish of St. John's. Little, indeed, could it have been augured of these two remarkable men, that in a few years after they would be the founders of two churches, and that these churches should be so different in their doctrines, character, and bearings.

After having laboured four years in the ministerial charge of St. John's parish, a new change was to take place in the life of Dr. Chalmers, by the fulfilment of one of his earliest aspirations. It will be remembered, that in the period of his youth, when he was about to commence his ministry in the parish of Kilmany, his earnest wishes were directed towards a chair in the university of St. Andrews; and now, after the lapse of more than twenty years, his desires were to be gratified. The professorship of moral philosophy in that university had become vacant, and it was felt by the professors that none was so well fitted to occupy the charge, and increase the literary reputation of the college, as Dr. Chalmers, their honoured *alumnus*, whose reputation was now diffused over Europe. The offer, also, which was neither of his own seeking nor expecting, was tendered in the most respectful manner. Such an application from his *alma mater*, with which his earliest and most affectionate remembrances were connected, did not solicit him in vain; and after signifying his consent, he was unanimously elected to the office on the 18th January, 1823. Six different applications had previously been made to him from various charges since his arrival in Glasgow, but these he had steadfastly refused, for he felt that there he had a work to accomplish, to which every temptation of ecclesiastical promotion or literary ease must be postponed. But now the case was different. The machinery which he had set in motion with such immense exertion, might now be carried on by an ordinary amount of effort, and therefore could be intrusted to a meaner hand. His own health had suffered by the labour, and needed both repose and change. He felt, also, that a new career of usefulness in the cause of religion might be opened up to him by the occupation of a university chair, and the opportunities of literary leisure which it would afford him. And no charge of self-seeking, so liberally applied in cases of clerical translation, could be urged in the present instance; as the transition was from a large to a smaller income; and from a thronging city, where he stood in the full blaze of his reputation, to a small and remote county town, where the highest merit would be apt to sink into obscurity. Much grumbling, indeed, there was throughout Glasgow at large, and not a little disappointment expressed by the kirk-session of St. John's, when the proposed movement was announced; but the above-mentioned reasons had at last their proper weight, and the final parting was one of mutual tenderness and esteem. The effect of his eight years' labours in that city is thus summed up by his eloquent biographer, the Rev. Dr. Hanna:—"When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, by the great body of the upper classes of society evangelical doctrines were nauseated and despised; when he left it, even by those who did not bow to their influence, these doctrines were acknowledged to be indeed the very doctrines of the Bible. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, in the eye of the multitude evangelism stood confounded with a drivelling sanctimoniousness or a sour-minded asceticism; when he left it, from all such false associations the Christianity of the New Testament stood clearly and nobly redeemed. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, for nearly a century the magistrates and town-council

had exercised the city patronage in a spirit determinately anti-evangelical; when he left it, so complete was the revolution which had been effected, that from that time forward none but evangelical clergymen were appointed by the city patrons. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, there, and elsewhere over Scotland, there were many most devoted clergymen of the Establishment who had given themselves up wholly to the ministry of the Word and to prayer, but there was not one in whose faith and practice week-day ministrations had the place or power which he assigned to them; when he left it he had exhibited such a model of fidelity, diligence, and activity in all departments of ministerial labour, as told finally upon the spirit and practice of the whole ministry of Scotland. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, unnoticed thousands of the city population were sinking into ignorance, infidelity, and vice, and his eye was the first in this country to foresee to what a fearful magnitude that evil, if suffered to grow on unchecked, would rise; when he left it, his ministry in that city remained behind him, a permanent warning to a nation which has been but slow to learn that the greatest of all questions, both for statesmen and for churchmen, is the condition of those untaught and degraded thousands who swarm now around the base of the social edifice, and whose brawny arms may yet grasp its pillars to shake or to destroy. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, in the literary circles of the Scottish metropolis a thinly disguised infidelity sat on the seats of greatest influence, and smiled or scoffed at a vital energetic faith in the great and distinctive truths of revelation, while widely over his native land the spirit of a frigid indifference to religion prevailed; when he left it, the current of public sentiment had begun to set in a contrary direction; and although it took many years, and the labour of many other hands, to carry that healthful change onward to maturity, yet I believe it is not over-estimating it to say, that it was mainly by Dr. Chalmers' ministry in Glasgow—by his efforts at this period in the pulpit and through the press—that the tide of national opinion and sentiment was turned."

Dr. Chalmers delivered his farewell sermon on November 9, 1823, and on this occasion such was the crowding, not only of his affectionate flock, but admirers from every quarter, that the church, which was built to accommodate 1700 hearers, on this occasion contained twice that number. On the 11th, a farewell dinner was given to him by 340 gentlemen; and at the close, when he rose to retire, all the guests stood up at once to honour his departure. "Gentlemen," said the doctor, overwhelmed by this last token, and turning repeatedly to every quarter, "I cannot utter a hundredth part of what I feel—but I will do better—I will bear it all away." He was gone, and all felt as if the head of wisdom, and heart of cordial affection and Christian love, and tongue of commanding and persuasive eloquence, that hitherto had been the life and soul of Glasgow, had departed with him. If anything could have consoled him after such a parting, it must have been the reception that welcomed his arrival in St. Andrews, where he delivered his introductory lecture seven days after, the signal that his new career of action had begun.

So closely had Dr. Chalmers adhered to his clerical duties in Glasgow to the last, that on his arrival in St. Andrews, his whole stock for the commencement of the course of moral philosophy consisted of only a few days' lectures. But nothing can more gratify an energetic mind that has fully tested its own powers, than the luxury of such a difficulty. It is no wonder, therefore, to find him thus writing

in the latter part of the session: "I shall be lecturing for six weeks yet, and am very nearly from hand-to-mouth with my preparations. I have the prospect of winning the course, though it will be by no more than the length of half a neck; but I like the employment vastly." Most of these lectures were afterwards published as they were written—a sure indication of the deeply concentrated power and matchless diligence with which he must have occupied the winter months. It was no mere student auditory, also, for which he had exclusively to write during each day the lecture of the morrow; for the benches of the class-room were crowded by the intellectual from every quarter, who had repaired to St. Andrews to hear the doctor's eloquence upon a new theme. Even when the session was over, it brought no such holiday season as might have been expected; for he was obliged to prepare for the great controversy upon the plurality question, which, after having undergone its course in presbytery and synod, was finally to be settled in the General Assembly, the opening of which was at hand. The point at issue, upon which the merits of the case now rested, was whether, in consistency with the laws of the church, Dr. Macfarlan could hold conjunctly the office of principal of the university of Glasgow and minister of the Inner High Church in the same city? On this occasion, Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Thomson spoke against the connection of offices with their wonted eloquence; but the case was so completely prejudged and settled, that no earthly eloquence could have availed, and the question in favour of the double admission was carried by a majority of twenty-six. In much of the proceedings of this Assembly Dr. Chalmers took a part, among which was the proposal of erecting a new Gaelic church in Glasgow. This measure he ably and successfully advocated, so that it passed by a large majority. Only a fortnight after the Assembly had closed he was in Glasgow, and more busy there if possible than ever, having engaged to preach for six consecutive Sabbaths in the chapel which, at his instigation, had been erected as an auxiliary to the parish church of St. John's. Here, however, he was not to rest; for, while thus occupied with his former flock, he received an urgent invitation to preach at Stockport, for the benefit of the Sabbath-school established there—a very different school from those of Scotland for the same purpose, being built at a great expense, and capable of accommodating 4000 children. He complied; but on reaching England he was mortified, and even disgusted, to find, that the whole service was to be one of those half-religious half-theatrical exhibitions, so greatly in vogue in our own day, in which the one-half of the service seems intended to mock the other. He was to conduct the usual solemnities of prayer and preaching, and, so far, the whole affair was to partake of the religious character; but, in addition to himself as principal performer, a hundred instrumental and vocal artists were engaged for the occasion, who were to rush in at the close of the pulpit ministrations with all the secularities of a concert or oratorio. The doctor was indignant, and remonstrated with the managers of the arrangement, but it was too late. All he could obtain was, that these services should be kept apart from each other, instead of being blended together, as had been originally intended. Accordingly, he entered the pulpit, conducted the solemn services as he was wont, and preached to a congregation of 3500 auditors, after which he retired, and left the managers to their own devices; and before he had fairly escaped from the building, a tremendous volley of bassoons, flutes, violins, bass-voles, and serpents, burst upon his ear,

and accelerated the speed of his departure. The collection upon this occasion amounted to £400—but might it not be said to have been won too dearly?

The course of next winter at St. Andrews was commenced under the most favourable auspices, and more than double the number of students attended the moral philosophy class-room than had been wont in former sessions. Still true, moreover, to his old intellectual predilections, he also opened a separate class for political economy, which he found to be still more attractive to the students than the science of ethics. Nothing throughout could exceed the enthusiasm of the pupils, and their affection for their amiable and distinguished preceptor, who was frequently as ready to walk with them and talk with them as to lecture to them. Thus the course of 1824-25 went onward to its close, after which he again commenced his duties as a member of the General Assembly, and entered with ardour into the subject of church plurality, upon which he spoke sometimes during the course of discussion. It was during this conflict that a frank generous avowal was made by Dr. Chalmers that electrified the whole meeting. On the second day of the debate, a member upon the opposite side quoted from an anonymous pamphlet the declaration of its author's experience, that "after the satisfactory discharge of his parish duties, a minister may enjoy five days in the week of uninterrupted leisure for the prosecution of any science in which his taste may dispose him to engage." When this was read, every eye was turned to Dr. Chalmers; it was the pamphlet he had published twenty years ago, when the duties of the ministerial office appeared to him in a very different light than they now did. He considered its resurrection at such a period as a solemn call to humiliation and confession, and from this unpalatable duty he did not for a moment shrink. Rising in his place, he declared that the production was his own. "I now confess myself," he added, "to have been guilty of a heinous crime, and I now stand a repentant culprit before the bar of this venerable assembly." After stating the time and the occasion in which it originated, he went on in the following words:—"I was at that time, sir, more devoted to mathematics than to the literature of my profession; and, feeling grieved and indignant at what I conceived an undue reflection on the abilities and education of our clergy, I came forward with that pamphlet, to rescue them from what I deemed an unmerited reproach, by maintaining that a devoted and exclusive attention to the study of mathematics was not dissonant to the proper habits of a clergyman. Alas! sir, so I thought in my ignorance and pride. I have now no reserve in saying that the sentiment was wrong, and that, in the utterance of it, I penned what was most outrageously wrong. Strangely blinded that I was! What, sir, is the object of mathematical science? Magnitude and the proportions of magnitude. But *then*, sir, I had forgotten *two magnitudes*—I thought not of the littleness of time—I recklessly thought not of the greatness of eternity."

Hitherto the course of Dr. Chalmers at St. Andrews had been comfortable and tranquil; but this state was to continue no longer. It would have been strange, indeed, if one who so exclusively enjoyed the popularity of the town and its colleges, should have been permitted to enjoy it without annoyance. In the first instance, too, his grievances arose from that very evil of church plurality of which he had at first been the tolerant advocate, and afterwards the uncompromising antagonist. A vacancy having occurred in the city parish of St. Leonards,

the charge was bestowed, not upon a free unencumbered man, but upon one of the professors, whose college labours were enough for all his time and talent; and as he was unacceptable as a preacher, many of the students, among whom an unwonted earnestness had of late been awakened upon the important subject of religion, were desirous of enjoying a more efficient ministry. But an old law of the college made it imperative that they should give their Sabbath attendance at the church of St. Leonards; and when they petitioned for liberty to select their own place for worship and religious instruction, their application was refused, although it was backed by that of their parents. It was natural that Dr. Chalmers should become their advocate; and almost equally natural that in requital he should be visited by the collective wrath of his brethren of the *senatus*. They had decreed that the request of the students was unreasonable and mutinous; and turning upon the doctor himself, they represented him as one given up to new-fangled ideas of Christian liberty, and hostile to the interests of the Established Church. A still more vexatious subject of discussion arose from the appropriation of the college funds, the surplus of which, instead of being laid out to repair the dilapidated buildings, as had been intended, was annually divided among the professors after the current expenses of the classes had been defrayed. Dr. Chalmers thought this proceeding not only an illegal stretch of authority on the part of the professors, but also a perilous temptation; and on finding that they would not share in his scruples, he was obliged to adopt the only conscientious step that remained—he refused his share of the spoil during the five years of his continuance at St. Andrews. Thus the case continued until 1827, when the royal commission that had been appointed for the examination of the Scottish universities arrived at St. Andrews, and commenced their searching inquest. Dr. Chalmers, who hoped on this occasion that the evils of which he complained would be redressed, underwent in his turn a long course of examination, in which he fearlessly laid open the whole subject, and proposed the obvious remedy. But in this complaint he stood alone; the commissioners listened to his suggestions, and left the case as they found it. Another department of college reform, which had for some time been the object of his anxious solicitude, was passed over in the same manner. It concerned the necessary training of the pupils previous to their commencement of a college education. At our Scottish universities the students were admitted at a mere school-boy age, when they knew scarcely any Latin, and not a word of Greek; and thus the classical education of our colleges was such as would have been fitter for a mere whipping-school, in which these languages had to be commenced *ab initio*, than seats of learning in which such attainments were to be matured and perfected. To rectify this gross defect, the proposal of Dr. Chalmers suggested the erection of gymnasias attached to the colleges, where these youths should undergo a previous complete training in the mere mechanical parts of classical learning, and thus be fitted, on their entrance into college, for the highest departments of Greek and Roman scholarship. But here, also, his appeals were ineffectual; and at the present day, and in the country of Buchanan and Melville, the university classes of Latin and Greek admit such pupils, and exhibit such defects, as would excite the contempt of an Eton or Westminster school-boy.

It was well for Dr. Chalmers that amidst all this hostility and disappointment he had formed for himself a satisfactory source of consolation. At his

arrival in St. Andrews, and even amidst the toil of preparation for the duties of his new office, he had longed for the relief that would be afforded by the communication of religious instruction; for in becoming a professor of science he had not ceased to be a minister of the gospel. As soon, therefore, as the bustle of the first session was ended, he threw himself with alacrity into the lowly office of a Sabbath-school teacher. He went to work also in his own methodical fashion, by selecting a district of the town to which his labours were to be confined, visiting its families one by one, and inviting the children to join the class which he was about to form for meeting at his own house on the Sabbath evenings. And there, in the midst of these poor children, sat one of the most profound and eloquent of men—one at whose feet the great, the wise, and the accomplished had been proud to sit; while the striking picture is heightened by the fact, that even for these humble prelections and examinations, his questions were written out, and his explanations prepared as if he had been to confront the General Assembly or the British senate. In the hands of a talented artist would not such a subject furnish a true Christian counterpart to that of Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage? At the third session this duty was exchanged for one equally congenial, and still more important, arising from the request of some of the parents of his college pupils, that he would take charge of the religious education of their sons by receiving them into his house on the evenings of the Sabbath. With a desire so closely connected with his professional office through the week, he gladly complied, after having intrusted his Sabbath-school children to careful teachers who laboured under his direction. These student meetings at first were assembled around his fireside, in the character of a little family circle, and as such he wished it to continue; but so greatly was the privilege valued, and so numerous were the applications for admission, that the circle gradually expanded into a class which his ample drawing-room could scarcely contain. These examples were not long in producing their proper fruits. The students of St. Andrews, animated by such a pattern, bestirred themselves in the division of the town into districts and the formation of Sabbath-schools; and in the course of their explorations for the purpose, they discovered, even in that ancient seat of learning and city of colleges, an amount of ignorance and religious indifference such as they had never suspected to be lying around them till now. Another and an equally natural direction into which the impulse was turned was that of missionary exertion; and on Dr. Chalmers having accepted the office of president of a missionary society, the students caught new ardour from the addresses which he delivered, and the reports he read to them at the meetings. The consequence was, that a missionary society was formed for the students themselves, in which a third of those belonging to the united colleges were speedily enrolled. It was a wonderful change in St. Andrews, so long the very Lethe of religious indifference and unconcern, and among its pupils, so famed among the other colleges of Scotland for riot, recklessness, and dissipation. And the result showed that this was no fever-fit of passing emotion, but a permanent and substantial reality. For many of those students who most distinguished themselves by their zeal for missions were also distinguished as diligent talented scholars, and attained the highest honours of the university. Not a few of them now occupy our pulpits, and are among the most noted in the church for zeal, eloquence, and ministerial diligence and fidelity. And more than all, several of them were already in

training for that high missionary office whose claims they so earnestly advocated, and are now to be found labouring in the good work in the four quarters of the world. Speaking of Dr. Chalmers at this period, one of the most accomplished of his pupils, and now the most distinguished of our missionaries, thus writes:—"Perhaps the most noticeable peculiarity connected with the whole of this transformative process was the indirect, rather than the direct, mode in which the effectuating influence was exerted. It did not result so much from any direct and formal exhortation on the part of Dr. Chalmers as from the general awakening and suggestive power of his lectures, the naked force of his own personal piety, and the spreading contagiousness of his own personal example. He carried about with him a better than talismanic virtue, by which all who came in contact with him were almost unconsciously influenced, moulded, and impelled to imitate. He did not formally assemble his students, and in so many set terms formally exhort them to constitute themselves into missionary societies, open Sabbath-schools, commence prayer-meetings, and such like. No; in the course of his lectures he communicated something of his own life and warmth, and expounded principles of which objects like the preceding were some of the natural exponents and developments. He then faithfully exemplified the principles propounded in his own special actings and general conduct. He was known to be a man of prayer; he was acknowledged to be a man of active benevolence. He was observed to be going about from house to house exhorting adults on the concerns of their salvation, and devoting his energies to the humble task of gathering around him a Sabbath-school. He was seen to be the sole reviver of an all but defunct missionary society. All these, and other such like traits of character and conduct being carefully noted, how could they who intensely admired, revered, and loved the man, do less than endeavour, at however great a distance, to tread in his footsteps and imitate so noble a pattern?"

Such was the tenor of his course in St. Andrews until he was about to be transferred into another and more important field. The first effort made for this removal was an offer on the part of government of the charge of the parish of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, which had become vacant by the death of the Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff. To succeed such a man, and hold such a clerical appointment, which was one of the best in Scotland, were no ordinary temptations; but Dr. Chalmers was now fully persuaded that the highest, most sacred, and most efficient office in the church consisted in the training of a learned and pious ministry, and therefore he refused the offer, notwithstanding the very inferior emoluments of his present charge, and the annoyances with which it was surrounded. Another vacancy shortly afterwards occurred that was more in coincidence with his principles. This was the divinity chair of the university of Edinburgh, that had become vacant by the resignation of Dr. Ritchie; and to this charge he was unanimously elected by the magistrates and town-council of Edinburgh on the 31st October, 1827. The appointment on this occasion was cordially accepted, for it transferred him from the limited sphere of a county town to the capital, and from a professorship of ethics, the mere handmaid of theology, to that of theology itself. As he had not to commence his duties until the beginning of the next year's session, he had thus a considerable interval for preparation, which he employed to the uttermost. The subjects of lecturing, too, which comprised natural theology and the evidences of Christianity, had for years been his favourite study. His class-

room, as soon as the course commenced, was inundated, not merely with regular students, but with clergymen of every church, and gentlemen of every literary or scientific profession, all eager to hear systematic theology propounded by such a teacher. All this was well; but when a similar torrent attempted to burst into his domestic retirement, and sweep away his opportunities of preparation, he was obliged to repel it with unwonted bluntness. "I have now," he said, "a written paper in my lobby, shown by my servant to all and sundry who are making mere calls of attention, which is just telling them, in a civil way, to go about their business. If anything will check intrusion, this at length must." During this session, also, Dr. Chalmers was not only fully occupied with his class, but with the great question of Catholic emancipation, which was now on the eve of a final decision. A public meeting was held in Edinburgh on the 14th of March to petition in favour of the measure; and it was there that he advocated the bill in favour of emancipation in one of the most eloquent speeches he had ever uttered. The effect was tremendous, and at its close the whole assembly started to their feet, waved their hats, and rent the air with deafening shouts of applause for several minutes. Even the masters and judges of eloquence who were present were similarly moved, and Lord Jeffrey declared it as his opinion that never had eloquence produced a greater effect upon a popular assembly, and that he could not believe more had ever been done by the oratory of Demosthenes, Cicero, Burke, or Sheridan.

After the college session had ended, Dr. Chalmers was not allowed to retire into his beloved seclusion. Indeed, his opinions were now of such weight with the public mind, and his services so valuable, that he was considered as a public property, and used accordingly. It was for this cause that our statesmen who advocated Catholic emancipation were so earnest that he should give full publicity to his sentiments on the subject. When this duty was discharged, another awaited him: it was to repair to London and unfold his views on pauperism before a committee of the House of Commons, with reference to the proposal of introducing the English system of poor-laws into Ireland. During this visit to London he had the honour of being appointed, without any solicitation on his part, one of the chaplains of his majesty for Scotland. On returning home another visit to London was necessary, as one of the members of a deputation sent from the Church of Scotland to congratulate William IV. on his accession to the throne. It is seldom that our Scottish presbyters are to be found in kings' palaces, so that the ordeal of a royal presentation is generally sufficient to puzzle their wisest. Thus felt Dr. Chalmers upon the occasion; and in the amusing letters which he wrote home to his children he describes with full glee the difficulty he experienced from his cocked hat, and the buttons of his court dress. The questions put to him at this presentation were of solemn import, as issuing from kingly lips: "Do you reside constantly in Edinburgh?" "How long do you remain in town?" He returned to the labours of his class-room and the preparation of his elaborate work on *Political Economy*, which had employed his thoughts for years, and was published at the beginning of 1832. This care of authorship in behalf of principles which he knew to be generally unpalatable, was further aggravated by the passing of the Reform Bill, to which he was decidedly hostile. After his work on *Political Economy*, which fared as he had foreseen, being roughly handled by the principal critics of the day, against whose favourite doctrines it militated, he

published his well-known Bridgwater treatise, *On the Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man*. At the same period the cholera, which in its tremendous but erratic march had arrived in the island, and commenced its havoc in Newcastle and Sunderland, proceeded northward, and entered like a destroying angel within the gates of Edinburgh, which it filled with confusion and dismay. As its ravages went onward, the people became so maddened as to raise riots round the cholera hospitals, and treat the physicians, who attended on the patients at the risk of their own lives, with insult and violence. This exhibition was so afflictive to Dr. Chalmers, that he expressed his feelings upon the subject in the most impressive manner that a human being can possibly adopt—this was in public prayer, upon the national fast in St. George's Church, while he was earnestly beseeching that the plague might be stayed, and the people spared. "We pray, O Lord, in a more especial manner," he thus supplicated, "for those patriotic men whose duty calls them to a personal encounter with this calamity, and who, braving all the hazards of infection, may be said to stand between the living and the dead. Save them from the attacks of disease; save them from the obloquies of misconception and prejudice; and may they have the blessings and acknowledgments of a grateful community to encourage them in their labours." On the same evening a lord of session requested that this portion of the prayer should be committed to writing, and made more public, in the hope of arresting that insane popular odium which had risen against the medical board. The prayer was soon printed and circulated through the city.

In the year 1832 Dr. Chalmers was raised to the highest honour which the Church of Scotland can bestow, by being appointed moderator of the General Assembly. In this office he had the courage to oppose, and the good fortune to remove, an abuse that had grown upon the church until it had become a confirmed practice. It was now the use and wont of every commissioner to give public dinners, not only upon the week-days, but the Sabbaths of the Assembly's sitting, while the moderator sanctioned this practice by giving public breakfasts on the same day. In the eyes of the doctor this was a desecration of the sacred day, and he stated his feelings to Lord Belhaven, the commissioner, on the subject. The appeal was so effectual that the practice was discontinued, and has never since been resumed. At this Assembly, also, a fearful note was sounded, predictive of a coming contest. It was upon the obnoxious subject of patronage, against which the popular voice of Scotland had protested so long and loudly, but in vain. Overtures from eight presbyteries and three synods were sent up to this Assembly, stating, "That whereas the practice of church courts for many years had reduced the call to a mere formality; and whereas this practice has a direct tendency to alienate the affections of the people of Scotland from the Established Church; it is overtured, that such measures as may be deemed necessary be adopted, in order to restore the call to its constitutional efficiency." An animated debate was the consequence, and at last the motion of Principal Macfarlan, "that the Assembly judge it unnecessary and inexpedient to adopt the measures recommended in the overtures now before them," was carried by a majority of forty-two. From the office which he held, Dr. Chalmers could only be a presiding onlooker of the debate; but in the Assembly of next year, when the subject was resumed, he had an open arena before him, which he was not slow to occupy.

On this occasion, the eleven overtures of the preceding year had swelled into forty-five, a growth that indicated the public feeling with unmistakable significance. The two principal speakers in the discussion that followed were Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Cook, and each tendered his motion before the Assembly. That of Dr. Chalmers was to the effect, that efficiency should be given to the call, by declaring the dissent of a majority of the male heads of families in a parish, with or without the assignment of reasons, should be sufficient to set aside the presentee, unless these reasons were founded in malicious combination, or manifestly incorrect as to his ministerial gifts and qualifications. The counter-motion of Dr. Cook was, that while it is competent for the heads of families to give in to the presbytery objections of whatever nature against the presentee, the presbytery shall consider these objections, and if they find them unfounded, shall proceed to the settlement. This was carried only by a majority of twelve, and mainly, also, by the strength of the eldership, as a majority of twenty ministers was in favour of the motion of Dr. Chalmers. It was easy to see, however, in what direction the tide had set, and with what force and volume it would go onward. At the next Assembly a full trial was to be made that should be conclusive upon the point at issue. Dr. Chalmers on this occasion was not a member, but his motion of the preceding year was again brought before the Assembly by Lord Moncrieff, in the form of an "Overture and Interim Act on Calls," and expressed as follows:—"The General Assembly declare, that it is a fundamental law of the church, that no pastor shall be intruded into any congregation contrary to the will of the people; and, in order that the principle may be carried into full effect, the General Assembly, with the consent of a majority of the presbyteries of this church, do declare, enact, and ordain, that it shall be an instruction to presbyteries that if, at the moderating in a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation, and in full communion with the church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated in, such disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the presbytery rejecting such person, and that he shall be rejected accordingly, and due notice thereof forthwith given to all concerned; but that if the major part of the said heads of families shall not disapprove of such person to be their pastor, the presbytery shall proceed with the settlement according to the rules of the church: And further declare, that no person shall be held to be entitled to disapprove as aforesaid, who shall refuse, if required, solemnly to declare, in presence of the presbytery that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of himself or the congregation." Such was the well-known measure called the Veto, which, being carried by a majority of forty-six, became part of the law of the Church of Scotland. Considering the previous domination of patronage, it was regarded with much complacency, as a valuable boon to public feeling, and a great step in advance towards a thorough reformation in the church. But, unfortunately, it was only a compromise with an evil that should have been utterly removed; a mere religious half-measure, that in the end was certain to dwindle into a nullity; and Dr. Chalmers lived long enough to confess its insufficiency and witness its downfall.

In the case of those honoured individuals who have "greatness thrust upon them," the imposition generally finds them at a season not only when they

are least expectant of such distinctions, but apparently the furthest removed from all chance of obtaining them. Such all along had been the case with Chalmers. Fame had found him in the obscure parish of Kilmany, and there proclaimed him one of the foremost of pulpit orators. It had followed him into the murky wynds and narrow closes of the Trongate and Saltmarket of Glasgow; and there, while he was employed in devising means for the amelioration of poverty through parochial agency, it had lauded him in the senate and among statesmen as an able financier and political economist. Instead of seeking, he had been sought, by that high celebrity which seems to have pursued him only the more intently by how much he endeavoured to escape it. And now, after he had been so earnestly employed in endeavouring to restore the old Scottish ecclesiastical *regime* and puritan spirit of the seventeenth century, so loathed by the learned, the fashionable, and the free-thinking of the nineteenth—new honours, and these from the most unlikely sources, were showered upon him in full profusion. In 1834 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and in the year following a vice-president. In the beginning of 1834 he was elected a corresponding member of the Royal Institute of France; and in the year 1835, while upon a visit to Oxford for the recovery of his health, impaired by the fatigues he had undergone in London in the discharge of his public duties, the university of Oxford in full theatre invested him with the degree of Doctor of Laws. The academy of Voltaire and the university of Laod combining to do honour to a modern Scottish Covenanter!—never before had such extremes met! This triumph, however, needed a slave behind the chariot, and such a remembrancer was not wanting to the occasion. During his stay in London he had been negotiating for the establishment of a permanent government salary to the chair of theology in the university of Edinburgh, for at his entrance, in 1828, the revenues of its professorship, in consequence of the abolition of pluralities, amounted to not more than £196 per annum. It was impossible, upon such a pittance, to maintain the proper dignity of the office, and rear a numerous family; and, although the town-council endeavoured to supplement the defect by the establishment of fees to be paid by the students, this remedy was found so scanty and precarious, that Dr. Chalmers could not calculate upon more than £300 a year, while the necessary expenditure of such an office could not be comprised within £800. But government at the time was labouring under one of those periodical fits of economy in which it generally looks to the pennies, in the belief that the pounds can take care of themselves, and therefore the earnest appeals of Dr. Chalmers upon the importance of such a professorship, and the necessity of endowing it, were ineffectual. Little salaries were to be cut down, and small applicants withheld, to convince the sceptical public that its funds were managed with strict economy. To his office of professor, indeed, that of one of the Scottish royal chaplaincies had been added; but this was little more than an honorary title, as its salary was only £50 per annum. Thus, at the very height of his fame, Dr. Chalmers was obliged to bethink himself of such humble subjects as weekly household bills, and the ways and means of meeting them, and with the heavy pressure of duties that had gathered upon him to take refuge in the resources of authorship. A new and cheap edition of his works, in quarterly volumes, was therefore commenced in 1836. It was no mere republication of old matter, however, which he thus presented to the public, and

this he was anxious should be generally understood. "It so happens," he thus writes to the Rev. Mr. Cunningham of Harrow, "that the great majority of my five first volumes will be altogether new; and that of the two first already published, and which finishes my views on natural theology, the *Bridgewater Treatise*, is merely a fragment of the whole. Now, my request is, that you will draw the attention of any of the London reviewers to the new matter of my works." To such necessities the most distinguished man in Scotland, and the holder of its most important professorship, was reduced, because our government would not endow his office with a modicum of that liberality which it extended to a sinecure forest-ranger, or even a captain of beef-eaters.

These however were not the greatest of Dr. Chalmers' difficulties and cares. The important subject of church extension, that most clamant of our country's wants, annihilated all those that were exclusively personal, and after years of earnest advocacy a bright prospect began to dawn that this want would be satisfied. The king's speech in 1835 recommended the measure; the parliamentary leaders of the Conservative party were earnest in supporting it; while the Earl of Aberdeen in the House of Lords, and Sir Robert Peel in that of the Commons, were the most urgent advocates for the extension of the church in Scotland. But very different was the mood of the Whig ministry, and the premier, Lord Melbourne, who succeeded; and all that could be obtained from them was a commission of inquiry. It was the vague "I'll see to it," which in common life promises nothing, and usually accomplishes as little. Thus at least felt Dr. Chalmers, notwithstanding the assurances of Lord John Russell that the commissioners should be obliged to report progress from time to time, so that the house might apply the remedy to each evil successively as it was detected. It was no vague fear; for although the first report of the commissioners was to be returned in six months, thrice that period elapsed before the duty was implemented. This report, however, established a momentous fact; it was, that nearly one-third of the whole population of Edinburgh, to which their eighteen months' inquiry had been exclusively confined, were living in utter neglect of religious ordinances. To atone for such delay, as well as to remedy such an evil, it was time for the parliament to be up and doing. But parliament thought it was better to wait—to wait until they got farther intelligence. This intelligence at last came in two subsequent reports, by which it appeared that the deficiency of church accommodation and church attendance was still worse in Glasgow than in Edinburgh. And now, at least, was the time for action, after four years of protracted inquiry; but the remedy which parliament proposed consisted of little more than a few unmeaning words. The Highlands and the country parishes were to be aided from sources that were not available for the purpose, while the large towns were to be left in their former condition. In short, the Church of Scotland was to wait, and wait, and still to wait, while everything was to be expected, and nothing definite insured. A deputation from the Church Extension Committee was unavoidable under such circumstances of sickening procrastination and heartless disappointment; but the government that had anticipated such an advent, specified that Dr. Chalmers should not be one of the deputies. It was not convenient that the rulers of the hour should encounter the master-spirit of the age. Accordingly, the deputation of the Church of Scotland, *minus* Dr. Chalmers, waited upon Lord

Melbourne, and represented what a dereliction the government had committed in abandoning the religious provision of the large towns of Scotland, by which the principle of religious establishment itself was virtually abandoned. But they talked to a statesman whose only line of policy was to remember nothing about the past, and fear nothing for the future. Britain would last during his own day at least, and posterity might be left to take care of itself! When he was told, therefore that this abandonment of the Scottish cities was an abandonment of church establishment, and would inflict a fatal wound upon the Church of Scotland, this free-and-easy premier replied to the members of the deputation: "That, gentlemen, is your inference: you may not be the better for our plan; but, hang it! you surely cannot be worse;" and with this elegant sentence they were bowed off from the ministerial audience. It was well, however, that Dr. Chalmers, and those whom he influenced, had not entirely leaned, in such a vital question, upon the reed of court favour and government support. He had already learned, although with some reluctance, that most necessary scriptural caveat for a minister of the Church of Scotland, "Put not your trust in princes;" so that from the commencement of this treaty between the church and the state, he had turned his attention to the public at large as the source from which his expectations were to be realized. He therefore obtained the sanction of the General Assembly, in 1836, to form a sub-committee on church extension, for the purpose of organizing a plan of meetings over the whole country for the erection of new churches. This was applying to the fountain-head, let the conduits be closed as they might; and the result more than answered his expectations. In the year 1838 he was enabled to state to the General Assembly, that these two years of organized labour, combined with the two years of desultory effort that had preceded—four years in all—had produced nearly £200,000, out of which nearly 200 churches had been erected. Well might he call this, in announcing the fact, "an amount and continuance of pecuniary support altogether without a precedent in the history of Christian beneficence in this part of the British empire." To this he added a hope—but how differently fulfilled from the way he expected! "At the glorious era of the church's reformation," he said, "it was the unwearied support of the people which, under God, finally brought her efforts to a triumphant issue. In this era of her extension—an era as broadly marked and as emphatically presented to the notice of the ecclesiastical historian as any which the church is wont to consider as instances of signal revival and divine interposition—the support of the people will not be wanting, but by their devoted exertions, and willing sacrifices, and ardent prayers, they will testify how much they love the house where their fathers worshipped; how much they reverence their Saviour's command, that the very poorest of their brethren shall have the gospel preached to them."

While the indifference of government upon the subject of church extension was thus felt in Scotland, a calamity of a different character was equally impending over the churches both of Scotland and England—a calamity that threatened nothing less than to disestablish them, and throw them upon the voluntary support of the public at large. Such was a part of the effects of the Reform Bill. It brought forward the Dissenters into place and power, and gave them a vantage-ground for their hostility to all ecclesiastical establishments; and so well did they use this opportunity, that the separation of church

and state promised to be an event of no distant occurrence. Even Wellington himself, whose practised eye saw the gathering for the campaign, and whose stout heart was not apt to be alarmed at bugbears, thus expressed his sentiments on the occasion: "People talk of the war in Spain, and the Canada question, but all that is of little moment. The real question is, church or no church; and the majority of the House of Commons—a small majority, it is true, but still a majority—are practically against it." This majority, too, had already commenced its operations with the Church of Ireland, the number of whose bishops was reduced, and a large amount of whose endowments it was proposed to alienate to other purposes than the support of religion. Thus was that war begun which has continued from year to year, growing at each step in violence and pertinacity, and threatening the final eversion of the two religious establishments of Great Britain. The friends of the Establishment principle were equally alert in its defence; and among other institutions, a Christian Influence Society was formed, to vindicate the necessity and duty of state support to the national religion as embodied in the church of the majority of the people. It occurred to this society that their cause could be best supported by popular appeal, on the part of a bold, zealous, eloquent advocate—one who had already procured the right to speak upon such a subject, and to whom all might confidently listen. And where could they find such an advocate? All were at one in the answer, and Dr. Chalmers was in consequence requested to give a course of public lectures in London upon the subject of church establishments, to which he assented. Thus mysteriously was he led by a way which he knew not to a termination which he had not anticipated. He was to raise his eloquent voice for the last time in behalf of a cause which he was soon after to leave for ever—and to leave only because a higher, holier, and more imperative duty commanded his departure.

This visit of Dr. Chalmers to London was made in the spring of 1838. He took with him a course of lectures on which he had bestowed the utmost pains; and the first, which he delivered on the 25th of April, was attended by the most distinguished in rank and talent, who admired the lecturer as well as sympathized in his subject. The other discourses followed successively, and seldom has great London been stirred from its mighty depths as upon these occasions. Peers, prelates, statesmen, literati, the powerful, the noble, the rich, the learned, all hurried pell-mell into the passages, or were crowded in one living heap in the ample hall; and all eyes were turned upon the homely-looking elderly man who sat at the head, before a little table, at times looking as if buried in a dream, and at others, lifting up his eyes at the gathering and advancing tide, composed of England's noblest and best, as if he wondered what this unwonted stir could mean. How had such a man collected such a concourse? That was soon shown, when, after having uttered a few sentences, with a pronouncement which even his own countrymen deemed uncouth, he warmed with his subject, until his thoughts seemed to be clothed with thunder; and starting to his feet, the whole assembly rose with him as one man, passed into all his feelings, and moved with his every impulse, as if for the time they had implicitly resigned their identity into his hands, and were content to be but parts of that wondrous individual in whose utterance they were so absorbed and swallowed up. "The concluding lecture," says one writer, "was graced by the presence of nine prelates of the Church of England. The tide that had

been rising and swelling each succeeding day, now burst all bounds. Carried away by the impassioned utterance of the speaker, long ere the close of some of his finest passages was reached, the voice of the lecturer was drowned in the applause, the audience rising from their seats, waving their hats above their heads, and breaking out into tumultuous approbation." "Nothing was more striking, however," writes another, "amidst all this excitement, than the child-like humility of the great man himself. All the flattery seemed to produce no effect whatever on him; his mind was entirely absorbed in his great object; and the same kind, playful, and truly Christian spirit, that so endeared him to us all, was everywhere apparent in his conduct. . . . I had heard Dr. Chalmers on many great occasions, but probably his London lectures afforded the most remarkable illustrations of his extraordinary power, and must be ranked amongst the most signal triumphs of oratory in any age."

Having thus delivered such a solemn and public testimony in behalf of church establishments, Dr. Chalmers now resolved to visit France, a duty which he conceived he owed to the country, as he had been elected a member of its far-famed Royal Institute. He accordingly went from England to Paris in the earlier part of June, 1838, accompanied by his wife and two daughters. From the journal which he kept on the occasion, much interesting information may be gleaned of his views on the state of France and French society, while throughout it is evident that he carried with him what our English tourists too seldom transport into that country—the willingness to recognize and readiness to acknowledge whatever superiority it possesses over our own. He thus found that Paris was something better than a city of profligates, and France than a land of infidels. In that gay metropolis his exclamation is, "How much more still and leisurely everything moves here than in London! . . . It is more a city of loungers; and life moves on at a more rational pace." On another occasion he declared Paris "better than London, in not being a place of extreme and high-pressure work in all the departments of industry. More favourable to intellect, to man in his loftier capacities, to all the better and higher purposes of our nature." It was not wonderful, therefore, that with such frankness and warmth of heart he was soon at one with the choicest of that literary and intellectual society with which the city at all times abounds, and delighted with its buildings, its public walks, and museums of science and art. Dr. Chalmers made no pretension to taste in the fine arts, and its critical phraseology he detested as cant and jargon; but it was well known by his friends that he had a love of fine statues and pictures, and an innate natural perception of their beauties, that might well have put those who prate learnedly about Raffaele and Titian to the blush. This will at once be apparent in his notices of the Louvre, where his remarks are full of life and truthfulness: "Struck with the picture of one of Bonaparte's battles in his retreat from Moskow. The expression of Napoleon very striking—as if solemnized by the greatness of the coming disaster, yet with an air of full intelligence, and serenity, and majesty, and a deep mournful expression withal. The long gallery of the Louvre superb; impressed at once with the superiority of its pictures. Very much interested in the Flemish pictures, of which there were some very admirable ones by David Teniers. I am fond of Rembrandt's portraits; and was much pleased in recognizing the characteristics of Rubens, Poussin, and Claude Lorrain. I also remarked that in most of the Italian schools, with the exception of the Venetian, there

was a total want of shading off; yet the separate figures, though not harmonized with the background, very striking in themselves. The statuary of painting perhaps expresses the style of the Roman and other such schools. There is a quadrangle recently attached to the east end of the gallery, filled with the models of towns, ships, and machinery; the towns very instructive. But the most interesting part of this department is the Spanish pictures, in all of which the strong emotions are most powerfully expressed. There is quite a stamp of national peculiarity in these works. The walls which contain them seem all alive with the passions and thoughts of living men." Thus far Dr. Chalmers in a new character, as a critic in painting—not of the schools, however, but of nature's own teaching. After a short residence of three weeks in Paris, during which he noticed everything with a benevolent and observant eye, and read before the Institute a lecture of initiation, having for its title, the "Distinction, both in Principle and Effect, between a Legal Charity for the Relief of Indigence, and a Legal Charity for the Relief of Disease," Dr. Chalmers set off on a short tour through some of the inland provinces, which he was induced to make by the persuasion of his English friends. On finishing it, he characterized it as a most interesting journey, in which his hopes for the futurity of France had been materially improved. He then returned to Edinburgh, where sterner events awaited his arrival.

The first task of Dr. Chalmers, on returning home, was the augmentation of the church extension fund. No hope was now to be derived from government grants, and therefore, while old age was stealing upon him, and the weariness of a life of toil demanding cessation and repose, he felt as if the struggle had commenced anew, and must be encountered over again. The extension scheme was his favourite enterprise, in which all his energies for years had been embarked; and could he leave it now in its hour of need, more especially after such a hopeful commencement? He therefore began an arduous tour for the purpose on the 18th of August, 1839. He commenced with the south-western districts of Scotland, in the course of which he visited and addressed ten presbyteries successively. And, be it observed, too, that this prince of orators had a difficulty in his task to encounter which only an orator can fully appreciate. Hitherto his addresses to public meetings had been carefully studied and composed, so that to extemporaneous haranguing on such occasions he had been an utter stranger. But now that he must move rapidly from place to place, and adapt himself to every kind of meeting, and be ready for every sudden emergency of opposition or cavil, he felt that the aids of the study must be abandoned—that he must be ready on every point, and at every moment—that, in short, all his former habits of oratory must be abandoned, and a new power acquired, and that too, at the age of sixty, when old habits are confirmed, and the mind has lost its flexibility. But even this difficulty he met and surmounted; his ardour in the work beat down every obstacle, and bore him irresistibly onward. "It is true," he said, "that it were better if we lived in times when a calm and sustained argumentation from the press would have carried the influential minds of the community; but, as it is, one must accommodate his doings to the circumstances of the age." After the south-western districts had been visited, he made another tour, in which he visited Dundee, Perth, Stirling, and Dunfermline; and a third, that comprised the towns of Brechin, Montrose, Arbroath, and Aberdeen. A fourth, which

he called his great northern tour, led him through a considerable part of the Highlands, where he addressed many meetings, and endeavoured everywhere to stir up the people to a due sense of the importance of religious ordinances. But it is melancholy to find that labours so great ended, upon the whole, in disappointment. At the commencement Dr. Chalmers had confidently expected to raise £100,000 for the erection of a hundred new churches, and in this expectation he was fully justified by the success of his previous efforts. But £40,000 was the utmost that was realized by all this extraordinary toil and travel. Still, however, much had been done during his seven years of labour in the cause of church extension; for in 1841, when he demitted his office as convener of the committee, 220 churches, at a cost of more than £300,000, had been added to the Establishment. He had thus made an extensive trial of voluntarism, and obtained full experience of its capabilities and defects, of which the following was his recorded opinion:—"While he rejoices in the experimental confirmation which the history of these few years has afforded him of the resources and the capabilities of the voluntary system, to which, as hitherto unfostered by the paternal care of government, the scheme of church extension is indebted for all its progress, it still remains his unshaken conviction of that system notwithstanding, that it should only be resorted to as a supplement, and never but in times when the powers of infidelity and intolerance are linked together in hostile combination against the sacred prerogatives of the church, should it once be thought of as a substitute for a national establishment of Christianity. In days of darkness and disquietude it may open a temporary resource, whether for a virtuous secession or an ejected church to fall back upon; but a far more glorious consummation is, when the state puts forth its hand to sustain but not to subjugate the church, and the two, bent on moral conquests alone, walk together as fellow-helpers towards the achievement of that great pacific triumph—the Christian education of the people."

The indifferent success with which the latter part of the labours of Dr. Chalmers in behalf of church extension was followed, could be but too easily explained. The Church of Scotland had now entered the depths of her trial, and while the issue was uncertain, the public mind was in that state of suspense under which time seems to stand still, and all action is at a pause. The urgent demand that was pressed upon society was for money to erect more places of worship; but what the while did the state mean to do in this important matter? Would it take the whole responsibility upon itself, or merely supplement the liberality of the people? And if the latter, then to what amount would it give aid, and upon what terms? When a cautious benevolence is thus posed, it too often ruminates, until the hour of action has knelled its departure. Such was the condition to which Scotland was now reduced. In tracing its causes, we must revert to the last five years of our narrative, and those important ecclesiastical movements with which Dr. Chalmers was so closely implicated.

In obtaining the veto law, Dr. Chalmers was far from regarding it either as a satisfactory or a final measure. Instead of being an ecclesiastical reform, it was but a half-way concession, in which church and state would be liable to much unpleasant collision. This result must sooner or later be the case, and in such a shock the weaker would be driven to the wall. This Dr. Chalmers foresaw, and it required no extraordinary sagacity to foretell which of

these causes would prove the weaker. And yet the veto, like most great changes, however defective, worked well at the commencement. So remarkably had the evangelistic spirit been revived by it, that in 1839 the revenue collected for Christian enterprise was fourteen times greater than it had been five years previous. Another significant fact of its usefulness was, that, notwithstanding the new power it conferred upon the people, that power had been enjoyed with such moderation, that during these five years it had been exercised only in ten cases out of one hundred and fifty clerical settlements. All this, however, was of no avail to save it from ruin, and even the beginning of its short-lived existence gave promise how soon and how fatally it would terminate.

The first act of hostility to the veto law occurred only a few months after it had passed. The parish church of Auchterarder had become vacant, and the Earl of Kinnoul, who was patron, made a presentation of the living in favour of Mr. Robert Young, a licentiate. But the assent of the people was also necessary, and after Mr. Young had preached two successive Sabbaths in the pulpit of Auchterarder, that the parishioners might test his qualifications, a day was appointed for their coming forward to moderate in the call, by signing their acceptance. Not more, however, than two heads of families, and his lordship's factor, a non-resident, out of a parish of 3000 souls, gave their subscription. As this was no call at all, it was necessary to obtain a positive dissent, and on the opportunity being given for the heads of families, being communicants, to sign their rejection, 287, out of 300 members, subscribed their refusal to have the presentee for their minister. Thus Mr. Young was clearly and most expressly vetoed, and his presentation should, according to the law, have been instantly cancelled; but, instead of submitting, he appealed against the refusal of the parish, in the first instance to the presbytery, and afterwards to the synod; and on his appeal being rejected successively by both courts, he finally carried it, not to the General Assembly, for ultimate adjudication, as he was bound to do, but to the Court of Session, where it was to be reduced to a civil question, and nothing more. In this way admission to the holy office of the ministry and the cure of souls was to be as secular a question as the granting of a publican's license, or the establishment of a highway toll, and to be settled by the same tribunal! After much fluctuation and delay that occurred during the trial of this singular case, a final decision was pronounced by the Court of Session in February, 1838, by which the presbytery of Auchterarder was declared to have acted illegally, and in violation of their duty, in rejecting Mr. Young solely on account of the dissent of the parish, without any reasons assigned for it. But what should the presbytery do or suffer in consequence? This was not declared; for the court, having advanced so far as to find the veto law illegal, did not dare to issue a positive command to the church to throw it aside, and admit the presentee to the ministerial office. The utmost they could do was to adjudge the temporalities of the benefice to Mr. Young, while the church might appoint to its spiritual duties whatever preacher was found fittest for the purpose. Still, however, if not unchurched, she was disestablished by such a decision; and, for the purpose of averting this disastrous termination, the case was appealed from the Court of Session to the House of Lords. But there the sentence of the Scottish tribunal, instead of being repealed, was confirmed and established into law. Thus patronage was replaced in all its authority, and

the veto made a dead letter. This judgment, so important to the future history of the Church of Scotland, was delivered by the House of Lords on May 3, 1839. On the 16th the General Assembly met, and Dr. Chalmers, who had hitherto seldom taken a part in the proceedings of church courts, now made anxious preparation for the important crisis. The veto, he saw, existed no longer; but was the choice of the people to perish also? The important discussion commenced by Dr. Cook presenting a motion, to the effect that the Assembly should hold the veto law as abrogated, and proceed as if it never had passed. To this Dr. Chalmers presented a counter-motion, consisting of three parts. The first acknowledged the right of the civil authority over the temporalities of the living of Auchterarder, and acquiesced in their loss; the second expressed the resolution not to abandon the principle of non-intrusion; and the third proposed the formation of a committee to confer with government, for the prevention of any further collision between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. A heart-stirring speech of three hours followed, in which he advocated each point of his motion with such irresistible eloquence, that it was carried by a majority of forty-nine. In this speech the following comparison between the two national churches was not only fitted to send a patriotic thrill through every Scottish heart, but to enlighten those English understandings that could not comprehend the causes of a national commotion, in which they, nevertheless, found themselves somehow most deeply implicated:—

“Let me now, instead of looking forward into consequences, give some idea to the Assembly of the extent of that degradation and helplessness which, if we do submit to this decision of the House of Lords, have been actually and already inflicted upon us—a degradation to which the Church of England, professing the king to be their head, never would submit; and to which the Church of Scotland, professing the Lord Jesus Christ to be their head, never can. You know that, by the practice of our church, the induction and the ordination go together. We regard both as spiritual acts; but, by the practice of the Church of England, the two are separated in point of time from each other; and as they look only upon the ordination as spiritual, this lays them open to such civil mandates and civil interdicts as we have never been accustomed to receive in the questions which arise on the subject of induction into parishes. But ask any English ecclesiastic whether the bishop would receive an order, from any civil court whatever, on the matter of ordination; and the instant, the universal reply is, that he would not. In other words, we should be degraded far beneath the level of the sister church if we remain in connection with the state, and submit to this new ordinance, or, if you will, to this new interpretation of their old ordinances.” After quoting a case in point, in which a presentee in the Church of England had appealed, but in vain, to the royal authority against the prelate who refused to ordain him, Dr. Chalmers continued:—“To what position, then, are we brought if we give in to the opposite motion, and proceed in consequence to the ordination of Mr. Young? To such a position as the bishops of England, with all the Erastianism which has been charged, and to a great degree, I think, falsely charged, upon that establishment, never, never would consent to occupy. Many of them would go to the prison and the death rather than submit to such an invasion on the functions of the sacred office. We read of an old imprisonment of bishops, which led to the greatest and most glorious political eman-

ipation that ever took place in the history of England. Let us not be mistaken. Should the emancipation of our church require it, there is the same strength of high and holy determination in this our land. There are materials here, too, for upholding the contest between principle and power, and enough of the blood and spirit of the olden time for sustaining that holy warfare, where, as in former days, the inflictions of the one party were met with a patience and determination invincible in the sufferings of the other.”

In consequence of the recommendation embodied in his motion, a committee was appointed for conferring with government, of which Dr. Chalmers was convener. It was now resolved that they should repair to London upon their important mission, and thither he accompanied them in the beginning of July. After much negotiation with the leaders of the different parties, the members of committee returned to Edinburgh; and in the report which Dr. Chalmers gave of their proceedings he expressed his opinion that matters looked more hopeful than ever. Important concessions were to be made to the church on the part of government, and a measure was to be devised and drawn up to that effect. “With such helps and encouragement on our side,” the report concluded, “let but the adherents of this cause remain firm and united in principle among themselves, and with the favour of an approving God, any further contest will be given up as unavailing, when, let us fondly hope, all the feelings of party, whether of triumph on one side because of victory, or of humiliation on the other side because of defeat, shall be merged and forgotten in the desires of a common patriotism, to the reassurance of all who are the friends of our establishment, to the utter confusion of those enemies who watch for our halting, and would rejoice in our overthrow.”

It was indeed full time that such a hope should dawn upon those who loved the real interests of our church. For the case of Auchterarder did not stand alone; on the contrary, it was only the first signal of a systematic warfare which patronage was about to wage against the rights of the people; and the example of appeal to the civil authority was but too readily followed in those cases that succeeded. And first came that of Lethendy, and afterwards of Marnoch, in which the civil authority was invoked by vetoed presentees; while in the last of these conflicts the presbytery of Strathgogie, to which Marnoch belonged, complicated the difficulties of the question by adopting the cause of the rejected licentiate, and setting the authority of the church at defiance. The rebellious ministers were suspended from office; and they, in turn, relying upon the protection of the civil power, served an interdict upon those clergymen who, at the appointment of the General Assembly, should attempt to officiate in their pulpits, or even in their parishes. The Court of Session complied so far as to exclude the Assembly's ministers from preaching in the churches, churchyards, and school-rooms of the suspended, so that they were obliged to preach in barns or in the open air; but at last, when even this liberty was complained of by the silenced recusants, the civil court agreed to the whole amount of their petition. It was such a sentence, issuing from mere jurisconsults and Edinburgh lawyers, as was sometimes hazarded in the most tyrannical seasons of the dark ages, when a ghostly conclave of pope, cardinals, and prince-bishops laid a whole district under the ban of an interdict for the offence of its ruler, and deprived its people of the rites of the church until complete atonement had been paid. Such was the state of matters when the Assembly's com-

mission met on the 4th of March, and resolved to resist this monstrous usurpation. On this occasion Dr. Chalmers spoke with his wonted energy; and after representing the enormity of the offence, and the necessity of resisting it, he thus concluded—"Be it known, then, unto all men, that we shall not retract one single footstep—we shall make no submission to the Court of Session—and that not because of the disgrace, but because of the gross and grievous dereliction of principle that we should thereby incur. They may force the ejection of us from our places: they shall never, never force us to the surrender of our principles; and if that honourable court shall again so far mistake their functions as to repeat or renew the inroads they have already made, we trust they will ever meet with the same reception they have already gotten—to whom we shall give place by subjection, no, not for an hour; no, not by an hair-breadth."

The only earthly hope of the Church of Scotland was now invested in the parliament. The former had distinctly announced the terms on which it would maintain its connection with the state, while the leading men of the latter had held out such expectations of redress as filled the hearts of Dr. Chalmers and his friends with confidence. It was now full time to make the trial. A deputation was accordingly sent to London; but, after mountains of promises and months of delay, by which expectation was alternately elevated and crushed, nothing better was produced than Lord Aberdeen's bill. By this a reclaiming parish were not only to state their objections, but the grounds and reasons on which they were founded; while the presbytery, in taking cognizance of these objections, were to admit them only when personal to the presentee, established on sufficient grounds, and adequate for his rejection. Thus, a country parish—a rustic congregation—were to analyze their religious impressions, embody them in distinct form, and table them before a learned and formidable tribunal, in rejecting the minister imposed upon them; while, in weighing these nice objections, and ascertaining their specific gravity, every country minister was to be a Duns Scotus or Thomas Aquinas, if not a very Daniel come to judgment. We suspect that the members of the learned House of Lords, and even of the Commons to boot, would have been sorely puzzled had such a case been their own, whether in the character of judges or appellants. It was in vain that Dr. Chalmers remonstrated by letter with the originator of this strange measure; the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill, was now the *ultimatum*; and, as might be expected, it was rejected in the General Assembly by a majority of nearly two to one. The unfortunate bill was in consequence withdrawn, while its disappointed author characterized Dr. Chalmers, in the House of Lords, as "a reverend gentleman, a great leader in the Assembly, who, having brought the church into a state of jeopardy and peril, had left it to find its way out of the difficulty as well as it could." This was not the only instance in which the doctor and his coadjutors were thus calumniated from the same quarter, so that he was obliged to publish a pamphlet on the principles of the church question, and a reply to the charges with which its advocates had been vilified. "It is as a blow struck," he wrote, "at the corner-stone, when the moral integrity of clergymen is assailed; and when, not in any secret or obscure whispering-place, but on the very house-tops of the nation, we behold, and without a single expression of remonstrance or regret from the assembled peerage of the empire, one nobleman sending forth his wrathful fulmination against the honesty and truth of ministers

of religion, and another laughing it off in his own characteristic way with a good-natured jeer as a thing of nought—we cannot but lament the accident by which a question of so grave a nature, and of such portentous consequences to society, as the character of its most sacred functionaries, should have come even for a moment under the treatment of such hands."

Events had now ripened for decisive action. The church could not and the state would not yield; and those deeds successively and rapidly occurred that terminated in the disruption. As these, however, were so open, and are so well known, a brief recapitulation of the leading ones is all that is necessary. The seven suspended ministers of Strathbogie, regardless of the sentence of the Assembly, by which they were rendered incapable of officiating in their ministerial character, resolved to ordain and admit Mr. Edwards, the rejected presentee, to the pastoral charge of Marnoch, at the command and by the authority of the Court of Session alone, which had by its sentence commissioned them to that effect. This portentous deed was done on the 21st of January, 1841, and Scotland looked on with as much astonishment as if the Stuarts had risen from the dead. "May Heaven at length open the eyes of those infatuated men," exclaimed Dr. Chalmers, "who are now doing so much to hasten on a crisis which they will be the first to deplore!" For an act of daring rebellion, so unparalleled in the history of the church, it was necessary that its perpetrators should be deposed; and for this Dr. Chalmers boldly moved at the next meeting of Assembly. The question was no longer whether these men were animated by pure and conscientious though mistaken motives, to act as they had done: of this fact Dr. Chalmers declared that he knew nothing. "But I do know," he added, "that when forbidden by their ecclesiastical superiors to proceed any further with Mr. Edwards, they took him upon trials; and when suspended from the functions of the sacred ministry by a commission of the General Assembly, they continued to preach and to dispense the sacraments; that they called in the aid of the civil power to back them in the exclusion from their respective parishes of clergymen appointed by the only competent court to fulfil the office which they were no longer competent to discharge; and lastly, as if to crown and consummate this whole disobedience—as if to place the topstone on the Babel of their proud and rebellious defiance—I know that, to the scandal and astonishment of all Scotland, and with a daring which I believe themselves would have shrunk from at the outset of their headlong career, they put forth their unlicensed hands on the dread work of ordination; and as if in solemn mockery of the church's most venerable forms, asked of the unhappy man who knelt before them, if he promised 'to submit himself humbly and willingly, in the spirit of meekness, unto the admonitions of the brethren of the presbytery, and to be subject to them and all other presbyteries and superior judicatories of this church;' and got back from him an affirmative response, along with the declaration that 'zeal for the honour of God, love to Jesus Christ, and desire of saving souls, were his great motives and chief inducements to enter into the functions of the holy ministry, and not worldly designs and interests.'" The proposal for their deposition was carried by a majority of 97 out of 347 members, notwithstanding the opposition of the Moderate party, and the sentence was pronounced accordingly. But only the day after the Assembly was astounded by being served with an interdict, charging them to desist from carry-

ing their sentence into effect! After this deed of hardihood, the deposed ministers retired to their parishes, and continued their public duties in defiance of the Assembly's award, while they were encouraged in their contumacy by several of their Moderate brethren, who assisted them in the celebration of the Lord's supper. A resolution was passed that these abettors of the deposed ministers should be censured; but Dr. Cook and his party opposed the measure, on the plea that it would perpetuate the divisions now prevalent in the church. It was thus made a question, not of the church against the state for the aggressions of the latter against the former, but merely of the Evangelical party against the Moderates; and upon this footing the Moderates were resolved to place it before the legislature, and ascertain to which of the parties the countenance and support of the state was to be given. In this form the result would be certain, for the state would love its own. A disruption was inevitable, and it was equally certain that the evangelical portion of the church would not be recognized by the state as the Established Church of Scotland. This was so distinctly foreseen, that meetings had already been held to deliberate in what manner the church was to be supported after it should be disestablished. Upon this difficult question Dr. Chalmers had already bestowed profound attention, and been rewarded with the most animating hopes; so that in a letter to Sir George Sinclair he thus writes:—"I have been studying a good deal the economy of our non-Erastian church when severed from the state and its endowments—an event which I would do much to avert, but which, if inevitable, we ought to be prepared for. I do not participate in your fears of an extinction even for our most remote parishes. And the noble resolution of the town ministers, to share *equally* with their country brethren, from a common fund raised for the general behoof of the ejected ministers, has greatly brightened my anticipations of a great and glorious result, should the government cast us off."

This casting-off became every day more certain. The Court of Session was now the umpire in every case of ecclesiastical rule; so that vetoed preachers and suspended ministers could carry their case before the civil tribunal, with the almost certain hope that the sentence of the church court would be reversed. Thus it was in the case of Culsalmond, in the presbytery of Garioch. A preacher was presented whom the parishioners refused to receive as their minister; but the presbytery, animated by the example of their brethren of Strathbogie, forthwith ordained him without waiting, as they were bound, for the adjudication of the General Assembly; and when its meeting of commission interposed, and arrested these proceedings, it was served by the civil court with a suspension and interdict. Another case was, if possible, still more flagrant. The minister of a parish had been convicted of four separate acts of theft. The cases were of such a contemptible kind of petty larceny, compared with the position of the culprit and the consequences they involved, that it may be charitably hoped they arose from that magpie monomania from which even lords and high-titled ladies are not always exempt, under which they will sometimes secrete a few inches of paltry lace, or pocket a silver spoon. But though the cause of such perversity might be suited for a consultation of doctors and a course of hellebore, the deeds themselves showed the unfitness of the actor to be a minister. Yet he too applied for and obtained an interdict against the sentence of deposition; so that he was enabled to purloin eggs, handkerchiefs, and pieces of earthen-

ware for a few years longer. A third minister was accused of fraudulent dealings, and was about to be tried by his presbytery; but here, also, the civil court was successfully invoked to the rescue, and an interdict was obtained to stop the trial. A fourth case was that of a presentee who, in consequence of repeated acts of drunkenness, was about to be deprived of his license; but this offender was likewise saved by an interdict. And still the state looked on, and would do nothing! The only alternative was for that party to act by whom such proceedings could be conscientiously endured no longer. They must disestablish themselves by their own voluntary deed, whether they constituted the majority of the church or otherwise. But how many of their number were prepared to make the sacrifice? and in what manner was it to be made? This could only be ascertained by a convocation of the ministers from every part of Scotland; and the meeting accordingly was appointed to be held in Edinburgh on the 17th of November, 1842. It was an awful crisis, and as such Dr. Chalmers felt it; so that, having done all that man could do in the way of preparation, he threw himself wholly upon divine strength and counsel. His solemn petitions on this occasion were: "Do thou guide, O Lord, the deliberations and measures of that convocation of ministers now on the eve of assembling; and save me, in particular, from all that is rash and unwarrantable when engaged with the counsels or propositions that come before it. Let me not, O God, be an instrument in any way of disappointing or misleading my brethren. Let me not, in this crisis of our church's history, urge a sacrifice upon others which I would not most cheerfully share with them." The convocation assembled, and 450 ministers were present on the occasion. The deliberations, which extended over several days, were conducted with a harmony and unanimity seldom to be found in church courts; one common principle, and that too of the highest and most sacred import, seemed to animate every member; while in each movement a voice was heard to which they were all ready to listen. The prayer of Dr. Chalmers was indeed answered! It was resolved that no measure could be submitted to, unless it exempted them in all time to come from such a supremacy as the civil courts had lately exercised. Should this not be obtained and guaranteed, the next resolution was, that they should withdraw from a church in which they could no longer conscientiously remain and act under such secular restrictions. It was probable, then, that they must withdraw, but what was to follow? Even to the wisest of their number it seemed inevitable that they must assume the character of mere individual missionaries, each labouring by himself in whatever sphere of usefulness he could find, and trusting to the precarious good-will of Christian society for his support. They could be an organized and united church no longer; for had not such a consequence followed the Bartholomew Act in England, and the Black Act in Scotland, of whose victims they were about to become the willing followers and successors? It was at this trying moment that Dr. Chalmers stepped forward with an announcement that electrified the whole assembly. He had long contemplated, in common with his brethren, the probability of an exodus such as was now resolved. But that which formed their *ultimatum* was only his starting-point. In that very ejection there was the beginning of a new ecclesiastical history of Scotland; and out of these fragments a church was to be constituted with a more complete and perfect organization than before. Such had been his hopes; and for their realization

he had been employed during twelve months in drawing out a plan by which this disestablished church was to be supported as systematically and effectually by a willing public, as it had been in its highest ascendancy, when the state was its nursing-mother. Here, then, was the remote mysterious end of all those laborious studies of former years in legislation, political economy, and finance, at which the wisest of his brethren had marvelled, and with which the more rigid had been offended! He now unfolded the schedule of his carefully-constructed and admirable scheme; and the hearers were astonished to find that general assemblies, synods, and presbyteries—that their institutions of missionary and benevolent enterprise, with settled homes and a fitting provision for all in their ministerial capacity—were still at hand, and ready for their occupation, as before. In this way the dreaded disruption was to be nothing more than a momentary shock. And now the ministers might return to their manes, and gladden with these tidings their anxious families who were preparing for a mournful departure. Even yet, however, they trembled—it was a plan so new, so vast, so utterly beyond their sphere! But they were still unshaken in their resolution, which they subscribed with unflinching hands; and when Dr. Chalmers heard that more than 300 names had been signed, he exclaimed, "Then we are more than Gideon's army—a most hopeful omen!" Their proposals were duly transmitted to Sir Robert Peel, now at the head of government, and the members, after six days of solemn conference, retired to their homes.

The terms of the church, and the reasons on which these were founded, had thus been stated to government in the most unequivocal sentences, words, and syllables, so that there could be no perversion of their construction, or mistake of their meaning. The answer of the state was equally express, as embodied in the words of Sir Robert Peel. And thus he uttered it in his place in the House of Commons:—"If a church chooses to participate in the advantages appertaining to an establishment, that church—whether it be the Church of England, the Church of Rome, or the Church of Scotland—that church must conform itself to the law. It would be an anomaly, it would be an absurdity, that a church should possess the privilege and enjoy the advantages of connection with the state, and, nevertheless, claim exemption from the obligations which, wherever there is an authority, must of necessity exist; and this house and the country never could lay it down, that if a dispute should arise in respect of the statute law of the land, such dispute should be referred to a tribunal not subject to an appeal to the House of Lords." These were the conditions, and therefore the Church of Scotland must succumb. Such treatment of land tenures and offices, as that with which the Articles of Union insuring the independence of the Scottish Kirk were thus treated, would have sufficed to dispossess no small portion of the English nobility, and dry up hundreds of title-deeds into blank parchment. But on this occasion the dint of the argument fell not upon knights and nobles, whom it would have been dangerous to disturb, but upon Scottish presbyters, of whom sufferance had been the distinctive badge since the day that James VI. entered England. The aggressors and the aggrieved were equally aware that the days of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge had passed away with the buff-coats and partisans of the seventeenth century, and therefore, while the one party assailed, the other were prepared to defend themselves according to peaceful modern usage. The war of argument and remonstrance had ended, and the overpowered but not vanquished church

must rally and entrench itself according to the plan laid down at the beginning of the campaign. It was now, therefore, that Dr. Chalmers was doubly busy. When he announced his financial plan at the convocation, by which the retiring church was to be supported in all its former integrity, his brethren had demurred about the possibility of its accomplishment, and now held back from the attempt. That plan was the organization of local associations, by which not only every district, but every family, should be accessible, so that his vision, as they were ready to deem it, of £100,000 per annum for the support of the ministry alone, might be accumulated in shillings and pence. It was the trunk of the elephant handling every leaf, twig, and branch of the tree which it was commissioned to uproot. Finding himself, in the first instance, unable to convince by argument, he had recourse to example, and for this purpose he immediately instituted an association of his own in the parish of Morningside, the place of his residence. His example was followed by others; and at last a provisional committee was formed, having for its object the whole plan which he had originally proposed. It consisted of three sections—the financial, the architectural, and the statistical—of which the first was properly intrusted to himself; and the result of this threefold action by infinitesimal application quickly justified his theory. Local associations over the whole extent of Scotland were formed by the hundred, and contributions of money accumulated by the thousand, so that, let the disruption occur as it might, the most despondent hearts were cheered and prepared for the emergency.

The important period at length arrived that was to set the seal upon all this preparation and promise. The interval which had elapsed was that awful pause of hope and fear, with which friend and enemy await a deed of such moment, that they cannot believe in its reality until it is accomplished. Would then a disruption occur in very truth, and the Church of Scotland be rent asunder? Or would government interpose at the last hour and moment to avert so fatal a necessity? Or might it not be, that when it came to the trial, the hearts of the men who had spoken so bravely would fail them, so that they would be ready to embrace any terms of accommodation, or even surrender at discretion? But the days of martyrdom—the chivalry of the church—it was asserted had gone for ever; and therefore there were thousands who proclaimed their conviction to the very last that not a hundred would go out—not forty—perhaps not even one. On Thursday the 18th of May, 1843, the General Assembly was to be opened, and the question laid to rest, while every district and nook of Scotland had poured its representatives into Edinburgh to look on and judge. Nor was that day commenced without a startling omen. The ministers of the Assembly had repaired to the ancient palace of Holyrood, to pay dutiful homage to their sovereign in the person of Lord Bute, her commissioner; and there also were the protesting clergy, eager to show at that trying crisis, that let the issue be what it might, they were, and still would continue to be, the leal and loyal subjects of her majesty. But as the crowded levee approached his lordship, the picture of King William that hung upon the wall—he who had restored that Presbyterian church whose rights were now sought to be vindicated—fell to the ground with a sudden clang, while a voice from the crowd exclaimed, "There goes the revolution settlement!" The levee was over in Holyrood; the devotional exercises had been finished in the cathedral of St. Giles; and the General Assembly were seated in St. Andrew's Church, ready to commence the business of the day—

but not the wonted business. Dr. Welch, who, as moderator of the last Assembly, occupied the chair of office, and opened the proceedings with prayer, had another solemn duty to perform: it was, to announce the signal of departure to those who must remain in the church no longer; it was like the "Let us go hence," which was heard at midnight in the temple of Jerusalem, when that glorious structure was about to pass away. Rising from his chair, and addressing one of the densest crowds that ever filled a place of worship, but all hushed in the death-like silence of expectation, he announced that he could proceed with the Assembly no further. Their privileges had been violated and their liberties subverted, so that they could no longer act as a supreme court of the Church of Scotland; and these reasons, set forth at full length in the document which he held in his hand, he, with their permission, would now read to them. He then read to them the well-known protest of the Free Church of Scotland; and having ended, he bowed respectfully to the commissioner, left his chair of office, and slowly passed to the door. Dr. Chalmers, who stood beside him like one absorbed in some recollection of the past, or dream of the future, started, seized his hat, and hurried after the retiring moderator, as if eager to be gone. A long stream followed; and as bench after bench was emptied of those who thus sacrificed home, and living, and station in society, at the call of conscience, the onlookers gazed as if all was an unreal phantasmagoria, or at least an incomprehensible anomaly. But the hollow echoes of the building soon told them that it was a stern reality which they had witnessed. More than four hundred ministers, and a still greater number of elders, who but a few moments ago occupied these places, had now departed, never to return.

In the meantime George Street, one of the widest streets of Edinburgh, in which St. Andrew's Church is situated, was filled—nay wedged—not with thousands but myriads of spectators, who waited impatiently for the result. Every eye was fixed upon the building, and every tongue was impatient with the question, "Will they come out?"—"When will they come out?" At length the foremost of the retiring ministers appeared at the church porch, and onward came the long procession, the multitudes dividing with difficulty before their advance, and hardly giving them room to pass three abreast. Well, then, they had indeed come out! and it was difficult to tell whether the applauding shouts or sympathizing tears of that heaving sea of people predominated. Onward slowly went that procession, extending nearly a quarter of a mile in length, down towards Tanfield, where a place of meeting had been prepared for them in anticipation of the event. It was a building constructed on the model of a Moorish hamba, such as might have loomed over an orange-grove in Grenada during the days of the Zegrís and Abencerrages; but which now, strangely enough, was to receive a band of Scottish ministers, and witness the work of constituting a Presbyterian church. The hall, which could contain 3000 sitters, had been crowded from an early hour with those who, in the faith that the ministers would redeem their promises, had come to witness what would follow. This new General Assembly Dr. Welch opened with prayer, even as he had, little more than an hour previous, opened the old; after which it was his office to propose the moderator who should succeed him. And this he did by naming Dr. Chalmers, amidst a tempest of approving acclamation. "Surely it is a good omen," he added, "or, I should say, a token for good from the Great Disposer of all events, that I can propose

to hold this office an individual who, by the efforts of his genius and his virtues, is destined to hold so conspicuous a place in the eyes of all posterity. But this, I feel, is taking but a low view of the subject. His genius has been devoted to the service of his heavenly Master, and his is the high honour promised to those who, having laboured successfully in their Master's cause, and turned many to righteousness, are to 'shine as the stars for ever and ever.'" Dr. Chalmers took the chair accordingly; and who can guess the feelings that may have animated him, or the thoughts that may have passed through his mind, at such a moment? He had lived, he had wrought, and this was the result! A man of peace, he had been thrown into ecclesiastical controversy; a humble-minded minister, he had been borne onward to the front of a great national movement, and been recognized as its suggester and leader. And while he had toiled from year to year in doubt and despondency, events had been so strangely overruled, that his aims for the purification of the old church had ended in the creation of a new. And of that new church the General Assembly was now met, while he was to preside in it as moderator. That this, too, was really a national church, and not a mere sectarian offshoot, was attested by the fact of 470 ministers standing before him as its representatives; while the public sympathy in its behalf was also represented by the crowded auditory who looked on, and followed each successive movement with a solicitude far deeper than mere transient excitement. All this was a mighty achievement—a glorious victory, which posterity would be proud to chronicle. But in his opening address he reminded them of the example given by the apostles of our Lord; and by what followed he showed the current into which his mind had now subsided. "Let us not forget," he said, "in the midst of this rejoicing, the deep humility that pervaded their songs of exultation; the trembling which these holy men mixed with their mirth—trembling arising from a sense of their own weakness; and then courage inspired by the thought of that aid and strength which was to be obtained out of His fulness who formed all their boasting and all their defence. Never in the history of our church were such feelings and such acknowledgments more called for than now; and in the transition we are making, it comes us to reflect on such sentiments as these—'Not I, but the grace of God in me;' and, 'Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.'"

Such was the formation and such the commencement of the Free Church of Scotland. And now it might have seemed that Dr. Chalmers should be permitted to retire to that peaceful life of study and meditation in which he so longed that the evening of his day should close. But the formation of the new church, instead of finishing his labours, was only to open up a new sphere of trial and difficulty that imperiously demanded the uttermost of his exertions, and which only promised to terminate when his own life had ended. To him there was to be no repose, save in that place where the "weary are at rest." But great though the sacrifice was, he did not shrink from the obligation. The financial affairs of the church which he had originated, and which were still in their new-born infancy, required his fostering care; and therefore he undertook the charge of the sustentation fund out of which the dispossessed ministers were to be supported; and not only maintained a wide correspondence, but performed a laborious tour in its behalf. And, truly, it was a difficult and trying office, where money was to be raised on the one hand entirely from voluntary bene-

volence, and distributed on the other among those who outnumbered its amount, and whose share had to be apportioned accordingly. All this, however, he endured till 1845, when, from very exhaustion, he was obliged to let the burden fall from his shoulders, and be taken up by younger hands, with the declaration—"It is not a matter of choice, but of physical necessity. I have neither the vigour nor the alertness of former days; and the strength no longer remains with me, either for the debates of the Assembly or for the details of committees and their correspondence." This, too, was not the only, or perhaps even the most important task which the necessities of the disruption had devolved upon him. A college must be established, and that forthwith, for the training of an accomplished and efficient ministry; and here also Dr. Chalmers was in requisition. His office of theological professor in the university of Edinburgh was resigned as soon as his connection with the Established Church had ceased; but this was followed by his appointment to the offices of principal and primarius professor of divinity in the new institution which the Free Church contemplated. Here, then, was a college to create, as well as its duties to discharge; and how well these duties were discharged till the last hour of his life, the present generation of preachers and ministers who were his pupils can well and warmly attest. To his capacious and active mind, the mere gin-horse routine into which such professorial employments had too often degenerated, would have been not only an absolute mockery, but a downright torture; and therefore he was "in season out of season" in the subjects he taught, as well as his modes of educational training, esteeming no labour too much that could either impart new ideas or fresh enthusiasm to those whom he was rearing for the most important of all occupations. And even independently of this impulse which his labours thus communicated to the mainspring of action in the mechanism of the Free Church, the fact of his merely holding office there was of the highest importance to the college. No literary institution, however lowly in aspect or poor in endowments, could be insignificant, or even of a second-rate character, that had a man of such world-wide reputation at its head. The college is now a stately edifice, while the staff of theological professors with which it is supplied is the fullest and most complete of all our similar British institutions.

But amidst all this accumulated pressure of labour, under which even Dr. Chalmers had well-nigh sunk, and the fresh blaze of reputation that fell upon his decline of life, making it brighter than his fullest noon-day—both alike the consequences of that new position which he occupied—there was one favourite duty of which he had never lost sight. It was the elevation of the ground-story of human society from the mud in which it was imbedded—the regeneration of our town *pariahs* into intelligent, virtuous, and useful citizens, by the agency of intellectual and religious education. This he had attempted in Glasgow, both in the Tron and St. John's parish; he had continued it, though with more limited means, and upon a smaller scale, in St. Andrews; and but for his more onerous avocations in Edinburgh, which had engrossed him without intermission since his arrival in the northern capital, he would have made the attempt there also. But still he felt as if he could not enjoy the brief term of life that yet remained for him, or finally forego it with comfort, unless he made one other attempt in behalf of an experiment from which he had never ceased to hope for the most satisfactory results. Since the time

that he had commenced these labours in Glasgow, he had seen much of society in its various phases, and largely amplified his experience of its character and requirements; but all had only the more convinced him that the lower orders, hitherto neglected, must be sought in their dens and hovels—that they must be solicited into the light of day and the usages of civilization—and that there the schoolmaster and the minister should be ready to meet them more than half-way. Without this "aggressive system," this "excavating process," by which the deep recesses of a crowded city were to be quarried, and its dark corners penetrated and pervaded, these destitute localities might be studded with churches and schools to no purpose. And the manner in which such a population were to be sought and won, he had also fully and practically demonstrated by his former experiments as a minister. Let but a district, however benighted, be divided into sections, where each tenement or close could have its own zealous, benevolent superintendent, and dull and obdurate indeed must the inhabitants of that territory be, if they could long continue to resist such solicitations. His first wish was, that the Free Church should have embarked in such a hopeful enterprise; but its experience was as yet so limited, and its difficulties so many, that it was not likely, during his own lifetime at least, that it could carry on a home mission upon so extensive a scale. He therefore resolved to try the good work himself, and leave the result as a sacred legacy, for the imitation of the church and posterity at large. "I have determined," he wrote to a friend in 1844, "to assume a poor district of 2000 people, and superintend it myself, though it be a work greatly too much for my declining strength and means. Yet such do I hold to be the efficiency of the method, with the divine blessing, that perhaps, as the concluding act of my public life, I shall make the effort to exemplify what as yet I have only expounded." *Only* expounded? This truly was humble language from one who had already *done* so much!

The place selected for this benevolent trial was the most unhopeful that could be found in Edinburgh. It was the West Port, a district too well known in former years by the murders of Burke and Hare, and to which such an infamy still attached, that many of its inhabitants lived as if a good character were unattainable, and therefore not worth striving for. Its population consisted of about 2000 souls, the very sediment of the Edinburgh lower orders, who seem to have sunk into this loathsome locality because they could sink no farther. To cleanse, nay, even to enter, this Augean stable, required no ordinary firmness of senses as well as nerve, where sight, touch, smell, and hearing were successively assailed to the uttermost. Dr. Chalmers, undaunted by the result of a survey, mapped this Alsatia into twenty districts, of about twenty families apiece, over which were appointed as many visitors—men animated with his spirit, and imbued with his views, whose task was to visit every family once a week, engage with them in kindly conversation, present them with useful tracts, and persuade them to join with them in the reading of Scripture and in prayer. A school was also opened for the young in the very close of the Burke and Hare murders, but not a charity school; on the contrary, the feeling of independence and the value of education were to be impressed upon this miserable population by exacting a fee of 2d. per week from each pupil—for Dr. Chalmers well knew that even wiser people than those of the West Port are apt to feel that what costs them nothing is worth nothing. All this he explained to them at a full meeting in the old

deserted tannery where the school was to be opened; and so touched were the people with his kindness, as well as persuaded by his homely forcible arguments, that on the 11th of November, 1844, the day on which the school was opened, sixty-four day scholars and fifty-seven evening scholars were entered, who in the course of a year increased to 250. And soon was the excellence of this educational system evinced by the dirty becoming tidy, and the unruly orderly; and children who seemed to have neither home nor parent, and who, when grown up, would have been without a country and without a God, were rescued from the prostitution, ruffianism, and beggary which seemed to be their natural inheritance, and trained into the full promise of becoming useful and virtuous members of society. Thus the cleansing commenced at the bottom of the sink, where all the mephytic vapours were engendered. But still this was not enough as long as the confirming power of religion was wanting, and therefore the church followed close upon its able pioneer the school. On the 22d of December the tan-loft was opened by Dr. Chalmers for public worship, at which no more than a dozen of grown people, chiefly old women, at first attended. But this handful gradually grew into a congregation under the labours of Dr. Chalmers and his staff of district visitors, so that a minister and regular edifice for worship were at last in demand. And never in the stateliest metropolitan pulpit—no, not even when he lectured in London, while prelate and prince held their breath to listen—had the heart of Dr. Chalmers been more cordially or enthusiastically in his work than when he addressed his squalid auditory in that most sorry of upper rooms in the West Port. And this his prayers which he penned on the Sabbath evening in his study at Morningside fully confirmed: "It is yet but the day of small things with us; and I, in all likelihood, shall be taken off ere that much greater progress is made in the advancement of the blessed gospel throughout our land. But give me the foretaste and the confident foresight of this great Christian and moral triumph ere I die. Let me at least, if it be by thy blessed will, see—though it be only in one or in a small number of specimens—a people living in some district of aliens, as the West Port, reclaimed at least into willing and obedient hearers, afterwards in thine own good time to become the doers of thy word. Give me, O Lord, a token for the larger accomplishment of this good ere I die!" Such were his heavenward breathings and aspirations upon the great trial that was at issue in the most hopeless of civic districts upon the overwhelming question of our day. Would it yet be shown in the example of the West Port that the means of regenerating the mass of society are so simple, and withal so efficacious? The trial is still in progress, but under the most hopeful auspices. Yet his many earnest prayers were answered. Money was soon collected for the building of a commodious school-room, and model-houses for workmen, and also for a territorial church. The last of these buildings was finished and opened by Dr. Chalmers for public worship on the 19th of February, 1847; and on the 15th of April he presided at its first celebration of the Lord's supper. When this was ended, he said to the minister of the West Port Church: "I have got now the desire of my heart:—the church is finished, the schools are flourishing, our ecclesiastical machinery is about complete, and all in good working order. God has indeed heard my prayer, and I could now lay down my head in peace and die."

As will be surmised from the foregoing account, Dr. Chalmers, from almost the commencement of his West

Port operations, had a prophetic foreboding that this would prove the last of his public labours. Such, indeed, was the result: only a few weeks after this sacrament at the West Port, when, in full health, and with a strength that promised an extreme old age, he passed away in silence, and at midnight, and so instantaneously, that there seemed to have been not a moment of interval between his ending of life in time and beginning of life in eternity. And this was at a season of triumph, when all was bright and gladdening around him; for the Free Church, with which he was so completely identified, had now 720 ministers, for whose congregations churches had been erected, with nearly half a million of money voluntarily contributed, besides a large amount for the building of manses; it had 600 schools; a college of nine professors, educating 340 students for the ministry; and two extensive normal seminaries for the training of teachers; while its missionaries were actively engaged in every quarter of the earth. He had just visited London upon the important subject of a national education; and after unfolding his views to some of our principal statesmen, he returned by the way of Gloucestershire, where he had many friends, with whom he enjoyed much delightful intercourse. He arrived at his home in Morningside on Friday, the 28th of May, while the General Assembly of the Free Church was sitting; and as he had a report to prepare for it, he employed himself in the task in the forenoon of Saturday. On the following day his conversation was animated with all its former eloquence, and more than its wonted cheerfulness; and in the evening, as he slowly paced through his garden, at the back of the house, the ejaculations of "O Father, my heavenly Father!" were overheard issuing from his lips, like the spontaneous utterances of an overflowing heart. He retired to rest at his wonted hour, intending to rise early on the following morning to finish his report; but when the hour of rising elapsed he did not appear; and on knocking at the bed-room door, no answer was returned. The apartment was entered, and Dr. Chalmers lay in bed as if in tranquil repose; but it was that repose which only the last trump can dispel. He had died, or rather he had passed away, about the hour of midnight; but every feature was so tranquil, and every muscle so composed, that it was evident he had died in an instant, without pain, and even without consciousness.

Such was the end of Dr. Chalmers, on the night of the 30th of May, 1847, at the age of sixty-seven. His character it would be superfluous to sketch: that is impressed too indelibly and too plainly upon our country at large to require an interpreter. Thus Scotland felt, when such multitudes followed his remains to the grave as few kingly funerals have ever mustered. Nor will posterity be at a loss to know what a man Dr. Chalmers was. He now constitutes to all future time so essential a portion of Scottish history, that his name will be forgot only when Scotland itself will cease to be remembered.

CHAMBERS, DAVID, a distinguished historical and legal writer of the sixteenth century, was a native of Ross-shire, and generally styled "of Ormond" in that county. He received his education in the laws and theology at Aberdeen College, and afterwards pursued his studies in the former branch of knowledge in France and Italy. The earliest date ascertained in his life is his studying at Bologna under Marianus Sozenus in 1556. Soon after, returning to his native country, he assumed the clerical offices of parson of Study and chancellor of the diocese of Ross. His time, however, seems to have

been devoted to the legal profession, which was not then incompatible with the clerical, as has already been remarkably shown in the biography of his contemporary and friend Sir James Balfour. In 1564, he was elevated to the bench by his patroness Queen Mary, to whose fortunes he was faithfully attached through life. He was one of the high legal functionaries intrusted at this time with the duty of compiling and publishing the acts of the Scottish parliament. The result of the labours of these men was a volume, now known by the title of *The Black Acts*, from the letter in which it is printed. While thus engaged in ascertaining the laws of his country, and diffusing a knowledge of them among his countrymen, he became concerned in one of the basest crimes which the whole range of Scottish history presents. Undeterred either by a regard to fundamental morality, or, what sometimes has a stronger influence over men, a regard to his high professional character, he engaged in the conspiracy for destroying the queen's husband, the unfortunate Darnley. After that deed was perpetrated, a placard was put up by night on the door of the tolbooth, or hall of justice, which publicly denounced him as one of the guilty persons. "I have made inquisition," so ran this anonymous accusation, "for the slaughter of the king, and do find the Earl of Bothwell, Mr. James Balfour parson of Flisk, Mr. David Chambers, and black Mr. John Spence, the principal deysers thereof." It affords a curious picture of the times, that two of these men were judges, while the one last-mentioned was one of the two crown advocates, or public prosecutors, and actually appeared in that character at the trial of his accomplice Bothwell. There is matter of further surprise in the partly clerical character of Balfour and Chambers. The latter person appears to have experienced marks of the queen's favour almost immediately after the murder of her husband. On the 19th of April he had a ratification in parliament of the lands of Ochterslo and Castleton. On the ensuing 12th of May, he sat as one of the lords of session, when the queen came forward to absolve Bothwell from all guilt he might have incurred, by the constraint under which he had recently placed her. He also appears in a sederunt of privy-council held on the 22d of May. But after this period, the fortunes of his mistress experienced a strange overthrow, and Chambers, unable to protect himself from the wrath of the ascendant party, found it necessary to take refuge in Spain.

He here experienced a beneficent protection from King Philip, to whom he must have been strongly recommended by his faith, and probably also the transactions in which he had lately been engaged. Subsequently retiring to France, he published, in 1572, *Histoire Abrégée de tous les Roys de France, Angleterre, et Ecosse*, which he dedicated to Henry III. His chief authority in this work was the fabulous narrative of Boece. In 1579 he published other two works in the French language, *La Recherche des Singularités les plus Remarquables concernant l'Estât d'Ecosse, and Discours de la Légitime Succession des Femmes aux Possessions des leurs Parens, et du Gouvernement des Princesses aux Empires et Royaume*. The first is a panegyric upon the laws, religion, and valour of his native country—all of which, a modern may be inclined to think, he had already rendered the reverse of illustrious by his own conduct. The second work is a vindication of the right of succession of females, being in reality a compliment to his now imprisoned mistress, to whom it was dedicated. In France, Chambers was a popular and respected character; and he testified his own predilection for the people by selecting their language for

his compositions, against the fashion of the age, which would have dictated an adherence to the classic language of ancient Rome. Dempster gives his literary character in a few words—"vir multæ et variæ lectionis, nec inamœni ingenii," a man of much and varied reading, and of not unkindly genius. He was, to use the quaint phrase of Mackenzie, who gives a laborious dissection of his writings, "well seen in the Greek, Latin, English, French, Italian, and Spanish languages."

On the return of quieter times, this strange mixture of learning and political and moral guilt returned to his native country, where, so far from being called to account by the easy James for his concern in the murder of his father, he was, in the year 1586, restored to the bench, in which situation he continued till his death in November, 1592.

Another literary character, of the same name and the same faith, lived in the immediately following age. He was the author of a work entitled *Davidis Cameraris Scoti, de Scotorum Fortitudine, Doctrina et Pietate, Libri Quatuor*, which appeared at Paris, in small quarto, in 1631, and is addressed by the author in a flattering dedication to Charles I. The volume contains a complete calendar of the saints connected with Scotland, the multitude of whom is apt to astonish a modern Protestant.

CHARLES I., King of Great Britain, was the second son of James VI. of Scotland and I. of Great Britain, by Anne, daughter of Frederick II., King of Denmark and Norway. Charles was born at Dunfermline Palace, which was the dotarial or jointure house of his mother the queen, on the 19th of November, 1600, being the very day on which the Earl of Gowrie and his brother were publicly dismembered at the cross of Edinburgh, for their concern in the celebrated conspiracy. King James remarked with surprise that the principal incidents of his own personal and domestic history had taken place on this particular day of the month: he had been born, he said, on the 19th of June; he first saw his wife on the 19th of May; and his two former children, as well as this one, had been born on the 19th day of different months. Charles was only two years and a half old when his father was called up to England to fill the throne of Elizabeth. The young prince was left behind, in charge of the Earl of Dunfermline, but joined his father in July, 1603, along with his mother and the rest of the royal family. Being a very weakly child, and not likely to live long, the honour of keeping him, which in other circumstances would have been eagerly sought, was bandied about by the courtiers, and with some difficulty was at length accepted by Sir Robert Carey and his wife. This was the gentleman who hurried, with such mean alacrity, to inform King James of the demise of his cousin Elizabeth, from whom, in life, he had received as many favours as he could now hope for from her successor. Carey tells us in his own memoirs, that the legs of the child were unable to support him, and that the king had some thoughts of mending the matter by a pair of iron boots, from which, however, he was dissuaded. At his baptism, December 23, 1600, Charles had received the titles of Duke of Albany, Marquis of Ormond, Earl of Ross, and Lord Ardmanach. He was now, January, 1605, honoured with the second title of the English royal family—Duke of York.

King James, whatever may have been the frivolity of his character in some respects, is undeniably entitled to the credit of having carefully educated his children. Prince Henry, the elder brother, and also Charles, were proficient in English, Latin, and

French, at an amazingly early age. Although, from their living in separate houses, he did not see them often, he was perpetually writing them instructive and encouraging letters, to which they replied, by his desire, in language exclusively supplied by themselves. The king was also in the habit of sending many little presents to his children. "Sweete, sweete father," says Charles, in an almost infantine epistle yet preserved in the Advocates' Library, "I learn to decline substantives and adjectives. Give me your blessing. I thank you for my *best man*. Your loving son, York." The character of Charles was mild, patient, and serious, as a child is apt to be who is depressed by ill health, or inability to share in youthful sports. His brother Henry, who was nearly seven years his senior, and of more robust character, one day seized the cap of Archbishop Abbot, which he put upon Charles' head, telling him, at the same time, that when he was king, he would make him Archbishop of Canterbury. Henry dying in November, 1612, left a brighter prospect open before his younger brother, who, in 1616, was formally created Prince of Wales. At this splendid ceremony the queen could not venture to appear, lest the sight should renew her grief for the amiable Henry, whom she had seen go through the same solemnity only a short time before his death. As he grew up towards manhood, Charles gradually acquired strength, so that at twenty he was well skilled in manly exercises, and accounted the best rider of the great horse in his father's dominions. His person was slender, and his face—but the majestic melancholy of that face is too deeply impressed on every mind to require description. It was justly accounted very strange that the Marquis of Buckingham, the frivolous favourite of King James, should have become equally agreeable to the grave temperament of the Prince of Wales. Charles was perpetually in the company of that gay courtier, and the king used to consider them both as his children. He always addressed the prince by the epithet "Baby Charles," and in writing to Buckingham, he as invariably subscribed himself as "his dear dad." James had high abstract notions as to the rank of those who should become the wives of princes. He considered the sacred character of a king degraded by a union with one under his own degree. While his parliament, therefore, wished him to match his son to some small German princess, who had the advantage of being a good Protestant, he contemplated wedding him to the grand-daughter of Charles V., the sister of the reigning king of Spain. Both James and Charles had a sincere sense of the errors of Rome; but the fatality of matching with a Catholic princess was not then an established maxim in English policy, which it is to be hoped it ever will be in this realm. It was also expected that the Spanish monarch would be instrumental in procuring a restoration of the palatinate of the Rhine for the son-in-law of the King of Great Britain, who had lost it in consequence of his placing himself at the head of the Bohemians, in a rebellion against the Emperor of Germany. The Earl of Bristol, British ambassador at Madrid, was carrying on negotiations for this match, when Charles, with the romantic feeling of youth, resolved to travel into Spain, and woo the young princess in person. In February, 1623, he set out with the Marquis of Buckingham, and only two other attendants, himself bearing the incognito title of Mr. John Smith, a union of the two most familiar names in England, while the marquis assumed that of Mr. Thomas Smith. At Paris they obtained admission to the rehearsal or practising of a masque, where the prince beheld the Princess Henrietta Maria of France,

daughter of the illustrious Henry IV., and sister of the reigning king, Louis XIII., who was in reality destined to be his wife. It appears, however, that he paid no attention to this lady on the present occasion. His heart being full of the object of his journey, he directed his whole attention to the Queen of France, because she was sister to the Spanish princess whom he was going to see. In a letter to his father, he speaks in terms of high expectation of the latter individual, seeing that her sister was the handsomest of twenty women (Henrietta was of course included) whom he saw at this masque. That Charles subsequently placed his whole affections on a woman whom he now saw with indifference is only another added to the many proofs, that love is among the most transferable of all things. On his arrival at Madrid, he was received in the most courteous manner by the Spanish court, and his gallantry, as might be expected, made a strong impression upon the people. The celebrated Lopez de Vega wrote a canzonet on the occasion, of which the first verse has chanced to meet our eye:

Carlos Estuardo soy;
Que siendo amor mi quia
Al cielo de Espana voy
Por vor nir estrella Maria.

[Charles Stuart am I:
Love has guided me far
To this fair Spanish sky,
To see Mary my star.]

But while he was entertained in the most affectionate manner by the people, and also by their prince, the formal policy of the court dictated that he should hardly ever see his intended bride. The Marquis of Buckingham seriously proposed that he should send home for some perspective glasses, in order to reduce the distance at which she was kept from him. So far as his opportunities permitted him to judge of her personal merits, he admired her very much; but we suspect that if he had fallen in love, as he had expected, he never would have broken off the match. After spending all the summer at the Spanish court, waiting for a dispensation from the pope to enable the princess to marry a Protestant, he was suddenly inspired with some disgust, and abruptly announced his intention of returning home. The Marquis (now Duke) of Buckingham, whose mercurial manners had given great offence to the Spaniards, and who had conceived great offence in return, is supposed to have caused this sudden change of purpose. The Earl of Bristol was left to marry the princess in the way of proxy, but with secret instructions not to do so till he should receive further orders.

It would be rash to pronounce judgment upon this affair with so little evidence as history has left us; but it seems probable that the match was broken off, and the subsequent war incurred, purely through some freakish caprice of the favourite—for upon such things then depended the welfare of the nations. This contemptible court-butterfly ruled with absolute power over both the king and his son, but now chiefly sided with the latter against his father, being sensible that the old king was no longer able to assert his independency against the growing influence of Charles. As the English people would have then fought in any quarrel, however unjust, against the Spaniards, simply because they were Catholics, the war was very popular; and Buckingham, who chiefly urged it, became as much the favourite of the nation, as he was of the king and prince. A negotiation was subsequently opened with France for a match with the princess Henrietta Maria. On the 27th of March, 1625, Charles succeeded his father as king;

and, on the 22d of June, the princess, to whom he had previously been espoused by proxy, arrived in London.

It would be foreign to the character of this work to enter into a full detail of the public transactions in which Charles was concerned in his regal character. We shall, therefore, be content with an outline of these transactions. The arrogant pretensions of his father, founded on "the right divine of kings to govern wrong," had roused a degree of jealousy and resistance among the people; whilst the weakness and vacillation of his character, and the pusillanimity of his administration, had gone far to bring the kingly office into contempt. Charles had imbibed the arbitrary principles of his father, and, without appreciating the progress of public opinion, resolved, on his accession, to carry out the extravagant theories of James. During the whole reign of the latter the commons had kept up a constant warfare with the crown, making every supply which they voted the condition of a new concession to the popular will. The easy nature of James had got over these collisions much better than was to be expected from the grave and stern temperament of his son. After a few such disputes with his parliament (for the House of Lords always joined with the Commons), Charles concluded his wars, to save all expense, and, resolving to call no more parliaments, endeavoured to support the crown in the best way he could by the use of his prerogative. For ten years subsequent to 1628, when the Duke of Buckingham was assassinated, he contrived to carry on the state with hardly any assistance from his officers, using chiefly the ill-omened advice of Laud, Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and also relying considerably upon the queen, to whom he was devotedly attached. The result was to sow distrust and discontent throughout the kingdom, to array the subject against the sovereign, and leave no alternative betwixt the enthralment of the people and the destruction of the king. The earnest struggles for religious freedom in England and Scotland added a fresh impulse to the growing spirit of civil liberty. Charles rashly encountered the powerful body of nonconformists in England and the sturdy Presbyterians of Scotland, and at last sank under the recoil.

The dissenters from the Church of England were at this time a rapidly increasing body; and the church, to maintain her power, thought proper to visit them with some severe sentences. The spirit with which the regular clergy were animated against the nonconformists, may be argued from the fact, that Laud publicly blessed God when Dr. Alexander Leighton was sentenced to lose his ears, and be whipped through the streets of London. The king and the archbishop had always looked with a jealous eye upon Scotland, where the Episcopal form of government was as yet only struggling for supremacy over a people who were, almost without exception, Presbyterian. In 1633 Charles visited Scotland for the purpose of receiving the crown of his ancient kingdom; and measures were thenceforth taken under the counsel of his evil genius, Laud, who accompanied him, for enforcing Episcopacy upon the Church of Scotland. It was not, however, till 1637 that this bold project was carried into effect.

The Scots united themselves in a solemn covenant against this innovation, and at the close of the year 1638 felt themselves so confident in their own strength as to abolish Episcopacy in a general assembly of the church held in Glasgow, and which conducted its proceedings in spite of the prohibition of the king's commissioner. In 1639, his finances being exhausted, Charles was compelled, after the

lapse of eleven years, to assemble a parliament, which met in April, 1640. Like their predecessors, the commons refused to grant supplies till they had stated their grievances. The king hastily dissolved parliament, and prosecuted several of the members who had led on the opposition. In spring, 1639, he conducted an army of 20,000 to put down the Scots; but they met him with an equal force, and Charles was reduced to a pacification, which left the grounds of quarrel undecided. Next year Charles raised another army; but the Scots anticipated him by invading England, and at Newburn on the Tyne overthrew a large detachment of his forces, and immediately after gained possession of Newcastle. All expedients for supporting his army now failed, and he seemed about to be deserted in a great measure by the affections of his subjects. A large portion of the English entered heartily into the views of the Scots. It was agreed by all parties that the northern army should be kept up at a certain monthly pay, till such time as a parliament should settle the grievances of the nation. Charles called together the celebrated assembly which afterwards acquired the name of the *Long Parliament*. This was only giving collective force and energy to the party which longed for his overthrow. He was obliged to resign his favourite minister, Strafford, as a victim to this assembly. Some of his other servants only escaped by a timely flight. He was himself obliged to abandon many points of his prerogative which he had hitherto exercised. Fearing that nothing but the sword could decide the quarrel, he paid a visit in autumn, 1641, to Scotland, and endeavoured, by ostensible concessions to the religious prepossessions of that nation, to secure its friendship, or at least its neutrality. In August, 1642, he erected his standard at Nottingham, and soon found himself at the head of a considerable army, composed chiefly of the country gentry and their retainers. The parliament, on the other hand, was supported by the city of London and by the mercantile interest in general. At the first Charles gained several advantages over the parliament; but the balance was restored by the Scots, who took side against the king, and, in February, 1644, entered England with a large army. The cause of royalty from this time declined, and in May, 1646, the king was reduced to the necessity of taking refuge in the camp of the Scottish army at Newark. He was treated with respect, but regarded as a prisoner, and after some abortive negotiations, was, January 30, 1647, surrendered to the commissioners of the English parliament, on the payment of the arrears due to the Scottish army. If Charles would have now consented to abolish Episcopacy, and reign as a limited monarch, he would have been supported by the Presbyterian party, and might have escaped a violent death. But his predilections induced him to resist every encroachment upon that form of ecclesiastical polity; and he therefore lost, in a great measure, the support of the Presbyterians, who, though the body that had begun the war, were now sincerely anxious for a pacification, being in some alarm respecting a more violent class who had latterly sprung up, and who, from their denial of all forms of church government, were styled Independents. This latter party, which reckoned almost the whole army in its numbers, eventually acquired an ascendancy over the more moderate Presbyterians; and, the latter being forcibly excluded from parliament, the few individuals who remained formed themselves into a court of justice, before which the king was arraigned. Having been found guilty of appearing in arms against the parliament, Charles was by this court condemned to suffer death as a traitor, which sen-

tence was put in execution, January 30, 1649, in front of his own palace of Whitehall, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-fifth year of his reign.

The Scottish subjects of Charles had made strenuous exertions to avert this fearful issue; and by none was his death mourned with a deeper sorrow than by the very Covenanters who had risen in arms to repel his invasion upon their liberty of conscience. It was indeed impossible not to deplore the fate of that unfortunate and misguided monarch; but it cannot be doubted that it was mainly brought about by his own insincerity and obstinacy. By his queen, who survived him for some years, he left six children, of whom the two eldest, Charles and James, were successively kings of Great Britain; a son and a daughter died in early youth; and his two remaining daughters, Mary and Henrietta, were respectively married to the Prince of Orange, and to the Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV.

CHEPMAN, WALTER, who appears to have been chiefly concerned in introducing the art of printing into Scotland, was a servant of King James IV., who patronized him in that undertaking. None of the honours of learning are known to have been attached to the name of Walter Chepman; but it is to be inferred that his office in the royal household was of a clerical or literary character, as we find that, on the 21st of February, 1496, the lord-treasurer enters the following disbursement in his books: "Giffen to a boy to ryne fra Edinburgh to Linlithq, to Watte Chepman, to signet twa letteris to pas to Woddis, 12d." His name is frequently mentioned in this curious record; for instance, in August, 1503, amidst a variety of expenses "*pro servitoribus*" on the occasion of the king's marriage, eight pounds ten shillings are given for "five elne Inglis (English) claith to Walter Chepman, ilk elne 34 shillings," which may show the high consideration in which this individual was held. Walter Chepman is found at a somewhat later period in the condition of a merchant and burghess of Edinburgh, and joining with one Andro Millar, another merchant, in the business of a printer. It appears to have been owing to the urgent wishes of the king that Scotland was first favoured with the possession of a printing-press.

This typographical business would appear to have been in full operation before the end of 1507, as on the 22d of December that year, we find the royal treasurer paying fifty shillings for "3 prentit bukes to the king, tane fra Andro Millaris wyff." The Cowgate, a street now inhabited by the least instructed class of the citizens of Edinburgh, was the place where that grand engine of knowledge was established, as appears from the imprints of some of Chepman and Millar's publications, and also from a passage in the *Traditions of Edinburgh*, where the exact site of the house is thus made out:—"In the lower part of the churchyard [of St. Giles, adjoining the Cowgate] there was a small place of worship, denominated the *Chapel of Holyrood*. Walter Chepman, the first printer in Edinburgh, in 1528, endowed an altar in this chapel with his tenement in the Cowgate; and, by the tenor of this charter, we are enabled to point out very nearly the residence of this remarkable person. The tenement is thus described:—"All and hail this tenement of land, back and foir, with houses, biggings, yards, and well thereof, lying in the Cowgate of Edinburgh, on the south side thereof, near the said chapel, betwixt the lands of James Lamb on the east, and the lands of John Aber on the west, the arable lands called Wairam's croft on the south, and the said

street on the north part." It is probable that the site is now covered by the new bridge thrown across the Cowgate at that point.

In the course of a few years Chepman and Millar produced works,¹ of which hardly any other set is known to exist than that preserved in the Advocates' Library.

The privilege granted to Chepman and Millar was of a rigidly exclusive kind—for at this early period the system of monopolizing knowledge, which is now an absurdity and a disgrace, was a matter of necessity. In January, 1509, we find Walter Chepman asserting the right of his patent against various individuals who had infringed upon it by importing books into the country. The lords of council thus reinforced the privilege they had formerly granted to him:—

"Anent the complaint maid by Walter Chepman, that quhar he, at the desyre of our soverane lord, furnist and brocht hame ane prent and prentaris, for prenting of cronicles, missalis, portuiss, and uthervis buikis within this realme, and to seclude *salisburyis* use; And to that effect thair wes lettres under our said soverane lordis priue sele direct, till command and charge oure soverane lordis legiis, that nain of thaim suld inbring or sell ony bukis of the said use of Salisbury, under the pane of escheting of the samyn; Neurtheless, Wilyiam Frost, Francis Frost, William Sym, Andro Ross, and diuers uthers, merchandis within the burgh of Edinburgh, hes brocht haim, and selis daly, diuers bukis of the said use, sik as mess bukis, manualis, portuiss, matinbukis, and diuers uther bukis, in the disobeing of the said command and lettres, lik as at mar lenth Is contenit in the said complaint: The saidis Walter, William, Francis, William, and Andro, being personally present, And thair Richtis, reasons and allegations herd sene and understand, and thairwith being Riply avisit, The Lordis of Counsals forsaidis commandit and chargit the saidis William Frost, Francis Frost, William Sym, and Andro Ros, personally, that nain of thaim, in tyme to cum, bring hame, nor sell within this Realme, ony misale bukis, manualis, portuiss, or matinbukis, of the said use of Salusbery, under the payn of escheting of the samyn; And that lettres be written in dew forme to the provest and balyies of Edr. and to officeris of the kingis Sheriffes in that pairt, to command and charge be oppin proclamation, all uthervis merchandis and persons, that nain of thaim bring haim, nor sell within this Realme, ony of the bukis abowewritten of the said use of salusbury, in tyme to come under the said pain, according to the said lettres under our soverane lordis priue sele direct thairuppon; And as to the bukis that ar ellis brocht hame be the saidis merchantis and uther persons, that thair bring nain to the market, nor sell nain, within this Realme, bot that thei have the samyn furth of this Realme, and sell thaim; and that the saidis provest, baillies, and officiaris forsaidis,

¹ *The Porteous of Nobleness, translatit out of Ffrenche in Scottis, be Maister Andro Cadyou.—The Knighly Tale of Golagras and Gawan.—Sir Glamor.—Balade: In all our Gardenne grows their no Flowres.—The Golden Targ: compilt be Maister William Dunbar.—The Mayng, or Disport of Chaucer.—The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy.—The Traite of Orpheus King.—The Nobilnes and grete Magnificence.—The Balade of ane right Noble Victorious and Mighty Lord Barnard Stewart, of Aubigny, Earl of Beaumont, &c. Compilt be Mr. Wilyam Dunbar. The Tale of the Two Mariit Women and the Wedo.—Lament for the Death of the Makkaris.—Poetical Peice, of one page in length, commencing, My Gudame was a gay Wyf.—The Testament of Mr. Andro Kennedy.—Fitts, &c., of Robyn Hud.—Breviarij Aberdonensis ad percelebris Ecclesie Scotor.—Ejusdem Breviarij Pars Astivalis, per Reverendum in Christo Patrem Wilelmum, Abirdon. Episcopum, studiosius, maximisque cum laboribus collect.*

serche and seik quhar ony of the saidis manuale, bukis, mesbukis, matinbukis, and portuiss, of the said use beis brocht haim in tyme tocum, or sauld of thaim that ar ellis brocht hame, and eschete the samyn to our soverane lordis use: And als, that na persons tak copijs of the bukis abonwrittin and donatis, and . . . or uther bukis that the said Walter hes prentit ellis for till haf thaim to uther Realmes to ger thaim be prentit, brocht haim, or sauld, within this Realme In tyme tocum, under the pain of escheting of the samyn; And quha dois in the contrair, that the said pain be put to executioun on thaim, And that lettres be direct herapon, in dew forme, as said is." (*Acta Dom. Conc. xxi. 70.*)

The troubles which befell the kingdom in 1513, in consequence of the battle of Flodden and the death of the king, appear to have put a stop for another age to the progress of the typographical art in Scotland. There is no further trace of it till the year 1542, when the national mind was beginning to feel the impulse of the Reformation. Nothing further is known of Walter Chepman, except what is to be gathered from the above passage in the *Traditions of Edinburgh*—namely, that he was employed in 1528 in bequeathing his property to the church, being then in all probability near the end of life.

CHEYNE, GEORGE, a physician of considerable eminence, was born in 1671, "of a good family," though neither the name of his father, nor the place of his birth, has been commemorated. He received a regular and liberal education, and was at first designed by his parents for the church. But though his mind was naturally of a studious turn, he afterwards preferred the medical profession. He studied physic at Edinburgh, under the celebrated Dr. Pitcairne, to whom he became much attached, and whom he styles, in the preface to his *Essay on Health and Long Life*, "his great master and generous friend." He has informed us that he was, at this period of his life, addicted to gay studies and indulgences; but that he was soon apprised by the shaking of his hands, and a disposition to be easily ruffled on a surprise, of the unfitness of his constitution for intemperance. When about thirty years of age, having taken the degree of M.D., he repaired to London, and there commenced practice as a physician. It affords a curious picture of the times, that he found it necessary to become a frequenter of taverns in order to get into practice. His cheerful temper and vivacious conversation soon rendered him the favourite of the other gentlemen who frequented those places; he "grew daily," he says, "in bulk, and in friendship with those gay men, and their acquaintances." But this could not last long. He soon became excessively fat, short-winded, and lethargic, and being further admonished by an attack of vertigo, nearly approaching to apoplexy, he was obliged to abandon that style of life altogether.

Previous to this period he had written, at the request of Dr. Pitcairne, "*A New Theory of Acute and Slow Continued Fevers*; wherein, besides the appearances of such, and the manner of their cure, occasionally, the Structure of the Glands, and the Manner and Laws of Secretion, the Operation of Purgative, Vomitive, and Mercurial Medicines, are mechanically explained." Dr. Pitcairne had wished to write such a work himself, in order to overthrow the opposing theories of some of his brethren, but was prevented from doing so by his constant application to practice, and therefore desired Dr. Cheyne to undertake the task in his place. The work was hastily produced, and though it was favourably received, the author never thought it worthy of receiving his name.

The next work of Dr. Cheyne was entitled *Fluxionum Methodus Inversa: sive quantitatum fluentium leges generales*. Like many men who are eminent in one professional branch of knowledge, he was anxious to display an amateur's accomplishment in another; and hence this attempt at throwing light upon the mysteries of abstract geometry. In later life he had the candour to say of this work that it was "brought forth in ambition, and brought up in vanity." "There are some things in it," he adds, "tolerable for the time, when the methods of quadratures, the mensuration of ratios, and transformation of curves into those of other kinds, were not advanced to such heights as they now are. But it is a long time since I was forced to forego these barren and airy studies for more substantial and commodious speculations: indulging and rioting in these so exquisitely bewitching contemplations being only proper to public professors, and those who are under no outward necessities. Besides, to own a great but grievous truth, though they may quicken and sharpen the invention, strengthen and extend the imagination, improve and refine the reasoning faculty, and are of use both in the necessary and luxurious refinement of mechanical arts; yet, having no tendency to rectify the will, sweeten the temper, or mend the heart, they often leave a stiffness, positiveness, and sufficiency on weak minds, much more pernicious to society, and the interests of the great ends of our being, than all the advantages they can bring can recompense."

On finding his health so materially affected by intemperance, Dr. Cheyne left off eating suppers entirely, and in his other meals took only a little animal food, and hardly any fermented liquor. He informs us, that being now confined to the penitential solitude of a sick chamber, he had occasion to experience the faithlessness of all friendship formed on the principle of a common taste for sensual indulgences. His boon companions, even those who had been particularly obliged to him, left him like the stricken deer, to bewail his own unhappy condition; "so that at last," says the doctor, "I was forced into the country alone, reduced to the state of Cardinal Wolsey, when he said, 'if he had served his Maker as faithfully and warmly as he had his prince, he would not have forsaken him in that extremity;' and so will every one find, when union and friendship is not founded on solid virtue, and in conformity to the divine order, but in mere jollity. Being thus forsaken, dejected, melancholy, and confined in my country retirement, my body melting away like a snow-ball in summer, I had a long season for reflection. Having had a regular and liberal education, with the instruction and example of pious parents, I had preserved a firm persuasion of the great fundamental principles of all virtue and morality, namely, pure religion; in which I had been confirmed from abstract reasonings, as well as from the best natural philosophy. This led me to consider who of all my acquaintance I could wish to resemble most, or which of them had received and lived up to the plain truths and precepts contained in the gospels, or particularly our Saviour's sermon on the mount. I then fixed on one, a worthy and learned clergyman; and as in studying mathematics, and in turning over Sir Isaac Newton's philosophical works, I always marked down the authors and writings mostly used and recommended, so in this case I purchased and studied such spiritual and dogmatic authors as I knew this venerable man approved. Thus I collected a set of religious books of the first ages since Christianity, with a few of the most spiritual of the moderns, which have been my

study, delight, and entertainment ever since, and on these I have formed my ideas, principles, and sentiments, which have never been shaken." Dr. Cheyne further informs us, that this reformation in his religious temperament contributed greatly to forward the cure of his nervous diseases, which he perfected by a visit to Bath.

On his return to London, Dr. Cheyne commenced living upon a milk diet, which he found remarkably salutary; but after a long course of years he gradually relapsed into a freer style of living, and though he never indulged to the least excess either in eating or drinking, his fat returned upon him, and at last he weighed upwards of thirty-two stone. Being again admonished of the evil effects of his indulgences, he all at once reverted to his milk diet, and in time regained his usual health. From this moderate style of living he never again departed; and accordingly he enjoyed tolerable health till 1743, when, on the 12th of April, he died at Bath, in full possession of his faculties to the last, and without experiencing a pang.

Besides the works already mentioned, Dr. Cheyne published, in 1705, his *Philosophical Principles of Natural Religion, containing the Elements of Natural Philosophy, and the Proofs for Natural Religion arising from them*. This work he dedicated to the Earl of Roxburgh, at whose request, and for whose instruction, it appears to have been originally written. He also published *An Essay on the True Nature and Due Method of treating the Gout, together with an account of the Nature and Quality of the Bath Waters*, which passed through at least five editions, and was followed by *An Essay on Health and Long Life*. The latter work he afterwards published in Latin. In 1733 appeared his *English Malady, or a Treatise on Nervous Diseases of all kinds, as Spleen, Vapours, Lowness of Spirits, Hypochondriacal and Hysterical Distempers*. From the preface of this work we have derived the particulars here related respecting his own health through life. In 1740 Dr. Cheyne published *An Essay on Regimen*. His last work, which he dedicated to his friend and correspondent the Earl of Chesterfield, was entitled *The Natural Method of Curing the Diseases of the Human Body, and the Disorders of the Mind attending on the Body*.

Dr. Cheyne was eminently the physician of nervous distempers. He wrote chiefly to the studious, the voluptuous, and those who inherited bad constitutions from their parents. As a physician, he seemed to proceed, like Hippocrates of old and Sydenham of modern times, upon a few great perceptible truths. He is to be ranked among those who have accounted for the operations of medicine, and the morbid alterations which take place upon the human body, upon mechanical principles. A spirit of piety and benevolence, and an ardent zeal for the interests of virtue, run through all his writings. It was commonly said, that most of the physicians of his own day were secretly or openly tainted with irreligion; but from this charge Dr. Cheyne rendered himself an illustrious exception. He was as much the enemy of irreligion in general society, as of intemperance in his professional character. Some of the metaphysical notions which he has introduced in his writings may be thought fanciful and ill-grounded; but there is an agreeable vivacity in his productions, together with much candour and frankness, and, in general, great perspicuity. Of his relatives, his half-brother, the Rev. William Cheyne, vicar of Weston, near Bath, died September 6, 1767, and his son, the Rev. John Cheyne, vicar of Brigstock, Northamptonshire, died August 11, 1768.

CLAPPERTON, HUGH, the distinguished African traveller, was born at Annan in Dumfriesshire, in the year 1788. His father, Mr. George Clapperton, a respectable surgeon in that town, was married twice; by the first marriage he had ten or eleven sons and a daughter, by the second three sons and three daughters. The subject of this memoir was the youngest son by the first marriage. Owing partly to the number of his family, and partly to an improvident disposition, Mr. Clapperton was unable to give his son Hugh that classical education which is so generally bestowed by people of the middle ranks in Scotland upon their children. When able to do little more than read and write indifferently, Hugh was placed under the care of Mr. Bryce Downie, eminent as a mathematical teacher, through whom he acquired a knowledge of practical mathematics, including navigation and trigonometry. Mr. Downie ever after spoke in terms of warm affection respecting his pupil, whom he described both as an apt scholar, and a most obliging boy, and able to bear with indifference the extremities of heat and cold.

It is frequently the fate of a large family of the middle order in Scotland, that at least one-half of the sons leave their father's house at an early age, with little more than the sailor's inheritance of a light heart and a thin pair of breeches, to push their way in search of fortune over every quarter of the globe, and in every kind of employment. The family of Mr. George Clapperton appears to have been one of this order, for, while Hugh found distinction and a grave in the plains of Africa, no fewer than five of his brothers had also adopted an adventurous career, in the course of which some rose to a considerable rank in the navy and marine service, while others perished in their bloom. At the age of seventeen, the subject of this memoir was bound apprentice to Mr. Smith, of the *Postlethwaite* of Maryport, a large vessel trading between Liverpool and North America. In this situation he continued for some years, already distinguished for coolness, dexterity, and impetuosity, when his course of life was suddenly changed by what appeared to be a most unhappy incident. On one occasion the ship, when at Liverpool, was partly laden with rock-salt, and as that commodity was then dear, the mistress of a house which the crew frequented very improperly enticed Clapperton to bring her ashore a few pounds in his handkerchief. After some entreaty the youth complied, probably from his ignorance of the revenue laws; was caught in the act by a custom-house officer, and menaced with the terrors of trial and imprisonment, unless he consented to go on board the tender. He immediately chose the latter alternative, and, shortly after, gave a brief account of what had occurred, and the new situation in which he found himself placed, in a letter addressed to Mr. Scott, banker, Annan, concluding, though in modest and diffident terms, by soliciting the good offices of this gentleman to procure him promotion. By the influence of Mr. Scott, exerted through General Dirom of Mount Annan, and his equally amiable lady, Clapperton was draughted on board the *Clorinde*, which was then fitting out for the East Indies. The commander of this vessel, in compliance with the request of Mrs. General Dirom, to whom he was related, paid some attention to Clapperton, and finding him active and intelligent beyond his years, speedily promoted him to the rank of a midshipman; a circumstance which tended in no mean degree to fix his destiny and shape his fortune in life.

Previous to 1813 the British sailors were trained to no particular method of managing the cutlass. It

being suggested that this was a defect, a few clever midshipmen, among whom was Clapperton, were ordered to repair to Plymouth dockyard, to be instructed by the celebrated swordsman Angelo, in what was called the improved cutlass exercise. When their own instructions had been completed, they were distributed as teachers over the fleet, and Mr. Clapperton happened to be appointed to the *Asia*, 74, the flag-ship of Vice-admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, then lying at Spithead. This vessel set sail in January, 1814, for Bermuda, and Mr. Clapperton continued during the voyage to act as drill-sergeant.

While lying at Bermuda, and on the passage out, nothing could exceed Mr. Clapperton's diligence in discharging the duties of his new occupation. Officers as well as men received instructions from him in the cutlass exercise; and his manly figure and sailor-like appearance tended, in the opinion of all who saw him, to fix the attention and improve the patriotic spirit of the crew. At his own, as well as the other messes, where he was a frequent guest, he was the very life and soul of the party; sung a good song, told a merry tale, painted scenes for the ship's theatricals, sketched views, drew caricatures, and, in one word, was an exceedingly amusing and interesting person. Even the admiral became acquainted with his delightful properties, and honoured him with his warmest friendship and patronage. Clapperton was obliged, however, to repair to the Canadian lakes, which were then about to become the scene of important naval operations. Here he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and soon after appointed to the command of the *Confiance* schooner, the crew of which was composed of nearly all the unmanageable characters in the squadron. To keep these men in order was no easy task; yet his measures were at once so firm and so judicious, that, although he rarely had recourse to flogging, and withheld or disbursed allowances of grog, as a better system of rewards and punishments, his troops in the end became so orderly, that the *Confiance* was allowed to be one of the smartest barks on the water.

In the year 1817, when the flotilla on the lakes was dismantled, Clapperton returned to England, to to be placed, like many others, on half-pay, and he ultimately retired to the old burgh of Lochmaben. There he remained till 1820, amusing himself chiefly with rural sports, when he removed to Edinburgh, and shortly after became acquainted with a young Englishman of the name of Oudney, who had just taken his degree as doctor of medicine in the college. It was at the suggestion of this gentleman that he first turned his thoughts to African discovery. On the return of Captain Lyon from his unsuccessful attempt to penetrate Northern Africa, Earl Bathurst, then colonial secretary, relying on the strong assurances of his majesty's consul at Tripoli, that the road to the south of Mourzook (the extreme point of Lyon's expedition) was now open, resolved that a second mission should be sent out, to explore this unhappy quarter of the globe. Dr. Oudney was, upon strong recommendations from Edinburgh, appointed to proceed on this expedition, in the capacity of consul at Bornou in Central Africa, being allowed to take Clapperton along with him as a companion. About that time, Colonel Denham having volunteered his services in an attempt to pass from Tripoli to Timbuctoo—and it being intended that researches should be made from Bornou, as the fixed residence of the consul to the east and to the west—Lord Bathurst added his name to the expedition. The expedition set out from Tripoli early in 1822. It advanced in a line nearly south to Mourzook,

which is situated in lat. 25° N. and long. 14° E., and which it reached on the 8th of April. Unfortunately, from various circumstances, it was here found impossible to proceed any further this season; and while Denham returned to Tripoli to make new arrangements, Oudney and Clapperton made an excursion during June, July, and August, to the westward of Mourzook, into the country of the Tuaricks, which they penetrated to Ghraat, in the eleventh degree of east longitude.

On the return of Denham in October, he found Clapperton ill of an ague, and Oudney of a cold, and both were in a very wretched condition. On the 29th of November, however, the whole expedition was able to proceed. Keeping as nearly as possible in a direction due south, and very nearly in the fourteenth degree of east longitude, they arrived in February, 1823, in the kingdom of Bornou, which they found to be a far more powerful and civilized state than they could have formerly believed, the most of the inhabitants professing Mahometanism. This, it must be observed, was a part of the world never before known to have been trodden by a European foot. On the 17th the travellers, who went in company with a great African merchant named Boo-Khaloom, reached Kouka, the capital of the country, where the sultan had several thousand well mounted cavalry drawn up to receive them. This city became their head-quarters for the winter; and while Clapperton and Oudney remained there, Denham made an excursion still farther to the south, which he penetrated to Musfeia in latitude 9° 15' N., thereby adding in all 14½ degrees, or nearly 900 geographical miles, to the European knowledge of Africa in this direction. Afterwards Denham made an excursion with Oudney to Munga and Gambaroo in a western direction.

On the 14th of December, 1823, Mr. Clapperton, accompanied by Dr. Oudney, commenced a journey to the west, for the purpose of exploring the course of the Niger, leaving Denham to explore the neighbouring shores of the great Lake Chad, which may be called the Caspian of Africa. The two travellers arrived in safety at Murmur, where Oudney, who had previously been very weakly, breathed his last in the arms of his companion. "At any time, in any place," says Clapperton in his narrative, "to be bereaved of such a friend had proved a severe trial; but to me his friend and fellow-traveller, labouring also under disease, and now left alone amid a strange people, and proceeding through a country which had hitherto been never trod by European feet, the loss was severe and afflicting in the extreme." Proceeding on his journey, Clapperton reached Kano, the capital of the kingdom of Houssa, which he entered on the 23d of January, 1824. In general the native chiefs treated him with kindness, partly from a sense of the greatness of his master, the king of Great Britain. On the 10th of March he reached Jackatoo, a large city in lat. 13° N. and lon. 6½° E., which was the extreme point of the expedition in that direction. The sultan of this place treated him with much attention, and was found to be a person of no small intelligence, considering his situation.

"March 19, I was sent for," says Clapperton, "by the sultan, and desired to bring with me the 'looking-glass of the sun'—the name they gave to my sextant. I first exhibited a planisphere of the heavenly bodies. The sultan knew all the signs of the zodiac, some of the constellations, and many of the stars, by their Arabic names. The looking-glass of the sun was then brought forward, and occasioned much surprise. I had to explain all its appendages. The inverting telescope was an object of immense

astonishment; and I had to stand at some little distance, to let the sultan look at me through it, for his people were all afraid of placing themselves within its magical influence. I had next to show him how to take an observation of the sun. The case of the artificial horizon, of which I had lost the key, was sometimes very difficult to open, as happened on this occasion: I asked one of the people near me for a knife to press up the lid. He handed me one quite too small, and I quite inadvertently asked for a dagger for the same purpose. The sultan was immediately thrown into a fright; he seized his sword, and half-drawing it from the scabbard, placed it before him, trembling all the time like an aspen leaf. I did not deem it prudent to take the least notice of his alarm, although it was I who had in reality most cause of fear; and on receiving the dagger, I calmly opened the case, and returned the weapon to its owner with apparent unconcern. When the artificial horizon was arranged, the sultan and all his attendants had a peep at the sun; and my breach of etiquette seemed entirely forgotten." The courage and presence of mind of Clapperton are most strikingly displayed in this anecdote.

Clapperton was very anxious to have pressed westwards, in order to fall in with the Niger, which he was told was within five days' journey, and the course of which was described to him by the sultan. But owing to some of those malign jealousies which the slave-trade inspires into the African mind, he was not permitted to proceed. He set out, May 4, on his return to Kouka, which he reached on the 8th of July. Here he was rejoined by Denham, who scarcely knew him, on account of the ravages which illness had committed upon his once manly frame. The two remaining travellers then set out on their return to Tripoli, which, after a harassing journey across the desert, they reached, January 26, 1825, about three years after they had first set foot in Africa. They returned through Italy to Europe, and arrived in England on the 1st of June.

The result of this expedition was a work published in 1826, under the title of *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa*, in the years 1822, 1823, and 1824, by Major Denham, F.R.S., Captain Clapperton, and the late Dr. Oudney," of which a third edition was published in 1828. The greater part of this work was the composition of Denham, Clapperton only writing a minor part respecting the excursion to Jackatoo, which, however, is not the least interesting in the book. The subject of our memoir wrote in a plain, manly, unaffected style, as might have been expected from his character. The work was published under the immediate superintendence of Major Denham; and it was not the fate of Clapperton ever to see the result of his labours in print.

This enterprising person was solicited, immediately after his return, to undertake the management of another expedition to Africa, in company with Captain Pearce of the royal navy, Dr. Morrison, and Mr. Dickson. On this occasion it was projected that he should enter the continent with his companions at the Guinea coast, and thence endeavour to reach Jackatoo in a north-easterly direction, so as to make sure of intersecting the Niger. An enterprising youth, named Richard Lander, applied to Clapperton for permission to join the expedition in any capacity he might think proper. "The captain," we are informed by this individual, in his narrative subsequently published, "listened to me with attention, and, after I had answered a few interrogations, willingly engaged me to be his confidential servant. In this interview," adds Mr. Lander, "the keen,

penetrating eye of the African traveller did not escape my observation, and by its fire, energy, and quickness, denoted, in my own opinion, at least, the very soul of enterprise and adventure." After being intrusted with an answer from the king to a letter which he had brought from the Sultan Bello of Jackatoo, and with a letter to El Kanemy, the Shiekh of Bornou, Clapperton left England with his company on the 27th August, not three months from the time of his return. Mr. Dickson having been, at his own request, landed at Whydah, the rest disembarked, on the 28th of November, at Badagry in the Bight of Benin.

The journey into the interior was commenced on the 7th of December, and Clapperton soon had the pain of seeing his two companions, Pearce and Morrison, fall a sacrifice to its hardships. Accompanied by a merchant named Houtson, who joined him as a volunteer, he pursued his enterprise, and on the 15th of January, 1826, arrived at Katunga, the capital of Youriba. From this point Mr. Houtson returned without molestation, leaving Clapperton and Lander to pursue their journey alone. They soon after crossed the Quorra, or Niger, at Boussa, the place where Park had met his untimely fate. In July the travellers reached Kano, a large city on the line of road which Clapperton had formerly traversed, and here, on the 24th, the latter individual left his servant with the baggage, while he proceeded by himself to Soccatoo. It was the wish of Clapperton to obtain permission from Sultan Bello to visit Timbuctoo, and revisit Bornou. But all his plans were frustrated in consequence of Bello having engaged in a war with the Shiekh of Bornou. Clapperton, in his former visit, had presented the latter individual with several Congreve rockets, which he had employed effectually in setting fire to some of the sultan's towns. The traveller also bore, on this occasion, some considerable presents from the King of England to the Shiekh of Bornou; and thus every circumstance conspired to introduce jealousy into the mind of the sultan. Clapperton was detained for several months at Soccatoo in bad health, and Lander was inveigled by the sultan to come also to that city, along with the baggage, in order that the presents intended for Bornou might be intercepted. Lander reached Soccatoo in November, to the surprise of his master, and immediately their baggage was seized in the most shameless manner, and the travellers expressly forbidden to proceed to Bornou.

Thus arrested in the midst of his enterprise by the caprice of a barbarous despot, the health of Clapperton gave way, and on the 12th of March [1827] he was attacked by dysentery, from which there was no prospect of recovery. The account of his last illness, as detailed by his faithful servant and affectionate friend, Lander, adds a most heart-rending chapter to the mournful history of African travellers who have staked their lives upon the enterprise, and paid the forfeit of failure. The closing scene of all is thus described by the sorrowing survivor:—"On the following day [April 2d, 1827] he was greatly altered for the worse, as I had foretold he would be, and expressed regret for not having followed my advice. About twelve o'clock at noon, calling me to his bedside, he said,—'Richard! I shall shortly be no more; I feel myself dying.' Almost choked with grief, I replied, 'God forbid! my dear master; you will live many years to come.' 'Do not be so much affected, my dear boy, I entreat you,' rejoined he; 'you distress me by your emotion; it is the will of the Almighty, and therefore cannot be helped. Take care of my journal and papers after my decease; and when you arrive in London, go immediately to my agents,

and send for my uncle, who will accompany you to the colonial office, and see you deposit them with the secretary. After my body is laid in the earth, apply to Bello, and borrow money to purchase camels and provisions for crossing the desert to Fezzan, in the train of the Arab merchants. On your arrival at Mourzuk, should your money be expended, send a messenger to Mr. Warrington, our consul for Tripoli, and wait till he returns with a remittance. On your reaching the latter place, that gentleman will further advance you what money you may require, and send you to England the first opportunity. Do not lumber yourself with my books, but leave them behind, as well as my barometer and sticks, and indeed every heavy or cumbersome article you can conveniently part with; you may give them to Malam Mudey, who will preserve them. Remark whatever towns or villages you may pass through, and put on paper anything remarkable that the chiefs of the different places may say to you.' I said, as well as my agitation would permit me, 'If it be the will of God to take you, sir, you may confidently rely, as far as circumstances will permit me, on my faithfully performing all that you have desired; but I hope and believe that the Almighty will yet spare you to see your home and country again.' 'I thought at one time,' continued he, 'that that would be the case, but I dare not entertain such hopes now; death is on me, and I shall not be long for this world; God's will be done.' He then took my hand betwixt his, and looking me full in the face, while a tear glistened in his eye, said in a tremulous melancholy tone: 'My dear Richard, if you had not been with me I should have died long ago. I can only thank you with my latest breath for your devotedness and attachment to me; and if I could live to return to England with you, you should be placed beyond the reach of want; the Almighty, however, will reward you.'

'This pathetic conversation, which occupied almost two hours, greatly exhausted my master, and he fainted several times while speaking. The same evening he fell into a slumber, from which he awoke in much perturbation, and said that he had heard with peculiar distinctness the tolling of an English funeral bell; but I entreated him to be composed, observing that sick people frequently fancy things which in reality can have no existence. He shook his head, but said nothing.'

'About six o'clock on the morning of the 11th April, on my asking him how he did, my master replied in a cheerful tone that he felt much better; and requested to be shaved. He had not sufficient strength to lift his head from the pillow; and after finishing one side of the face I was obliged myself to turn his head in order to get at the other. As soon as he was shaved he desired me to fetch him a looking-glass which hung on the opposite side of the hut; and on seeing the reflection of his face in it, observed that he looked quite as ill in Bornou on his former journey, and that as he had borne his disorder for so long a time, there was some possibility of his yet recovering. On the following day he still fancied himself to be convalescent, in which belief I myself agreed, as he was enabled to partake of a little hashed guinea-fowl in the course of the afternoon, which he had not done before during the whole of his confinement, having derived his sole sustenance from a little fowl-soup, and milk and water.'

'These flattering anticipations, however, speedily vanished, for on the morning of the 13th, being awake, I was greatly alarmed on hearing a peculiar rattling noise issuing from my master's throat, and his breathing at the same time was loud and difficult. At that moment, on his calling out 'Richard!' in a

low, hurried, and singular tone, I was instantly at his side, and was astonished beyond measure on beholding him sitting upright in his bed (not having been able for a long time previously to move a limb), and staring wildly around. Observing him ineffectually struggling to raise himself on his feet, I clasped him in my arms, and whilst I thus held him, could feel his heart palpitating violently. His throes became every moment less vehement, and at last they entirely ceased, insomuch that thinking he had fallen into a slumber, or was overpowered by faintings, I placed his head gently on my left shoulder, gazing for an instant on his pale and altered features; some indistinct expressions quivered on his lips, and whilst he vainly strove to give them utterance, his heart ceased to vibrate, and his eyes closed for ever!

'I held the lifeless body in my arms for a short period, overwhelmed with grief; nor could I bring myself to believe that the soul which had animated it with being a few moments before had actually quitted it. I then unclasped my arms, and held the hand of my dear master in mine; but it was cold and dead, and instead of returning the warmth with which I used to press it, imparted some of its own unearthly chillness to my frame, and fell heavily from my grasp. O God! what was my distress in that agonizing moment? Shedding floods of tears, I flung myself along the bed of death, and prayed that Heaven would in mercy take my life.'

By the permission of Sultan Bello, Mr. Lander buried his fellow-traveller at Jungavie, about five miles south-east from Soccatoo. After describing the mournful scene, he thus proceeds to draw the character of his master:—

'No one could be better qualified than Captain Clapperton by a fearless, indomitable spirit, and utter contempt of danger and death, to undertake and carry into execution an enterprise of so great importance and difficulty as the one with which he was intrusted. He had studied the African character in all its phases—in its moral, social, and external form; and, like Alcibiades, accommodated himself with equal ease to good, as well as to bad fortune—to prosperity, as well as to adversity. He was never highly elated at the prospect of accomplishing his darling wishes—the great object of his ambition—nor deeply depressed when environed by danger, care, disappointment, and bodily suffering, which, hanging heavily upon him, forbade him to indulge in hopeful anticipations. The negro loved him, because he admired the simplicity of his manners, and mingled with pleasure in his favourite dance; the Arab hated him, because he was overawed by his commanding appearance, and because the keen penetrating glance of the British captain detected his guilty thoughts, and made him quail with apprehension and fear.'

'Captain Clapperton's stature was tall; his disposition was warm and benevolent; his temper mild, even, and cheerful; while his ingenious manly countenance portrayed the generous emotions that reigned in his breast. In fine, he united the figure and determination of a man with the gentleness and simplicity of a child; and, if I mistake not, he will live in the memory of many thousands of Africans, until they cease to breathe, as something more than mortal; nor have I the least doubt that the period of his visiting their country will be regarded by some as a new era, from which all events of consequence, that affect them, will hereafter be dated.'

The surviving traveller was permitted to leave Soccatoo a few days afterwards, and return on the way to Badagry. He reached that part of the coast after almost incredible hardships, and returning

safely to England, prepared for the press a work, entitled *Records of Captain Clapperton's Last Expedition to Africa*, which appeared in 1830, in two volumes 12mo. Before the publication of this book, Mr. Lander had set out on another expedition, in company with his younger brother John; and pursuing nearly the same route as that of Captain Clapperton, again reached the Niger at Boussa. It was an impression of Mr. Lander, that that river ran into the Bight of Benin, and he had, on his return, endeavoured to prove the fact by descending the stream, but was prevented by the natives. He now fairly settled the question by sailing down the river, and entering the sea by the outlet which is marked on the maps by the name of Nun. Thus was a youth of about twenty-six years of age at last successful in solving a problem which many older and better instructed men had failed to expound. It is to be allowed, however, that Clapperton is indirectly entitled to a large share of this honour, as it was he who introduced Lander to the field of African adventure, and who inspired him with the desire, and invested him with the accomplishments, necessary for the purpose.

CLEGHORN, GEORGE, a learned physician, was the son of a farmer at Granton, in the parish of Cramond, near Edinburgh; and was born there on the 13th of December, 1716. In 1719 the father of Dr. Cleghorn died, leaving a widow and five children. George, who was the youngest, received the rudiments of his education at the parish school, and in 1728 was sent to Edinburgh, to be further instructed in Latin, French, and Greek; where, to a singular proficiency in those languages, he added a considerable stock of mathematical knowledge. At the age of fifteen he commenced the study of physic and surgery, and had the good fortune to be placed under the tuition of the illustrious Monro, and under his roof. For five years he continued to profit by the instruction and example of his great master; at the same time he attended the lectures on botany, chemistry, *materia medica*, and the theory and practice of medicine; and by extraordinary diligence he attracted the notice of all his preceptors. He was at this time the intimate friend and fellow-student of the celebrated Fothergill, in conjunction with whom, and a few other young men, he established the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh. So great was the distinction of Cleghorn, even as a student, that, when little more than nineteen years of age, he was appointed, by the recommendation of Dr. St. Clair, surgeon to the 22d regiment of foot, then stationed at Minorca, under the command of General St. Clair. During the thirteen years which he spent in that island, he applied himself most diligently to his improvement in medical and anatomical studies, in which he was much assisted by his friend Fothergill, who sent him out such books as he required from London. On leaving Minorca, in 1749, he went with the regiment to Ireland; and next year he repaired to London, in order to give to the world the fruit of some of his observations, in a work entitled *The Diseases of Minorca*. This work not only exhibits an accurate statement of the air, but a minute detail of the vegetable productions, of the island; and concludes with medical observations, important in every point of view, and in some instances either new, or applied in a manner which preceding practitioners had not admitted. The medical world was indebted to Dr. Cleghorn for proving the advantage of acescent vegetables in low, putrid, and remittent fevers, and the copious use of bark, which had been interdicted from mistaken facts, deduced from false

theories. While superintending the publication of this work, Dr. Cleghorn attended the anatomical lectures of Dr. Hunter; and on his return to Dublin, where he settled in practice in 1751, he began to give a similar course himself, and was the first person that established what could with propriety be considered an anatomical school in Ireland. Some years afterwards he was admitted into the university as lecturer on anatomy. From this period till his death, in December, 1789, Dr. Cleghorn lived in the enjoyment of a high and lucrative practice, the duties of which he varied and relieved by a taste for farming and horticulture, and by attentions to the family of a deceased brother which he undertook to support. In private life Dr. Cleghorn is said to have been as amiable and worthy as in his professional life he was great. He was enabled before his death to acquire considerable estates in the county of Meath, of which his nephew, George Cleghorn, of Kilmarty, was high-sheriff in the year 1794.

CLELAND, WILLIAM, the troubadour, as he may be called, of the Covenanters, was born about the year 1661, having been just twenty-eight years of age at his death, in 1689. When only eighteen he held command as a captain in the covenanting army at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge. It would thus appear likely that he was born in a respectable grade of society. He seems to have stepped directly from the university into the field of arms; for it is known that he was at college just before completing his eighteenth year; at which age he enjoyed the rank above-mentioned in the Whig army. Although Cleland probably left the country after the affair at Bothwell, he is found spending the summer of 1685 in hiding, among the wilds of Clydesdale and Ayrshire, having perhaps returned in the unfortunate expedition of the Earl of Argyle. Whether he again retired to the Continent is not known; but, after the Revolution, he reappears on the stage of public life, in the character of lieutenant-colonel of the Earl of Angus' regiment, called the Cameronian regiment, in consequence of its having been raised out of that body of men, for the purpose of protecting the convention parliament. That Cleland had now seen a little of the world appears from a poem, entitled "Some Lines made by him upon the Observation of the Vanity of Worldly Honours, after he had been at several Princes' Courts."¹

It is a strong mark of the early popularity of Hudibras, that, embodying though it did the sarcasms of a cavalier against the friends of civil and religious liberty, it nevertheless travelled into Scotland, and inspired with the principle of imitation a poet of the entirely opposite party. Cleland, who, before he left college, had written some highly fanciful verses, of which we have preserved a copy below,² composed

¹ We also observe, in Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, that he published *Disputatio Juridica de Probationibus*, at Utrecht, in 1684; which would imply that he studied civil law at that celebrated seminary.

² These form part of a poem entitled "Hollo, my Fancy," which was printed in Watson's *Collection of Scottish Poems*, at the beginning of the last century:—

"In conceit like Phaeton,
I'll mount Phœbus' chair,
Having ne'er a hat on,
All my hair a-burning,
In my journeying,
Hurrying through the air.
Fain would I hear his fiery horses neighing!
And see how they on foamy bits are playing!
All the stars and planets I will be surveying!
Hollo, my fancy, whither wilt thou go?
"O, from what ground of nature
Doth the pelican,

a poem in the Hudibrastic style, upon the celebrated expedition of the Highland host which took place in 1678. His object was to satirize both the men who composed this expedition and those who directed it to take place. It chiefly consists in a ludicrous account of the outlandish appearance, senseless manners, and oppressive conduct of the northern army. So far as satire could repay the rank cruelty of that mode of constraining men's consciences, it was repaid—for the poem is full of poignant sarcasm, expressed in language far above the poetical diction of that day, at least in Scotland. It was not published, however, till 1697, nearly twenty years after the incident which called it forth, when at length it appeared in a small volume, along with several other poems by the same author.

Colonel Cleland was not destined long to enjoy his command in the Cameronian regiment, or the better times which the Revolution had at length introduced. In August, 1689, the month after the battle of Killiecrankie, he was sent with his men to take post at Dunkeld, in order to prepare the way for a second invasion of the Highlands. The remains of that army which Dundee had led to victory, but without gaining its fruits, gathered suddenly into the neighbourhood, and, on the 21st of August, made a most determined attack upon the town. Cleland, though he had only 800 men to oppose to 4000, resolved to fight it out to the last, telling his men that, if they chose to desert him, he would stand out by himself, for the honour of the regiment and the good cause in which he was engaged. The soldiers were animated so much by his eloquence and example, that they withstood the immense odds brought against them, and finally caused the Highlanders to retire discomfited, leaving about 300 men behind them. Perhaps there was not a single skirmish or battle during the whole of the war of liberty, from 1639 to 1689, which conferred more honour on either party than this affair of Dunkeld. Cleland, to whom so much of the glory was due, unfortunately fell in the action, at the early age of twenty-eight. He was employed in encouraging his soldiers in front of Dunkeld House, when two bullets pierced his head and one his liver simultaneously. He turned about, and endeavoured to get back into the house, in order that his death might not discourage his men; but he fell before reaching the threshold.

It is stated by the editor of the *Border Minstrelsy*, but we know not with what authority, that this brave officer was the father of a second Colonel Cleland, who flourished in the *beau monde* at London in the reign of Queen Anne and George I., and who, besides enjoying the honour of having his character embalmed in the *Spectator* under the delightful fiction of Will. Honeycomb, was the author of a letter to Pope prefixed to the *Dunciad*. The son of this latter gentleman was also a literary character, but one of no good fame. John Cleland, to whom we are alluding, was born in 1709, and received a good education at Westminster School, where he was the contemporary of Lord Mansfield. He went on some mercantile pursuit to Smyrna, where he perhaps imbibed those loose principles which afterwards tarnished his literary reputation. After his return from the Mediterranean, he went to

the East Indies, but, quarrelling with some of the members of the presidency of Bombay, he made a precipitate retreat from the East, with little or no advantage to his fortune. After living for some time in London, in a state little short of destitution, he was tempted by a bookseller, for the sum of twenty guineas, to write a novel of a singularly indecent character, which was published in 1749, in two volumes, and had so successful a run that the profits are said to have exceeded £10,000. It is related that, having been called before the privy-council for this offence, he pleaded his destitute circumstances as his only excuse, which induced the president, Lord Granville, to buy the pen of the unfortunate author over to the side of virtue, by granting him a pension of £100 a year. He lived many years upon this income, which he aided by writing occasional pieces in the newspapers, and also by the publication of various works; but in none of these was he very successful. He published a novel called the *Man of Honour*, as an *amende honorable* for his flagitious work, and also a work entitled the *Memoirs of a Coxcomb*. His political essays, which appeared in the public prints under the signatures Modestus, a Briton, &c., are said to have been somewhat heavy and dull. He wrote some philological tracts, chiefly relating to the Celtic language. But it was in songs and novels that he chiefly shone; and yet not one of these compositions has continued popular to the present day. In the latter part of his life he lived in a retired manner in Petty France, Westminster, where he had a good library; in which hung a portrait of his father, indicating all the manners and *d'abord* of the fashionable town-rake at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Though obliged to live frugally, in order that he might not exceed his narrow income, Mr. Cleland occasionally received visits from his friends, to whom his conversation, enriched by many observations of foreign travel and all the literary anecdote of the past century, strongly recommended him. He spoke with fluency the languages of Italy and France, through which countries, as well as Spain and Portugal, he had travelled on his return from the East Indies. He died in his house in Little France, January 23, 1789, at the age of eighty.

CLERK, JOHN, of Eldin, inventor of some invaluable improvements in the modern system of naval tactics, was the sixth son of Sir John Clerk of Pennycuik, Baronet, who filled the situation of a baron in his majesty's Scottish exchequer between the years 1707 and 1755, and was one of the most enlightened men of his age and country. The mother of John Clerk was Janet Inglis, daughter of Sir John Inglis of Cramond. He appears at an early period of his life to have inherited from his father the estate of Eldin, in the neighbourhood of Pennycuik, and southern part of the county of Edinburgh, and to have married Miss Susanna Adam, sister of the celebrated architects, by whom he had several children. The private life of Mr. Clerk of Eldin presents as few incidents as that of most country gentlemen. He was distinguished chiefly by his extraordinary conceptions on the subject of naval tactics, the birth and growth of which are thus described by the late Professor Playfair, in the fragment of a life of John Clerk published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*:—

"From his early youth a fortunate instinct seems to have directed his mind to naval affairs. It is always interesting to observe the small and almost invisible causes from which genius receives its first impulses, and often its most durable impressions.

That self-devouring creature,
Prove so froward
And untoward

Her vitals for to strain!
And why the subtle fox, while in death's wounds lying,
Doth not lament his wounds by howling and by crying!
And why the milk-white swan doth sing when she's a-dying!
Hollo, my fancy, whither wilt thou go!"

&c. &c. &c.

'I had (says he)¹ acquired a strong passion for nautical affairs when a mere child. At ten years old, before I had seen a ship, or even the sea at a less distance than four or five miles, I formed an acquaintance at school with some boys who had come from a distant seaport, who instructed me in the different parts of a ship from a model which they had procured. I had afterwards frequent opportunities of seeing and examining ships at the neighbouring port of Leith, which increased my passion for the subject; and I was soon in possession of a number of models, many of them of my own construction, which I used to sail on a piece of water in my father's pleasure-grounds, where there was also a boat with sails, which furnished me with much employment. I had studied *Robinson Crusoe*, and I read all the sea voyages I could procure.'

"The desire of going to sea," continues Mr. Playfair, "which could not but arise out of these exercises, was forced to yield to family considerations; but fortunately for his country, the propensity to naval affairs, and the pleasure derived from the study of them, were not to be overcome. He had indeed prosecuted the study so far, and had become so well acquainted with naval affairs, that, as he tells us himself, he had begun to study the difficult problem of the way of a ship to windward. This was about the year 1770, when an ingenious and intelligent gentleman, the late commissioner Edgar, came to reside in the neighbourhood of Mr. Clerk's seat in the country. Mr. Edgar had served in the army, and with the company under his command had been put on board Admiral Byng's ship at Gibraltar, in order to supply the want of marines; so that he was present in the action off the island of Minorca, on the 20th of May, 1756. As the friend of Admiral Boscawen, he afterwards accompanied that gallant officer in the more fortunate engagement of Lagoo Bay."

To what extent Mr. Clerk was indebted for his nautical knowledge to this gentleman we are not informed; but it appears that previous to the year 1779 he had become very extensively and accurately acquainted with both the theory and practice of naval tactics. The department to which Mr. Clerk more particularly applied his active genius was the difficulty of bringing the enemy to action. The French, when they met a British fleet eager for battle, always contrived, by a series of skilful manoeuvres, to elude the blow, and to pursue the object of their voyage, either parading on the ocean, or transporting troops and stores for the attack and defence of distant settlements; and thus wresting from the British the fair fruits of their superior gallantry, even while they paid a tacit tribute to that gallantry by planning a defensive system to shelter themselves from its effects; in which they succeeded so well that the fleets of Britain and France generally parted after some indecisive firing. Mr. Clerk now assured himself from mathematical evidence that the plan followed by the British of attacking an enemy's fleet at once, from van to rear, exposed the advancing ships to the formidable battery of the whole adverse fleet; by which means they were crippled and disabled either for action or pursuit, while the enemy might bear away and repeat the same manoeuvre, until their assailants are tired out by such a series of fruitless attacks. This Scottish gentleman, in the solitude of his country-house, where after dinner he would get up a mimic fight with bits of cork upon the table, discovered the grand principle of attack which Buonaparte after-

wards brought into such successful practice by land—that is to say, he saw the absurdity of an attacking force extending itself over the whole line of the enemy, by which the amount of resistance became everywhere as great as the force of attack; when it was possible, by bringing the force to bear upon a particular point, and carrying that by an irresistible weight, to introduce confusion and defeat over the whole. He conceived various plans for this purpose; one was to fall upon the rear vessels of the enemy, and endeavour to disable him, as it were; another and more splendid idea was to direct the line of attacking vessels through the line of those attacked; and by doubling in upon the ships cut off, which of course must strike to so superior a force, reduce the strength of the enemy, and even subject the remaining ships to the risk of falling successively a prey, as they awkwardly endeavoured to beat up to the rescue of their companions. At the time when he was forming these speculations, the British arms suffered great depression both by sea and land. A series of great and ill-directed efforts, if they had not exhausted, had so far impaired, the strength and resources of the country, that neighbouring nations thought they had found a favourable opportunity for breaking the power and humbling the pride of a formidable rival. In the naval encounters which took place after France had joined herself to America, the superiority of the British navy seemed almost to disappear; the naval armies of our enemies were every day gaining strength; the number and force of their ships were augmenting; the skill and experience of their seamen appeared to be coming nearer an equality with our own. All this was owing to the generous waste of strength which the British commanders had undergone in their gallant but vain attempts to come to a fair engagement with the enemy.

"Being fully satisfied," says Mr. Playfair, "as to the principles of his system, Mr. Clerk had begun to make it known to his friends so early as 1779. After the trial of Admiral Keppell had brought the whole proceedings of the affair off Ushant before the public, Mr. Clerk made some strictures on the action, which he put in writing, illustrating them by drawings and plans, containing sketches of what might have been attempted if the attack had been regulated by other principles, and these he communicated to several naval officers, and to his friends both in Edinburgh and London. In the following year [January, 1780] he visited London himself, and had many conferences with men connected with the navy, among whom he has mentioned Mr. Atkinson, the particular friend of Sir George Rodney, the admiral who was now preparing to take the command of the fleet in the West Indies. A more direct channel of communication with Admiral Rodney was the late Sir Charles Douglas, who went out several months after the admiral, in order to serve as his captain, and did actually serve in that capacity in the memorable action of the 12th of April, 1782. Sir Charles, before leaving Britain, had many conversations with Mr. Clerk on the subject of naval tactics, and before he sailed was in complete possession of that system. Some of the conferences with Sir Charles were by appointment of the late Dr. Blair of Westminster, and at one of these interviews were present Mr. William and Mr. James Adam, with their nephew, the late lord chief commissioner for Scotland. Sir Charles had commanded the *Stirling Castle* in Keppell's engagement, and Mr. Clerk now communicated to him the whole of his strictures on that action, with the plans and demonstrations on which the manner of the attack from the leeward was fully developed.

¹ Preface to the second edition of his *Essay on Naval Tactics*, 1804.

"The matter which Sir Charles seemed most unwilling to admit was the advantage of the attack from that quarter; and it was indeed the thing most inconsistent with the instructions given to all admirals.

"Lord Rodney himself, however, was more easily convinced, and in the action off Martinico, in April, 1780, the original plan seemed regulated by the principles of the *Naval Tactics*. . . . It was not till two years afterwards, in April, 1782, that Lord Rodney gave the first example of completely breaking through the line of the enemy, and of the signal success which will ever accompany that manœuvre when skilfully conducted. The circumstances were very remarkable, and highly to the credit of the gallantry as well as conduct of the admiral. The British fleet was to leeward, and its van, on reaching the centre of the enemy, bore away as usual along his line; and had the same been done by all the ships that followed, the ordinary indecisive result would infallibly have ensued. But the *Formidable*, Lord Rodney's own ship, kept close to the wind, and on perceiving an opening near the centre of the enemy, broke through at the head of the rear division, so that, for the first time, the enemy's line was completely cut in two, and all the consequences produced which Mr. Clerk had predicted. This action, which introduced a new system, gave a new turn to our affairs at sea, and delivered the country from that state of depression into which it had been thrown, not by the defeat of its fleets, but by the entire want of success.

"It was in the beginning of this year that the [*Essay on*] *Naval Tactics* appeared in print, though, for more than a year before, copies of the book had been in circulation among Mr. Clerk's friends.¹ Immediately on the publication, copies were presented to the minister and the first lord of the admiralty; and the Duke of Montague, who was a zealous friend of Mr. Clerk's system, undertook the office of presenting a copy to the king.

"Lord Rodney, who had done so much to prove the utility of this system, in conversation never concealed the obligation he felt to the author of it. Before going out to take the command of the fleet in the West Indies, he said one day to Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, 'There is one Clerk, a countryman of yours, who has taught us how to fight, and appears to know more of the matter than any of us. If ever I meet the French fleet, I intend to try his way.'

"He held the same language after his return. Lord Melville used often to meet him in society, and particularly at the house of Mr. Henry Drummond, where he talked very unreservedly of the *Naval Tactics*, and of the use he had made of the system in his action of the 12th of April. A letter from General Ross states very particularly a conversation of the same kind, at which he was present. 'It is,' says the general, 'with an equal degree of pleasure and truth that I now commit to writing what you heard me say in company at your house, to wit, that at the table of the late Sir John Dalling, where I was in the habit of dining often, and meeting Lord Rodney, I heard his lordship distinctly state, that he owed his success in the West Indies to the manœuvre of breaking the line, which he learned from Mr. Clerk's book. This honourable and liberal confession of the gallant admiral made so deep an impression on me, that I can never forget it; and I am pleased to think that my recollection of the cir-

cumstance can be of the smallest use to a man with whom I am not acquainted, but who, in my opinion, has deserved well of his country.'"

Mr. Playfair then proceeds to mention a copy of Mr. Clerk's *Essay*, on which Lord Rodney had written many marginal notes, full of remarks on the justness of Mr. Clerk's views, and on the instances wherein his own conduct had been in strict conformity with those views; and which copy of the *Essay* is now deposited in the family library at Pennycuik. The learned professor next relates "an anecdote which sets a seal on the great and decisive testimony of the noble admiral. The present [now late] Lord Haddington met Lord Rodney at Spa, in the decline of life, when both his bodily and his mental powers were sinking under the weight of years. The great commander, who had been the bulwark of his country, and the terror of her enemies, lay stretched on his couch, while the memory of his own exploits seemed the only thing that interested his feelings, or afforded a subject for conversation. In this situation he would often break out in praise of the *Naval Tactics*, exclaiming with great earnestness, 'John Clerk of Eldin for ever.' Generosity and candour seemed to have been such constituent elements in the mind of this gallant admiral, that they were among the parts which longest resisted the influence of decay."

Mr. Playfair then details some of the victories of the succeeding war, in which Mr. Clerk's system had been pursued. The great action fought by Lord Howe, on the 1st of June, 1794, was, in its management, quite conformable to that system, and its success entirely owing to the manœuvre of breaking the line. Mr. Playfair mentions that Mr. James Clerk, the youngest son of the author of the *Essay*, and who was a midshipman on board Lord Howe's ship, in 1793, had a copy of the recent edition of the work, "which was borrowed by Captain Christian, no doubt for the admiral's use." Lord St. Vincent, who possessed a copy of the book, also gained the famous battle off the coast of Spain by breaking the line of the enemy—as did Lord Duncan the more important victory of Camperdown. But the grandest testimony of all to the excellence of Mr. Clerk's system, was the battle of Trafalgar, which finally set at rest the dominion of Britain over the sea. Lord Nelson's instructions on that occasion contained some entire sentences out of the *Essay on Naval Tactics*. And it must also be mentioned, that, in his splendid victory of the Nile, he had pursued the same system.

We have hitherto pursued the train of demonstration favourable to Mr. Clerk, and to the originality and utility of his system; it must now be mentioned that a controversy, menacing the better part of his reputation, has arisen since his decease. The family of Rodney, in a late publication of his memoirs, disavow the claim made by the friends of Mr. Clerk, and maintain that no communication of that gentleman's plan was ever made to their relative, or that he had the least knowledge of any such book or plan as that of Mr. Clerk. Immediately after the publication of this disavowal, Sir Howard Douglas, son of the late Sir Charles Douglas, who was Rodney's captain at the time of the victory, came forward, in a pamphlet, supported by authentic documents, to claim the honour on behalf of his father. It would be vain to enter into a full discussion of the controversy which has arisen on this subject; the result seems to be, that Mr. Clerk's friends have not proved that Lord Rodney adopted the idea of breaking the enemy's line, on the 12th of April, from his system, although there are several reports by most honour-

¹ Fifty copies were printed of this edition, and distributed in a private way. The work was not published for sale till 1790. The edition of that year is therefore styled the *first*, and that of 1804 the *second* edition.

able men, of acknowledgments from his lordship to that effect. The testimony of these men would, in ordinary cases, be very good; but in this case it is invalidated by a *tache* of a very extraordinary nature, which has fallen upon a particular part of Professor Playfair's narrative. In contradiction of the assertion that Mr. Clerk had frequent interviews with Sir Charles Douglas, for the explanation of his system, previous to the battle, Sir Howard, the son of that officer, brings forward a letter written by his father at St. Lucie, March 2, 1783, in answer to some representation of Mr. Clerk's claim, which had been set forward by one of his friends. Of this letter Sir Howard gives the following account and extracts:—

"After acknowledging the receipt of the letter communicating Mr. Clerk's claim to the honour of having suggested the manoeuvre of breaking the line, by which the victory had been gained, my father declares 'the whole story to be so far-fetched, improbable, and groundless, as not to deserve a serious refutation.' That, in being so near his commander-in-chief, he had a far more experienced instructor to guide and direct him in the execution of his duty, than the author alluded to; and so entirely positive was he that he had never spoken on such matters with any civilian of the name, that he took the person to whom allusion had been made, to be a Lieutenant Clerk of the navy; but that even of such conversation he (my father) had no recollection whatever. He then instructs his correspondent that, inasmuch as he is mentioned or alluded to, 'the subject should be treated as a production offensive to himself, and as highly injurious to the person who commanded in chief on that celebrated day,' and who certainly did not stand in need of any instruction derived, or that could be derived, from Lieutenant Clerk, or any other person that he knew of."

Whether Mr. Clerk be really entitled or not to the merit of having suggested the manoeuvre of breaking the line, there can be no doubt that he conceived on land, and without the least experience of sea life, that idea, at a period antecedent to the time when it was put in practice.¹ There is also no pretence in any quarter to deny that his system became a guide to all the operations of the British navy subsequent to the particular victory in which it first seemed to be acted upon, and thus was the means of enabling British valour to gain a series of conquests, which unquestionably proved the salvation of the country.

Mr. Clerk died at an advanced age, on the 10th of May, 1812; and, strange to say, there exists no public monument whatsoever, to record the gratitude of the country for his services. It may be mentioned, that Mr. Clerk was the father of the late John Clerk, Esq., advocate (afterwards raised to the bench, where he took the designation of Lord Eldin), whose professional abilities, joined to his exquisite taste in the fine arts, and the rich eccentricity of his manners and conversation, will long be remembered.²

¹ Mr. Clerk has been heard to acknowledge, in the later part of his life, that he never enjoyed a longer sail than to the island of Arran, in the Firth of Clyde.

² Sir George Clerk Maxwell, of Pennycuik, an elder brother of the author of the *Naval Tactics*, born in 1715, and who succeeded his elder brother, Sir James, in the baronetcy, in 1783, was distinguished by his public-spirited efforts to advance the commercial interests of Scotland, at a time when they were in a state of infancy. He established, at a considerable expense, a linen manufactory at Dumfries, and likewise set on foot many different projects for working lead and copper mines. In 1755 he addressed two letters to the trustees for fisheries, manufactures, and improvements in Scotland, containing observations on the common mode of treating wool in this country, and suggesting a more judicious scheme of management. These were published, by direction of the Board, in 1756.

CLYDE, LORD. *See* CAMPBELL, COLIN.

COCHRANE, SIR ALEXANDER FORRESTER INGLIS, G.C.B. This admiral belonged to a family of which the naval service is justly proud, being the ninth son of Thomas, eighth Earl of Dundonald, and consequently uncle to the late earl, who is better known by the name of Lord Cochrane. Alexander Cochrane was born on the 23d of April, 1758. Being destined for the sea service, he embarked at an early age; and, after the usual intermediate steps, was appointed lieutenant in 1778. In this capacity he acted as signal-officer to Lord Rodney, in the action with De Guichen and the French fleet, on the 17th April, 1780, off Martinique; and it is evident, from the complicated manoeuvres which the British commander was obliged to adopt in bringing the enemy to action, that Lieutenant Cochrane's office on this occasion was one of great trust. After the action his name was returned among the list of the wounded. His next step of promotion was the command of the *St. Lucia*, sloop of war, and afterwards of the *Pachahunter*, which last command he subsequently exchanged with Sir Isaac Coffin for that of the *Avenger*, an armed sloop employed in the North River in America. At the end of 1782 he was appointed, with the rank of post-captain, to the command of the *Kangaroo*, and afterwards to the *Caroline*, of 24 guns, employed on the American station.

After peace was established with our North American colonies, by which the latter were confirmed as an independent government, Captain Cochrane's occupation for the time was ended; and he spent several years in retirement, until he was called again to service in 1790, in the prospect of a rupture with Spain. On this occasion he was appointed to the command of a small frigate, the *Hind*, when, on the renewal of hostilities with France, he was removed to the *Thetis*, of 42 guns and 261 men. With such means at his disposal he soon showed himself an active, bold, and successful cruiser, so that, during the spring and summer of 1793 he captured eight French privateers, mounting in all above eighty guns. In 1795 he also signalized himself by a bold attack upon five French sail off Chesapeake, being aided by the *Husar*, a British frigate of 34 guns, and succeeded in capturing one of the largest vessels, the rest having made their escape after they had struck. Several years of service on the coast of America succeeded, in which Captain Cochrane made important captures of not a few French privateers, and established his character as an able naval commander; so that, in February, 1799, he was appointed to the *Ajax*, of 80 guns, and sent in the following year upon the expedition against Quiberon, Belleisle, and Ferrol. This expedition, as is well known, was all but useless, as the French royalists, whom it was sent to aid, were too helpless to co-operate with the invaders. The *Ajax*, having subsequently joined the fleet on the Mediterranean station under the command of Lord Keith, proceeded to Egypt as part of the convoy of Abercromby's expedition for the expulsion of the French from that country; and on this occasion the professional talents of Captain Cochrane were brought into full play. He was commissioned by Lord Keith to superintend

He likewise wrote a paper on the advantages of shallow ploughing, which was read to the Philosophical Society, and is published in the third volume of their essays. In 1741 this ingenious person was appointed king's remembrancer, an office of trust in the exchequer, of which his father was then one of the judges; and, in 1763, commissioner of the customs in Scotland. Sir George Clerk Maxwell (the latter name had been assumed for an estate) died in January, 1784.

the landing of the British troops; and this disembarkation, performed so successfully in the face of so many difficulties, will ever constitute a more important episode in history than a victory won in a pitched field. With such admirable skill were the naval and military details of this process conducted, and so harmoniously did the two services combine on the occasion, that a landing, which in the ordinary form might have been attended with utter defeat, or the loss of half an army, was effected with only 20 sailors and 102 soldiers killed. At the capture of Alexandria, by which the war in Egypt was successfully terminated, Captain Cochrane, with a detachment of armed vessels, was stationed on the Lake Mœrotis, to protect the advance of the British troops upon the city, a duty which he performed with his wonted ability. So valuable, indeed, had his services been during the six months of the Egyptian campaign, that at the end of it they were most honourably mentioned in the despatches of Lord Keith, as well as those of General Hutchinson, by whom Abercromby was succeeded.

The peace of Amiens occasioned the return of the *Ajax* to England in February, 1802, and Cochrane, with the true restlessness of a sailor ashore, as well as the true patriotism of a good British subject, still wished to do something for his country. He accordingly turned his attention to parliament, and became a candidate for the representation of the united boroughs of Stirling, Dunfermline, &c., at the general election that had now occurred. As the votes for Sir John Henderson, his antagonist, and himself were equal, the contest was followed by petition, and the result was that in 1804, after a long investigation, Cochrane's election was confirmed. Two years after the wind completely changed, for at the election of 1806 Henderson was chosen. The quarter-deck, and not the hustings, was the proper arena for Cochrane. Fortunately for him, the peace, or rather hollow truce, of Amiens was at an end while the ink was scarcely dry upon the paper, and in 1803 he was appointed to the command of the *Northumberland*, 74; and in the following year he was sent out, with the rank of rear-admiral, to watch the port of Ferrol, in anticipation of a war with Spain. In 1805 he was commissioned to pursue a French squadron that had stolen out of the blockaded port of Rochefort. Its destination was unknown, but the most serious consequences were apprehended, as it consisted of five ships of the line, three frigates, two brigs, and a schooner, and had 4000 troops on board. Cochrane went off with six ships of the line in pursuit of these dangerous fugitives, and after a long cruise, in which the coasts of France and Spain, and the West India Islands, were successively visited, he found it impossible to come in sight of his nimble fear-stricken adversaries; all that he could learn of their whereabouts was in the instances of a few paltry captures they had made of British merchantmen, and their throwing a supply of troops into the town of St. Domingo. The timidity of this flying squadron was rewarded by a safe return to Rochefort, which they effected in spite of the British cruisers that were sent in all directions to intercept them. Admiral Cochrane then assumed the command of the Leeward Islands station, and joined Lord Nelson in his active pursuit after the combined fleets of France and Spain. In the following year (1806) he formed a junction with Vice-admiral Sir John G. Duckworth, for the pursuit of a French squadron that had sailed from Brest to relieve the town of St. Domingo. On this occasion the French were overtaken, and in the action that followed, and which lasted nearly two hours, they were so utterly defeated, that of their

five ships of the line two were burned, and the other three captured; nothing escaped but two frigates and a corvette. On this occasion Cochrane's ship, the *Northumberland*, which had been in the hottest of the fire, had by far the greatest number of killed and wounded, while himself had a narrow escape, his hat being knocked off his head by a grape-shot. So important were his services on this occasion, that he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and of the corporation of London; while the latter, not confining itself to verbal acknowledgments, presented him with the honour of the city, and a sword of the value of a hundred guineas. This was not all; for the underwriters at Barbadoes presented him with a piece of plate valued at £500; and the committee of the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's with a vase worth £300. The honour of knighthood crowned these rewards of his highly-valued achievements, and on the 29th of March, 1806, he was created Knight of the Bath. Nothing could more highly attest the estimation in which his exploit at St. Domingo was held, than that so many acknowledgments should have rewarded it, at a season, too, when gallant actions at sea were events of everyday occurrence.

Soon after, war was declared against Denmark; and on hearing of this, Sir A. Cochrane concerted measures with General Bowyer for the reduction of St. Thomas, St. John's, and St. Croix, islands belonging to the Danish crown. In a few months the whole were captured, along with a valuable fleet of Danish merchantmen. His next service was in the reduction of Martinique, where he co-operated with General Beckwith; and for this acquisition he and his gallant land partner received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. The reduction of Guadaloupe followed, in which both commanders joined, and were equally successful; and in 1810 Cochrane, in reward of his services, was appointed governor and commander-in-chief of Guadaloupe and its dependencies. In this situation he continued till 1813, when a war with the United States called him once more into action. He was appointed to the command of the fleet on the coast of North America, and on assuming office, he shut up and watched the ports of the United States with a most vigilant and effectual blockade. Soon after this the universal peace ensued, and in 1815 Sir Alexander Cochrane returned to England. He was raised to the rank of full admiral in 1819, and held the office of commander-in-chief at Plymouth from 1821 to 1824.

The brave old admiral, like the rest of his contemporaries of the land and sea service, was now obliged to change a life of action for the tranquillity of home and the pleasures of social intercourse; and he passed the rest of his days honoured and beloved by all who knew him. His death, which occurred at Paris, was fearfully sudden. Accompanied by his brother he went, on the morning of the 26th of January, 1832, to visit his daughter, Lady Trowbridge, for the purpose of inviting his young grandchildren to an evening entertainment; but while he was affectionately caressing them, he suddenly started, placed his hand on his left side, and exclaiming to Mr. Cochrane, "O brother, what a dreadful pain!" he fell back into his arms, and instantly expired.

COCHRANE, ARCHIBALD, ninth Earl of Dundonald, a nobleman distinguished by his useful scientific investigations, was the son of Thomas, the eighth earl, by Jane, daughter of Archibald Stewart of Torrence; and was born on the 1st of January, 1748. His lordship, before his father's decease, entered public life as a cornet in the 3d dragoons, which com-

mission he afterwards abandoned, in order to become a midshipman under his countryman Captain Stair Douglas. While stationed as acting-lieutenant in a vessel off the coast of Guinea, he had occasion to observe the liability of vessels to be rotted by the sea, which in some cases was so very great, that a few months was sufficient to render them not seaworthy. He conceived the idea of laying them over with tar extracted from coal, a substance which was then little known, though now identified with the very idea of marine craft. The experiment was first tried in Holland, and found to answer all the purposes required. Being then tried upon a decked boat at the Nore, and found equally answerable, his lordship procured a patent of his invention for a short term, which was afterwards (1785) changed for an act of parliament, vesting it in him and his heirs for twenty years. Unfortunately, the general adoption of copper-sheathing rendered the speculation not only abortive, but ruinous to the inventor, who had burdened all his estates in order to raise the necessary works. His lordship had succeeded to the family honours in 1778. In 1785 he published two pamphlets—one entitled *The Present State of the Manufacture of Salt Explained*; the other, *An Account of the Qualities and Uses of Coal Tar and Coal Varnish*. In 1795 his lordship published a treatise showing the intimate connection between agriculture and chemistry, and in 1807 he obtained a patent for improvements in spinning machinery. It unfortunately happened that his lordship's inventions, although all of them seemed to tend to the public good, proved unprofitable to himself. The latter half of his long life was, on this account, spent in embarrassments and privations which may well excite our sympathy. His lordship was thrice married; first to Anne, daughter of Captain Gilchrist of Annsfield, R.N.; secondly, to Isabella, daughter of Samuel Raymond, Esq. of Belchamp, in Essex; thirdly, to Anna Maria Plowden, daughter of the well-known historian of Ireland. By the first of these unions he had six sons, the eldest of whom, under the designation of Lord Cochrane, distinguished himself by his gallant naval achievements in the war of the French revolution. The following remarks were made in allusion to this noble and unfortunate votary of science, in the annual address of the registrars of the Literary Fund Society, in the year 1823:—

"A man born in the high class of the old British peerage has devoted his acute and investigating mind solely to the prosecution of science; and his powers have prevailed in the pursuit. The discoveries effected by his scientific research, with its direction altogether to utility, have been in many instances beneficial to the community, and in many have been the sources of wealth to individuals. To himself alone they have been unprofitable; for with a superior disdain, or (if you please) a culpable disregard of the gods of fortune, he has scattered around him the produce of his intellect with a lavish and wild hand. If we may use the consecrated words of an apostle, 'though poor, he hath made many rich,' and though in the immediate neighbourhood of wealth, he has been doomed to suffer, through a long series of laborious years, the severities of want. In his advanced age he found an estimable woman, in poverty, it is true, like himself, but of unspotted character, and of high though untitled family, to participate the calamity of his fortunes; and with her virtues and prudence, assisted by a small pension which she obtained from the benevolence of the crown, she threw a gleam of light over the dark decline of his day. She was soon, however, torn from him by death, and, with an infant which she bequeathed to

him, he was abandoned to destitution and distress (for the pension was extinguished with her life). To this man, thus favoured by nature, and thus persecuted by fortune, we have been happy to offer some little alleviation of his sorrows; and to prevent him from breathing his last under the oppressive sense of the ingratitude of his species."

The Earl of Dundonald died in poverty at Paris on the 1st of July 1831, at the advanced age of eighty-three years.

COCHRANE, THE HON. THOMAS, Earl of Dundonald and Baron Cochrane. This gallant ocean hero and successful admiral—whom we commemorate by the simple title under which his remarkable deeds were wrought, and who made the name of "Lord Cochrane" so illustrious that the higher rank which he finally attained could not aggrandize it—was the eldest son of Archibald, ninth Earl of Dundonald, of whom a notice has been given in the preceding article. He was born on the 14th December, 1775, at Annsfield, Lanarkshire. The family of Cochrane was descended from that architect of the name who was the chief favourite of James III., and whose superior share of the royal favour only procured him a higher gibbet than the rest, when all the king's favourites were summarily hanged by the revolted Scottish nobles at the Bridge of Lauder. Although that branch of his descendants from whom our naval hero was derived was ennobled by Charles I., and finally raised to the earldom of Dundonald at the Restoration, a series of political fines and forfeitures, combined with personal improvidence and mismanagement, had so dilapidated the family estates that little else remained to the Cochranes but the high hereditary title. This descending career of poverty was at last completed by the Earl of Dundonald, the father of the subject of our memoir, whose enthusiastic devotedness to science, and the expensive experiments into which it led him, involved the family in utter bankruptcy. So hopeless indeed was their condition that the earl's children owed their early education to the gratuitous labours of the minister of Culross, to which parish the latter had been presented by the earl, who held the patronage of the living. This kind interposition was also supplemented by the maternal grandmother of the boys, who provided them with a tutor from her own scanty revenues. Thus, while the earl's splendid discoveries in science were either overlooked, or pirated by those who were more skilful in turning them to a practical or profitable account, his children were obliged to depend upon the kindness of others for even the means of an ordinary education. It was no wonder if, in his subsequent naval captures, Lord Cochrane could occasionally have an eye to the advantages of prize-money.

As the present destination of the heir to a noble title and nothing else was a question of some importance, the father selected the army for his son, as his best chance of rising in the world; but Thomas, who already had a will of his own, and a preference to the element on which he was to shine, chose the navy. This contrariety led to a game at cross purposes, in which, however amusing it might look, a great hero was to be made or marred. The earl obtained for him an army commission; but the youth's uncle, Sir Alexander Cochrane, had already destined him for the sea, and put his name on the books of the several ships which he had successively commanded. In this way Lord Cochrane, without any effort of his own, found himself at one and the same time an army ensign and a navy midshipman—the last-mentioned commission not being of yes-

terday neither, but of some standing. To put an end to this amphibious condition, the father thrust him into regimentals, that he might march at once to head-quarters; and here the long-smothered rebellion broke out. The young rising hero, now six feet in height, felt himself so hampered by the pedantic military costume, and cutting such a bizarre figure, that he vowed he would not be a soldier, although the declaration brought him no trivial amount of blows, cuffs, and reproaches. A sailor he would be, and nothing else, so that the earl was compelled to yield. The Earl of Hopetoun, a connection of the family, advanced £100 for the youth's outfit; the Earl of Dundonald gave him his gold watch and his blessing—all the fortune he had to bestow; and at the age of seventeen Lord Cochrane joined the *Hind*, of 28 guns, at Sheerness, on the ship's books of which he already stood rated as midshipman, his uncle Sir Alexander being captain. The die for life being thus cast, the young midshipman was not slow in learning his profession, or indicating his fitness to command. After serving some time in the *Hind*, he was transferred to the *Thetis*—a better frigate—of which he was made acting third lieutenant only eighteen months after he had joined the service; and after remaining five years on the North American station, he served under Lord Keith in the Mediterranean—first in the *Barfleur*, and afterwards in the *Queen Charlotte*. While thus employed in the Mediterranean various stories of his lordship's daring were told, after he became a man of high mark; but of these we shall only notice one, as it opened the way for his career in a separate command. To the *Generous*, 74, a capture of Lord Nelson's, Cochrane was appointed prize-master; but the ship's rigging was in a very dangerous condition, while the crew serving under him were very scanty and inefficient for such a charge. In this state of matters the *Generous* was caught in a gale of wind, her masts and spars were in peril, and none of the crew could be induced to go aloft. At this crisis Lord Cochrane ascended the precarious rigging, accompanied by his brother Archibald, who had also entered the naval service, and followed by a few sailors whom their example had inspired; the mainsail was furled, and the vessel, which otherwise would have foundered, was carried safely into Port Mahon. This appointment to the perilous charge of such a prize-ship in all probability saved his lordship's life, as, during his absence, the *Queen Charlotte*, in which he was junior lieutenant, took fire at Leghorn, and her captain, the greater part of the officers, and 600 of the crew perished.

The gallant devotedness of Cochrane in saving the prize-ship was so well appreciated, that the admiral recommended him for promotion, and in the meantime appointed him to the command of a little nondescript man-of-war, called the *Speedy*. Notwithstanding her name, her powers of sailing were of the slowest, her scanty and uncomfortable accommodation was crowded with a crew of eighty-four men and six officers, while her armament consisted of fourteen guns that were nothing more than four-pounders. Strange ships of war were occasionally to be found in the British navy even at the close of the eighteenth century; but of them all, the *Speedy* might be considered the climax. On taking possession of his cabin, Lord Cochrane found that the roof was only five feet in height, so that when he stood upright in this cage, the skylight had to be removed. Even the process of shaving he could only perform by thrusting his head and shoulders through this opening, and using the deck for a toilet-table. But in this strange craft he was to show the wonderful

power of his genius, that could rise superior to difficulties, and perform great deeds with inadequate means. He was appointed to cruise in the Mediterranean, and his first exploit was to rescue a Danish brig, and capture her assailing, a French privateer of six guns and forty-eight men. Onward he then continued in his career, at one time capturing merchant vessels and smaller privateers, and at another escaping the pursuit of gun-boats, the *Speedy* having acquired under his command an adroitness in manœuvring and quickness in sailing, that changed her character, and made her worthy of her name. Such, indeed, was the terror inspired by this vessel along the Spanish coast, by the daring nature of her exploits and the number of her captures, that various plans were devised for its seizure; and as this could not easily be done either by quick sailing or direct attack, it was resolved to allure her within reach by stratagem. For this purpose a frigate was disguised into the appearance of a well-laden merchantman; the *Speedy* pursued, and was allowed to near her, when the frigate suddenly turned, and opened such a cannonade as would have soon annihilated her tormenting adversary. But Lord Cochrane had also disguised the *Speedy*, so that she might pass for a Dane; and, on hoisting Danish colours, the Spaniards ceased to fire, and sent out a boat, to make sure that they had not committed a mistake. But even for this awkward inquest his lordship had prepared, by shipping a quarter-master on board with a sort of Danish uniform; and, on the boat coming nigh, a yellow flag, the sign of the plague, was run up by the *Speedy*, while the quarter-master declared that the ship had two days ago left Algiers, where the pestilence was raging. This dreaded word was enough for the Spaniards, who did not venture to come on board, and the *Speedy* was allowed to continue her course without further question. And if there was any reluctance at such a peaceful parting, it was on the part of his lordship's crew, who had thus so narrowly escaped the jaws of death. Hitherto their successes had been so many and so marvellous, that they thought nothing impossible under such a leader; and they murmured, because they had not been allowed to give battle to the Spanish frigate, although it was mounted with at least thirty guns.

The great naval exploit of Cochrane in the affair of the *El Gamo*, in the following year, showed that this confidence, apparently so overweening, had not been unreasonable. After several appearances at places where the *Speedy* was least expected, so that she seemed at once to be everywhere, and dealing such heavy blows as made her visits most unwelcome wherever she came, she arrived off Barcelona at midnight, on the 5th of May, 1801. Here gun-boats were on the watch, that fled at the appearance of the intruder; but, suspecting that this fight was for the purpose of alluring him into some net, Lord Cochrane made a cautious and exploratory fight, that night and the following morning. His caution was justified by the result, for on the morning of the 6th, on approaching Barcelona, a large Spanish xebec frigate running under the land suddenly appeared. This, then, was the cause of the pretended flight of the gun-boats. Resolved to accept the offered challenge, and mindful of the dissatisfaction of his crew at the forbearance he had manifested towards the former frigate, his lordship mustered them upon deck, and although they only amounted, officers and boys included, to fifty-four, the rest of his hands having been sent to Port Mahon in charge of two prizes, he told them that now they should have a fair fight of it. The *Speedy* was boldly directed against the coming enemy; and, on the latter hoist-

ing Spanish colours, the former, to avoid the other's broadside, and increase the enemy's perplexity, hoisted American colours. The *Speedy* thus got on the other tack, and when she hoisted English colours, she received the Spaniard's broadside without damage. Another broadside equally harmless followed, the *Speedy* making no reply until she had run under the enemy's lee, and locked her yards among the other's rigging. Thus locked, she was safe from the enemy's cannonade, that went harmlessly over the heads of the English, while the little popguns of the *Speedy*, that would have been useless at a distance, made a fearful havoc upon the deck of the frigate, as they were trebly shotted, and fired at an elevation. Their first discharge killed the captain and boatswain of the Spanish ship, and produced such confusion among her crew, that they resolved to board the *Speedy*; but as the order to that effect was distinctly heard on board the latter vessel, she was promptly withdrawn from the attempt, plying the enemy in return with a discharge of her guns, and a volley of musketry. Twice the enemy attempted to board, and as often was the attempt baffled by the same manoeuvre. The Spaniards then confined themselves to a cannonade, which did little damage except to the rigging of the *Speedy*; this, however, was becoming so serious, that Lord Cochrane told his crew they must either take the Spaniard, or be themselves taken, in which case the enemy would give no quarter. His ardour was shared by his crew, and in a few seconds every man and boy of the *Speedy* was on the deck of the Spaniards, who gazed in bewilderment, unable to believe their eyes, or that a mere handful would make such a daring attempt. They rallied, however, upon the waist of their ship, and maintained a gallant resistance; but, in the heat of it, Lord Cochrane ordered one of his men to haul down the Spanish colours, which were still flying. This prompt act decided the conflict; the crew of the *Gamo* saw their flag struck, and believing that it had been done by the command of their own officers, they ceased their resistance, and surrendered. In this manner the *Gamo*, a frigate of thirty-two heavy guns, and a crew of 319 men, was encountered, boarded, and taken by a British vessel that was nothing better than a common coaster, manned by fifty-four hands. No exploit could better indicate the coolness of mind and wonderful resources of Lord Cochrane, who seemed to have a ready expedient for every emergency, however trying. If anything could enhance the glory of victory in such an unequal trial, it was the small price at which it had been won, for while the *Speedy* had only three seamen killed and eighteen wounded, the *Gamo* had fifteen killed and forty-one wounded.

Not long after this remarkable exploit, while cruising off Barcelona, Lord Cochrane, on the 1st of June, fell in with the English brig *Kangaroo*, commanded by Captain Pulling; and having learned that a Spanish convoy of five armed vessels and twelve ships were about three days' sail a-head, the two British commanders resolved to go in chase of it. They found indeed the convoy, but it was at anchor under the shelter of the battery of Oropesa, and with the additional protection of a xebec of twenty guns and three gun-boats. Undismayed by such difficulties, the *Kangaroo* and *Speedy* advanced to the attack; the battle commenced with a heavy cannonade, which was deepened by the arrival of a Spanish felucca and two gun-boats to the aid of the convoy. This hot fight continued from noon until seven o'clock in the evening, when the xebec and several of the gun-boats were sunk and the battery silenced. Three prizes on this occasion were se-

cured, but the rest of the convoy had either been sunk or driven on shore.

Lord Cochrane had now done enough to merit both rapid and high promotion. With a vessel that was reckoned a mere tub, and during the short space of thirteen months in which he commanded her, he had captured in all thirty-three vessels, mounting 128 guns and manned by 533 hands. But on returning from his successful cruise to Port Mahon, he found that no promotion as yet awaited him, while, instead of being transferred to the command of the *Gamo*, that fine ship which he had so nobly won, it had been sold by the British admiralty to the Dey of Algiers. He was again to put to sea in no better ship than the *Speedy*, and with no higher commission than to convoy a mail-boat to Gibraltar. As if to tie his hands also from action, he was prohibited from holding any communication with the shore. But he did not think that this prohibition prevented him from setting fire to ships that were ashore, and having chased some Spanish vessels and driven them ashore near Alicante, he forthwith burned them. The blaze, however, served as a signal to three French line-of-battle ships, and when they appeared Lord Cochrane gave chase, mistaking them for galleons. On discovering his error he tried every art in navigation to elude his adversaries, and succeeded for several hours to elude their shot; but all his attempts to run through or outstrip his numerous pursuers were in vain. One of the French ships, that got within musket-range of the *Speedy*, discharged a whole broadside at her, and though the damage inflicted was but slight, the next discharge would suffice to send her to the bottom. For the first and last time Lord Cochrane was compelled to strike, but did not long remain a prisoner, as he was soon after exchanged for the second captain of the *San Antonio*, taken by Admiral Saumarez. On the following month, August 8th, his tardy promotion came, but it was commensurate neither with his merits nor his deeds, being simply the rank of post-captain, while his name was placed at the bottom of the list, below those who had received the same rank subsequent to the capture of the *Gamo*. His just but bold and indignant remonstrances had already made him a marked man with the lords of the admiralty, but not for the purposes of patronage and advancement. The peace of Amiens which speedily ensued obliged Lord Cochrane to turn his restless spirit to a new sphere of action, but it was to a sphere as honourable to himself as it was unexpected by either friend or enemy. He became a student in the university of Edinburgh! It was the very step which he ought to have taken, as, notwithstanding his high deeds, he still felt the defects of his early education. Under the strict scientific training also to which he subjected himself, his remarkable intellectual powers were developed, and directed into their proper sphere. Lord Cochrane was to become one of our greatest, because he was one of the most scientific, of British admirals.

The studies of his lordship at college were ended with the termination of the short-lived peace of Amiens, and the return of war restored him to active employment. He applied for a ship, and the admiralty appointed him to the command of the *Arab*. But what was his astonishment to find that this vessel was only an old collier patched up from the fragments of sundry broken vessels, and useful for little else than firewood, while, notwithstanding her name, her powers of sailing were even worse than those of the *Speedy*. The duty also upon which he was ordered was commensurate with the qualities of the *Arab*—for it was to watch the motions of the flotilla

at Boulogne. On finding that his ship could only drift with the wind and tide, and was useless for such a service, his lordship remonstrated, and in return was sent by the admiralty to cruise in the North Sea, for the protection of fisheries that had no existence. In this irritating fashion Lord Cochrane was to be thrust aside, and condemned to inactivity, in consequence of his independent spirit, and insubordination to the ruling powers. Nearly fourteen months did he endure this intolerable penance, when, fortunately for him, Lord Melville, his countryman, was placed at the head of the admiralty, and Cochrane was transferred to the command of the *Pallas*, a fine new frigate of 38 guns. To compensate also for his exile in the North Sea, he was commissioned to cruise for a month off the Western Isles, where the chance of prizes was most abundant. His short cruise more than justified the hopes that had been formed of his success. On the way to his appointed station, he captured a valuable ship from the Havannah to Cadiz, forming part of a convoy; in a few hours after he made a still richer capture; and two days after a third, more profitable than the preceding two. On the succeeding day, he took a letter of marque well stored with dollars. The arrival of so many rich prizes at Plymouth, captured in so short a time, and by one vessel, set the whole town astir; and this feeling of triumph was enhanced by the arrival of the *Pallas* herself, carrying as trophies upon her mast-heads three golden candlesticks, each of which was five feet high.

Having now won so much renown, and being furnished with the sinews of political warfare, while the country was on the eve of a general election, Lord Cochrane resolved to enter parliament, where he could obtain for his complaints on the abuses in the administration of the navy an attentive hearing. He selected Honiton as the borough for canvass, and as bribery was the prevalent fashion of such elections, his lordship felt no scruple in following the usual course. But he was outbid by his opponent, who in consequence was returned. Another election for Honiton occurred soon afterwards, in which Lord Cochrane was returned by a large majority, the electors hoping to be richly rewarded with Spanish gold for their suffrages; but his lordship, who on this occasion had promised nothing, also paid nothing. He had not long held his parliamentary honours, when he was ordered out to sea, and to convoy a fleet of slow-sailing merchant-ships to Quebec; but on his return, he was appointed to a more congenial service, which was to cruise off the French coast. On this occasion he performed one of those daring and successful exploits that characterized his whole career. Having learned, while off the Garonne, that several corvettes were lying up the river, he resolved to capture or destroy them; and although the Garonne is the most difficult in navigation of all the rivers on the French coast, this circumstance was only an additional incentive to his purpose. He sailed up the mouth of the river, and having reached close to the Cordovan lighthouse, he anchored a little after dusk on the evening of the 5th of April, 1806, manned his ship's boats so that only forty hands were left on board the *Pallas*, and sent the boats up the river under the command of Lieutenant Halswell. Twenty miles up the river they found the corvettes under the protection of two batteries, and immediately attacked the *Tapageuse*, a corvette of fourteen long-pounders and ninety-five men, which they cut out, and although two other corvettes came to its rescue, Halswell beat them off with the guns of his capture. While he was thus successful, the situation of Lord

Cochrane had become very critical: the French had taken the alarm, and three strongly armed corvettes bore down upon the *Pallas*, when she had scarcely hands enough to work her. But Lord Cochrane concealed his weakness by meeting the enemy half-way; and dismayed at finding that their enemy was a frigate, they endeavoured to sheer off, and were successively run on shore and destroyed by the *Pallas*. To add to the pleasure of such signal success, these three vessels, mounting in all sixty-four guns, were destroyed without the *Pallas* losing a man, while only three of her crew were wounded.

In the following month [May] Lord Cochrane distinguished himself by a war against the semaphores which had been erected upon the French coast, and were so successful in giving warning of the approach of hostile vessels, that they had interfered with his plans and operations. He therefore landed, and destroyed several of these hostile indicators, notwithstanding the troops that had been stationed to protect them. But while thus occupied, he also attempted an enterprise in which he was almost overpowered by numbers. While cruising off the island of Aix, he fell in with a French frigate, the *Minerve*, of 40 guns, attended by three brigs well armed; and as this vessel was the guardship of the Aix Roads, and had greatly annoyed the English, Lord Cochrane, notwithstanding their great superiority in men and metal, resolved to attack them. By a bold manœuvre he ran his ship between the *Minerve* and the shore, by which the batteries on land were obliged to pause, and had almost succeeded in boarding his opponent, when two frigates arrived to its assistance, in consequence of which his lordship was compelled to retire from such an unequal fight. It was much, however, that in such a daring attempt he had only one man killed and five wounded, and that he extricated his ship from the danger, even when it had become a complete wreck. After this he was appointed to the *Imperieuse*, a fine frigate of 40 guns; and with these enlarged means he became more formidable than ever, so that in little more than three weeks, he destroyed fifteen merchant ships of the enemy, and demolished Fort Roquette at the entrance of the basin of Arcasson, with a great quantity of military stores. This last important achievement also was so well planned and conducted, that he did not lose a man.

Very soon after Lord Cochrane returned from this short cruise, parliament was dissolved, and at the new election he presented himself as a candidate for Westminster, along with Sir Francis Burdett. Both were returned, and his lordship, with his wonted zeal and boldness, proceeded to attack the prevalent abuses in government. He had brought forward two motions, one on sinecures and the other on the pernicious administration of the navy, when the alarmed ministry resolved to silence him, and this they effected by grudgingly sending him to sea, where he was certain to win fresh honours and distinction. The usurpations of Napoleon I. in Spain, and the revolt of the Spaniards against his dominion, had converted them from enemies into allies of the British government, and Lord Cochrane was commissioned to aid the same people against whom he had fought with such destructive effect. He accepted the change of this new political relationship, and left his seat in parliament to cruise in the Mediterranean. His commission was to harass the French on the coasts of France and Spain, and never was an order more completely fulfilled. His ship, the *Imperieuse*, seemed to be everywhere, and everywhere successful in deeds of incredible daring; and the manner in which he swept the seas of their hostile craft, rum-

maged every harbour in quest of an enemy, demolished batteries, signal posts and towers, and crippled the advance of French armies into the Peninsula, were important events among the achievements of this momentous war, and would of themselves require a volume. The importance of these deeds performed by a single frigate, and their effect in the Peninsular war, were thus characterized in the despatch of the commander-in-chief: "Nothing can exceed the activity and zeal with which his lordship pursues the enemy. The success which attends his enterprises clearly indicates with what skill and ability they are conducted; besides keeping the coast in constant alarm, causing a total suspension of trade, and harassing a body of troops employed in opposing them, he has probably prevented those troops which were intended for Figueras from advancing into Spain, by giving them employment in the defence of their own coasts." Of his services to the Spanish cause on shore a single instance from the many must suffice. Learning that Rosas was besieged by the French, Lord Cochrane volunteered for the defence of Fort Trinidad—an outwork on which the safety of Rosas depended. The garrison of the fort was already reduced to eighty Spaniards, who were on the point of surrendering, when, on the 22d of September, 1808, his lordship arrived with eighty seamen and marines. The arrival of this small reinforcement with such a leader changed the scene. The resistance was continued; and when the enemy attempted, on the 30th, with 1000 picked soldiers, to take Fort Trinidad by storm, his lordship with his small garrison routed his numerous assailants, killed their leader, and destroyed their storming equipage. In this protracted siege, which lasted twelve days, the personal valour of Lord Cochrane was as conspicuous as his skillful leadership. There was such a dash of chivalrous romance in it as charmed the enthusiastic Spaniards, and reminded them of the heroes of their ballads—their cids and campeadors of the olden times. On one occasion a shot struck the Spanish flag, so that it fell into the ditch. Unwilling that such a trophy of the place he defended should be carried off, and to encourage the garrison in their resistance, he leaped after it into the ditch amidst a shower of bullets, brought it back in safety, and planted it again in its place. Although Rosas could not be ultimately preserved, it was much that the surrender had been thus delayed; and when it yielded at last to a whole besieging army, Lord Cochrane blew up the magazines of the fort, and withdrew his followers in safety to the *Imperieuse*. And still the prudence with which this desperate deed of daring was conducted, was shown in the smallness of the loss he sustained; for during these days of hard fighting against such overwhelming numbers, he had only three men killed and seven wounded.

This last circumstance may fitly introduce some explanation of the character of Lord Cochrane's modes of warfare. From the mere aspect of his exploits, it might be supposed that he was at all times ready to encounter any odds—that he rushed blindly into battle, and was in all cases favoured by singular good luck. But no conclusion can be more unphilosophical or more absurd. Never, perhaps, in a belligerent brain was such fearless onward daring combined with such prudence and cool calculation. He might plan such a deed as appeared to others not only desperate, but impossible; but he had considered it in all its bearings, and made a just estimate of his means of success; and when he rushed into the fight, he had previously calculated every movement of the enemy to thwart him, and devised an expedient

by which every such movement could be defeated. Nor did he entirely trust to mere abstract calculations, for previous to an engagement he had carefully reconnoitred the enemy, spy-glass in hand; plummed the soundings and bearings with the lead-line; and passed whole nights under the enemy's batteries, to observe everything with his own eye, and verify his calculations. In an attack upon a ship or battery, he was cautious, unless justified by circumstances, not to let his boats go beyond the protection of his vessel; when the wind was on shore, he moored a boat in by a light Indian rope that floated on the water, so that a communication was established with the ship; and in the event of a reverse or check, his boats were recalled by the ship's capstan, so that their crews had only to attend to their weapons. Never, indeed, had naval warfare been so reduced by any commander to an exact science; and hence the secret of his wonderful successes. With courage equal to that of Nelson, with as much skill in the handling of ships, with a mind still more fertile in resources, and with scientific means applicable to the purposes of naval warfare that were unknown to Nelson—what might have been their respective histories had Cochrane in point of time preceded the latter? But the hero of the Nile and Trafalgar had terminated his glorious career when the other was only entering upon the scene, and to Cochrane little else was left than the gleanings of the harvest.

After a cruise of eighteen months, during which the services of his lordship had been worth whole fleets and armies, his chief wish was to be allowed to take possession of the French islands in the Bay of Biscay, and be placed in command of a squadron of small cruisers, in which case he could have kept the enemy in a state of constant alarm, and compelled the French armies to stay at home for the defence of their own coasts. But at present government had other work for him to do. A large French fleet under the command of Admiral Allemande was anchored in the Basque Roads, between the island of Aix and the Ruyant shoal, while Lord Gambier closely blockaded it with a strong squadron of the Channel fleet; but such was the strength of the French shipping and the batteries by which they were defended, as well as the security of their position and the difficulty of approaching them, that they reposed without fear of interruption. This was a standing bravado which our country would not tolerate, and as the hostile fleet could not be allured out into the open sea, it was resolved by the British admiralty to assail it in its place of safety at whatever cost or hazard. But to whom should such a difficult commission be intrusted? Lord Cochrane appeared to them the only competent man for such a deed; and on being recalled from his cruise, he laid before them a plan characterized by boldness, calculation, and scientific knowledge, of which they heartily approved, so that, passing over the usual routine of service, they commissioned him, notwithstanding his inferiority in age and naval rank, to carry it into execution. It was a confession of their helplessness, and a testimony in their hour of need to the superior worth of an officer whose services they had hitherto depreciated. As his proposal was to destroy the French fleet by fireships, a sufficient number of these were granted to him, with bomb-ships and rocket-vessels, and thus provided, he joined the blockading squadron of Lord Gambier. On the night of the 11th of April, 1809, all being in readiness, Lord Cochrane set out on his terrible expedition with his fleet of fire-ships, bombs, and explosion-vessels, commanded by officers who had volunteered for the service. As the chief hope was in the explosion-ships, a description of one

of these, which Lord Cochrane himself had charged, gives a frightful idea of the storm that was soon to rouse the French fleet from its security. It was stored with the contents of 1500 barrels of gunpowder started into puncheons, which were placed with their ends uppermost; upon these were laid three or four hundred shells charged with fuses, and between them were nearly three thousand hand-grenades. The puncheons were fastened to each other by cables wound round them, and jammed together with wedges; and moistened sand was rammed down between them, to make the whole mass compact and solid from stem to stern. In one of the three vessels armed in this manner, Lord Cochrane, with a lieutenant and four seamen, advanced to the attack at eight o'clock at night. The result of this strange encounter is so well known that only a few particulars need be mentioned. Lord Cochrane in the ship he commanded ran against the boom that defended the narrow passage, and dashed it to pieces; the fireships rushed through the opening, and closed with the French fleet; the explosion-vessels were fired with such deadly determination, that even their own crews were almost involved in the fate they brought to others, and the enemy's ships, cutting their cables, and flying hither and thither in wild confusion, were wrecked upon sand-banks or blown into the air. When the light of the morning dawned upon this midnight havoc, seven sail of the French line were seen lying on the shore, and all were in a mood to surrender, so that nothing was needed but the advance of the blockading squadron to make the victory complete. This was so evident that Cochrane, amidst the fire of the engagement, threw out signal after signal, and Lord Gambier accordingly weighed anchor; but when he was within three miles of Aix, he stopped short, called a council of war, and judged it inexpedient to proceed any farther. How this cold delay acted on the ardent spirit of Lord Cochrane, more especially when he saw the tide rise, and the stranded ships floated off without his having the means to capture them, may be easily imagined. But even as it was, much had been effected. Out of a powerful French fleet, consisting of ten sail of the line, a fifty-gun ship, and four frigates, defended by strong batteries on the island of Aix, and by a dangerous shoal and a boom, three ships of the line and a fifty-six were burned, a seventy-four in consequence of this attack was lost a few days after, and the other ships that had stranded, but escaped, were so damaged, that for a long time afterwards they continued unfit for service. Enough had been done by Lord Cochrane to show what might have been achieved had he been properly seconded. Amidst this wild midnight work, in which men might seem to be transformed into demons, it is pleasing to detect some redeeming traits of humanity, and such were not wholly wanting. They were also displayed by Lord Cochrane himself. In the heat of the engagement, when a French ship, the *Varsovic*, was set on fire, and its crew removed by the assailants for safety, a dog was left alone, and ran howling about the deck; upon which his lordship leaped on board at the risk of being blown into the air, and carried off the poor creature in his arms. On the captain of one of the captured ships lamenting to him that all he had in the world would be lost in the conflagration, Lord Cochrane got out his boat, and pushed off to the ship; but, in passing one of the burning vessels, its guns went off, by one of which the captain was killed, and the boat all but sent to the bottom. If the smallness of the loss in human life which his boldest enterprises cost is also to be accepted as a proof of humane consideration,

this terrible exploit in the Roads of Aix will fully stand the test, for of the conquerors, only ten men were killed, thirty-seven wounded, and one missing.

For this signal success, the whole merit of which was due to Lord Cochrane, his majesty conferred upon him the order of Knight of the Bath, and a motion was made in parliament for a vote of thanks to Lord Gambier, Lord Cochrane, and the officers and seamen. But here our hero refused to be included, and opposed the vote. He was still so indignant at Lord Gambier, and so loud in his complaints of his over-cautious proceedings, that the latter was obliged to demand a court-martial, by which he was acquitted. Of this trial and acquittal, the proceedings, according to Lord Cochrane in his autobiography, were so unfair and one-sided, that it is painful to peruse the account, and to the close of his days he never ceased to characterize them as a climax of iniquity and injustice. In 1812 his lordship married, and the circumstances of this union partook of the romance of his character. His uncle, Basil Cochrane, who had acquired a large fortune in India, and designed to make his nephew his heir, was also urgent that he should marry a certain young lady, whose great dowry would raise the empty earldom of which he would be the occupant to its former wealth and grandeur; but Lord Cochrane, disregarding such sordid calculations, espoused a lady who had no fortune whatever except an amiable character, and a mind congenial to his own. The usual result of such disobedience followed: the uncle disinherited his nephew, and left him to shift for himself.

We now come to the most painful incident of Lord Cochrane's career. During the cessation of professional service after his exploit in the Aix Roads, his active spirit turned to politics, in the intrigues of which he was unfitted to shine, and to speculations on the stock exchange, in which he was still more incompetent, and by which he was a considerable loser. On the 20th of February, 1814, one of those daring frauds was committed by which a temporary rise in the value of stock is effected in the market. At the midnight of that day a person calling himself Colonel de Bourg, aide-de-camp to Lord Cathcart, appeared at the Ship Hotel, Dover, with the information that Bonaparte had been killed, that the allies were in triumphant march for Paris, and that instant peace might be expected—after which he drove to London, and repaired to the house of Lord Cochrane. His lying report was spread abroad, a rapid rise in the funds was the consequence, and when a reaction followed, a strict search for the impostor ensued, who was found under his real name of De Berenger. His visit also to Lord Cochrane was discovered, who was supposed to be implicated in the fraud. His uncle, Sir Alexander Cochrane, having been appointed to the North American station, had selected his nephew for his flag-captain, and his lordship was about to sail in the flag-ship, the *Tonnant*, but on hearing the rumour he instantly hastened from Chatham to London, and gave a full statement of the suspicious interview, and his connection with the wretched De Berenger. The latter, it appeared, had called upon him as a stranger, had told him a piteous tale of distress, and had borrowed from him a hat and coat, pretending that he was a prisoner of the Queen's Bench, and could not return to his lodgings in his present costume. But although every incident connected with De Berenger's visit was gratuitously stated and explained, the affidavit was of no avail, and his lordship's connection with the stocks, and interest in their rise, were allowed to preponderate. It was remembered also that on the 12th of February he

had purchased £139,000 of Omnium on a time-bargain, and had sold it at a profit on the 21st, when the imposture was prevalent. A trial of the parties charged with the fraud, Lord Cochrane being among the number, was held in the court of Queen's Bench before Lord Ellenborough, and the political offences of the popular hero of radicalism were such, as with or without evidence would have insured his condemnation. He had exposed the abuses of the admiralty, and the whole board was arrayed against him. He had been appointed, notwithstanding his youth and inferior rank, to conduct the expedition of the Basque Roads, and older commanders were indignant at the preference, and regarded him as their enemy. And above all, he was a keen reformer, whose uncompromising opposition to the powers that be, and exposure of their errors and iniquities, had kindled the resentment of government, and made it their interest to find him guilty. With such a weight of opposition it mattered not though the evidence brought against him was equivocal, weak, and unsatisfactory, and that a most respectable minority were dissatisfied with the trial, and persisted in holding him innocent. He was pronounced guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine of £1000; to be imprisoned twelve months in the Marshalsea; and to stand one hour in the pillory in front of the Royal Exchange, along with De Berenger and another of the convicted conspirators. But this last shameful part of the sentence was not executed—for it might have brought a worse than Spithead or Sheerness mutiny into the heart of London itself. He was also dismissed from the navy, expelled from the House of Commons, and degraded from the knighthood of the Bath, his banner being thrown down, and kicked out of the chapel by the king-at-arms, according to the ancient prescribed form. Notwithstanding this load of indignity his constituents of Westminster continued to proclaim him guiltless, and when a new election took place on the 16th of July, 1814, he was again, though a prisoner, chosen to represent the city. This was enough to rouse him into action: maddened by the wrongs endured from his enemies, and encouraged by this honourable approval, he scaled the walls of his prison, entered the astonished House of Commons, and took his seat among the members. For this outbreak he was remanded to the Marshalsea, and visited with a fresh fine.

After his term of durance had expired, Lord Cochrane found little or no benefit by the recovery of his personal liberty. He was still indeed, as before, proclaimed guiltless by the reflecting and judicious few; his friends still clung to him, and the sailors worshipped him as the *beau ideal* of a commander and a hero. But still he felt the brand inflicted by government to be ineffaceable, and that, however he might remonstrate, neither his complaints nor his justification could obtain a hearing. He felt that he had no longer a country and a home, and for all the purposes of life might as well be elsewhere. Something however he must do, for such a spirit could not remain at rest; and in 1818 an opportunity for action occurred. The Spanish provinces of South America were throwing off the yoke of the mother country, which had become too oppressive to be borne; the republic of Chili offered him the command of its naval force; and as the cause was that of liberty, of which he was so enthusiastic an advocate, he closed with the offer, and repaired with his wife and family to Valparaiso. On arriving he found the office to which he was invited so hopeless that any other commander would have despaired. The Spanish fleet, which was large and powerful, held possession of the sea, and in the principal cities the authority of the

viceroy was still supreme; while the whole naval force of the insurgents consisted of only three frigates and a few sloops of war manned by heterogeneous crews, half of whom had never been trained to the sea, while all were equally in a state of insubordination. None but a master intellect of the highest power could have reduced such elements to order, and made them fit for great achievements; and these were precisely the difficulties which his lordship had been accustomed to overcome. His exploits more than justified the high expectations of the insurgents; for no sooner was it known that he was admiral of the Chilian fleet than the Spanish ships of war hurried behind the shelter of their fortresses, and left the sea open to their lately despised enemies. Having thus found the coast of Chili free from the enemy, Lord Cochrane carried the war to the coast of Peru, and soon signalized it by the capture of Valdivia. This was a sea-fortress of such strength that a powerful fleet would have been required for an attack upon it according to the usual operations; but his lordship, who calculated upon secrecy and a sudden blow for success, resolved to attack it with nothing but his flagship, a frigate of 50 guns, and three small vessels carrying 250 land troops. He approached the harbour under Spanish colours, and as a ship was expected from Cadiz, a boat pushed out from the harbour with pilots, who, on stepping on board the flagship, were made prisoners. Availing himself of the information they gave, the flagship and small vessels advanced towards the harbour; but the Spaniards, alarmed at these suspicious movements, opened a heavy fire, and the battle commenced in earnest. But one fort after another was taken by the assailants, while the defenders, confounded by the boldness of the attack, which was made at once both from east and west, offered a confused and feeble resistance. In this manner all the forts were captured before daybreak, and, to add to the success of this exploit, the Spanish governor of Valdivia, terrified at such a sudden capture, collected his troops and whatever valuables he could transport, and sought safety in flight. Thus Lord Cochrane found himself master of fifteen forts, the city of Valdivia, large magazines, and many cannon, with a numerous population; while to rule, retain, and manage such a conquest, he had only a few hundred soldiers and sailors, the last of whom were needed for the ships. And who could tell how long the panic of the governor would last, or how soon he might return with such a force as would suffice to overpower the captors? Lord Cochrane resolved to trust to the terrors of his name and the additional dread which this capture had inspired: he therefore left the place as it stood, and with its stores untouched, confident that none would reoccupy Valdivia from the fear of a second and more terrible return. His confidence was justified, for the Spaniards held aloof; and this city, the chief military Spanish depôt of the province, became the property of the insurgent government.

Equally daring with this remarkable deed was that which his lordship performed at Callao, the port of Lima. It had been resolved that Callao should only be blockaded, as its defences were such that its capture by direct attack was judged impossible. Its harbour was defended at every point by 300 pieces of cannon; the garrison was composed of tried soldiers and skilful artillery-men; and under the guns and within the fort the Spanish frigate *Esmeralda*, of 40 guns, lay moored, having on board a numerous crew of seamen and marines, who kept careful watch night and day. These defences of the *Esmeralda* had also in addition a strong boom with chain moorings, armed blockships, and a guard of twenty-seven gun-

boats. But a dull blockade did not suit the ardent genius of Lord Cochrane, and he resolved, in spite of its formidable advantages, to attack and carry this frigate. Besides the glory of such an enterprise, it would be a death-blow to the Spanish cause in South America. From his three frigates he selected 160 seamen and 80 marines; these, after dark, were placed in fourteen boats alongside of his flag-ship, each man armed with a cutlass and pistol, and dressed in white, with a blue band on the left arm. What followed will be best given in his lordship's own account. "At ten o'clock all was in readiness, the boats being formed in two divisions, the first commanded by my flag-captain Crosbie, and the second by Captain Guise, my boat leading. The strictest silence and the exclusive use of cutlasses were enjoined, so that, as the oars were muffled and the night dark, the enemy had not the least suspicion of the intended attack. It was just upon midnight when we neared the small opening left in the boom, our plan being well-nigh frustrated by the vigilance of a guard-boat, upon which my launch had unluckily stumbled. The challenge was given, upon which, in an undertone, I threatened the occupants of the boat with instant death if they made the least alarm. No reply was made to the threat, and in a few minutes our gallant fellows were alongside the frigate in line, boarding at several points simultaneously. The Spaniards were completely taken by surprise, the whole, with the exception of the sentries, being asleep at their quarters; and great was the havoc made among them by the Chili cutlasses whilst they were recovering themselves. Retreating to the fore-castle, they there made a gallant stand, and it was not until the third charge that the position was carried. The fight was for a short time renewed on the quarter-deck, where the Spanish marines fell to a man, the rest of the enemy leaping overboard and into the hold to escape slaughter. On boarding the ship by the main-chains I was knocked back by the butt-end of the sentry's musket, and falling on a thole-pin of the boat, it entered my back near the spine, inflicting a severe injury, which caused me many years of subsequent suffering. Immediately regaining my footing, I reascended the side, and when on deck, was shot through the thigh; but binding a handkerchief tightly round the wound, managed, though with great difficulty, to direct the contest to its close. The whole affair from beginning to end occupied only a quarter of an hour, our loss being eleven killed and thirty wounded, while that of the Spaniards was 160, many of whom fell under the cutlasses of the Chilenos before they could stand to their arms." In this manner, by a wonderful combination of skill and daring, the *Esmeralda* was boarded and won. The danger, however, was not yet over: alarmed by the tokens of a struggle in the harbour, the garrison opened its guns upon the *Esmeralda*, and as they were accurately pointed, they knocked down friend and enemy alike on board, and might have soon recovered the prize had it not been for an expedient of Cochrane. Nigh the vessel were lying an English and an American frigate, which, being neutral, hoisted their distinctive lights to avert the fire of the garrison from themselves; but his lordship, who had foreseen this, also hoisted the same lights, so that the Spaniards, unable to distinguish between friends and foes, withheld their fire. There also lay in the port a Spanish sloop of war and many merchant vessels, one of which had a million of dollars on board; and it was part of his lordship's design to board ship after ship, and make himself master of the whole. But the English and American frigates having cut their cables and drifted out of the fire, the captors of the *Esmeralda* followed their ex-

ample, although contrary to Lord Cochrane's orders; and thus the rich booty which would have rewarded such a victory escaped from their grasp. But such an exploit as the capture of the *Esmeralda* was enough for fame, and while the world rang with the report of the deed, the British seamen everywhere exulted in the success of their favourite hero, and expressed their indignation at his dismissal from the national service.

While by a series of such actions Lord Cochrane was establishing the emancipation of Chili and Peru, his position was by no means comfortable. The chiefs of the revolt were indignant that a foreign leader should thus eclipse them; and while they boasted of their own counsels and arrangements as the source of these achievements, they rapaciously seized the spoil of every naval victory, and alienated it to the land-service and the operations in which themselves were personally concerned. Thus, with no prize-money and scantily paid wages, the seamen became indignant, and it was natural that their leader should sympathize in their complaints. At last they got no pay whatever, and broke out into open mutiny; while, to quell it, the Chilian dictator could devise no better expedient than that of selling the fleet itself by which their best successes had been effected. This brought matters to their crisis; and while an immense amount of public and private treasure was about to be removed by order of the dictator to the port of Ancon, the fleet, with the consent of their admiral, arrested the money as an indemnity for their past services. Lord Cochrane's distribution of the spoil thus obtained was both just and generous. What was private property he restored to the owners; what had been appropriated for the public debts he also allowed to pass; and from the surplus he paid every seaman a year's arrear of pay, but kept nothing for himself. And this although he was an actual loser to the amount of £25,000 by his interposition in behalf of these liberated states! San Martin, Bolivar, and the other chiefs of the colonial revolt, were indignant at this summary proceeding; and as the Spanish dominion was utterly broken in South America, they were impatient to be left to themselves, that they might enjoy their new freedom after their own fashion. And in what deplorable way they used it and enjoyed it, history has recorded! Meanwhile the position of Lord Cochrane among such proceedings was every day becoming more painful, when he was relieved by what he justly calls a "fortunate accident." The important colony of Brazil, animated by the successful example of the Spanish colonies of South America, had resolved to free itself from the dominion of Portugal, and sent to him an accredited agent inviting him to take the command of the Brazilian navy. He assented, and in March, 1822, arrived at Rio de Janeiro, and assumed his new command.

As it was not in his lordship's nature to be idle, he set himself to organize such a fleet as might enable the Brazilians to contend with the Portuguese on an element in which the latter were the stronger; and when all was judged fit for the purpose, he resolved to commence operations at Bahia, the ancient capital of Brazil. This important city had been placed under such a strict blockade by the troops of Don Pedro, that the authorities had resolved to withdraw all the soldiers and the greater part of the inhabitants to Maranham, where they might effectually have held the whole Brazilian powers at defiance. With this design its magnificent port was alive with a fleet which the eye could scarcely number. Numerous armed transports containing the troops, and from sixty to seventy merchant vessels with Portu-

guese families and their furniture on board, were to be safely escorted to their destination by a 74-gun ship, one of 50 guns, a frigate of 44 guns, and nine smaller frigates of from 20 to 26 guns—in all a squadron of twelve ships of war. This important transference of a capital and its resources to a locality where their resistance might be more formidable, his lordship was resolved to interrupt, although for the purpose he had only a 74-gun ship, and a frigate of 32 light guns—the former called the *Pedro Primeiro*, and the latter the *Maria da Gloria*. On the 2d of July the Bahian squadron got under weigh; but no sooner had stood out to sea than his lordship was in chase of them. He ran aboard of their hindmost vessels, and so effectually damaged their masts and rigging, as compelled them to scud before the wind back to Bahia. He then dashed into the midst of the convoy, capturing ships to right and left; and three small frigates having come up and joined him in the chase, the whole Portuguese armament was scattered in every direction, and its ships compelled to strike at the first summons. For three days this desperate pursuit continued, and with such effect that the ships conveying the soldiers were boarded, their masts and rigging destroyed, and their captains bound by oath to carry their vessels into an insurgent port. While their convoy was thus scattered, the armed ships kept together, and presented too formidable a front to be attacked; but Lord Cochrane having now put the military force *hors-de-combat*, resolved to proceed at once to Maranham; knowing that once there the terror of his name would compel the enemy to keep aloof, and preclude all attempts to relieve the place by sea. He accordingly steered direct to Maranham, and no sooner had neared the harbour than a brig of war came out to welcome his ship, as the first arrival and precursor of the whole Portuguese squadron. Greatly, however, were they astounded, when on stepping on board they found themselves prisoners, and in the presence of the dreaded Lord Cochrane. He told them that the Portuguese fleet and army had been destroyed; that his flag-ship was only part of the whole Brazilian fleet, which would straightway enter their port; that it carried an invading force sufficient to compel submission; and under the terror of these representations the captain of the brig was easily induced to carry a message to the governor on shore representing the uselessness of resistance, and advising him to surrender. The authorities of Maranham were quelled by the captain's tidings and his message, and would have surrendered upon conditions; but as such half-measures did not suit his lordship, he moved his flag-ship abreast of the fort as if in readiness to commence a bombardment. This display was enough; the junta and bishop of Maranham came on board, surrendered unconditionally their city, forts, and island, and subscribed their adhesion to the empire and Don Pedro. This decisive blow, and by a single ship, settled the fate of the war. Bahia had already fallen, the important province of Maranham had yielded, and the Portuguese ships, despairing of resistance with Lord Cochrane opposed to them, had abandoned the American seas and returned home. The vast importance of this singular deed of daring was so justly appreciated by the emperor that he conferred upon his lordship the title of Marquis of Maranham, and awarded to him a large estate which was to be selected from the national domains.

With the establishment of the Brazilian empire, it might have been thought that our hero would have been allowed to repose under his laurels, and enjoy the fruits of his victories in peace. But

irresistible though he was on sea, Lord Cochrane was always unfortunate on shore, and every success was only a prelude to some disappointment or disaster at the hands of formal or intriguing politicians, whose modes of warfare he could not understand, and by whose stratagems he was baffled. Such it had been in his connection with Chili and Peru, and now the same lesson was to be repeated at Brazil. The division of the spoil among the victors, the share of the booty and prize-money to which the fleet was entitled, and the tendency of the government to appropriate the lion's share, without having performed the lion's part in running down the game, were again the subjects of controversy and quarrel; and after scenes of brawling which were in strange contrast with the heroic achievements out of which they sprung, Lord Cochrane sickened in such an ignoble element; and, in common phrase, resolved "to cut the concern." There was nothing in the shape of personal interest or possession to detain him at Brazil; for his title of Marquis of Maranham was merely nominal, the government having refused to confer upon him the estate which the emperor had awarded. He accordingly departed without even the ceremony of leave-taking, and the mode of his departure was sufficient to puzzle both friend and enemy. Resolved, as he tells us, to take a short cruise for health to a more bracing latitude, he shifted his flag from the *Pedro Primeiro* to the frigate *Pirana*, and sailed northward; but after he had cruised far enough for such a purpose, he found his rigging in such a damaged state, and his provisions so short, that it was impossible to return to Rio de Janeiro. To Europe, therefore, he must go; and as a Portuguese port was dangerous, as being that of an enemy, and a Spanish port doubtful, he bore for Portsmouth, although the foreign enlistment act had condemned his late proceedings, and anchored at Spithead. As soon as this strange escapade was known at Brazil, the frigate was reclaimed, and himself ordered to return to Rio, to give an account of his proceedings; and on his refusal, he was tried during his absence as a deserter, and sentenced to the forfeiture of his arrears of pay and prize-money, and whatever contingent rewards he might have expected for his services. Twenty years afterwards, in consequence of his continued solicitations, the Brazilian court conducted a fresh inquiry into the case, and with a result that was honourable to his lordship; for his title of Marquis of Maranham was recognized, and the pension awarded him which had been originally stipulated.

On returning to England, Lord Cochrane, notwithstanding the renown he had won in South America, could obtain no mitigation of the sentence whose severity had driven him from service in his own country; and still as devoted to the cause of freedom as ever, and impatient of inaction, he turned his attention to Greece, that land of heroic remembrances, which had now risen from the oppression of ages, and was contending for liberty, although at a fearful disadvantage, against both Turks and Egyptians. Its appeal to his sympathies was not in vain, and on his repairing to the seat of war, he prevailed upon its factious and divided leaders to establish a regular government, with Count Capo d'Istria for its president. General Church, an English officer, was also appointed commander of its land forces; and his lordship commander-in-chief of the Greek fleet. Athens was already invested by the enemy; the first effort of Church and Cochrane was to raise the siege; and by their joint efforts 10,000 Greek soldiers were assembled under the walls of the city.

But it was found impossible to combine such discordant and undisciplined troops for united action, and an attempt which was made by the Greeks to relieve Athens by surprise ended in complete failure. Two days after, the attempt was to be repeated in a more orderly and promising form; but the Greeks, who had miscalculated the time necessary for embarking and relanding, were themselves surprised by the enemy, and charged with such vigour by large bodies of cavalry, that they were soon put to the rout. Lord Cochrane himself was obliged to throw himself into the sea, and swim to one of his vessels which were lying at anchor along the coast. Greece had no longer an army; and when he endeavoured to rouse the fleet to a renewal of hostilities, he found his authority as admiral so little regarded, that while some of the captains took time to deliberate, others, who were owners of the vessels they commanded, weighed anchor, and went off upon enterprises of their own. Thus ended his Greek campaign of 1827, his last attempt of battle, as well as the only one in which he had failed; and thus melted away that *fata morgana* of Grecian liberty upon which the eyes of so many nations had been turned with hope. It was neither by romantic bravery nor deeds of arms that Greece was to be recalled from her long sleep of death and replaced among living nations, but by intimidation and political negotiation; and in the following year Turkey was compelled to listen to the remonstrances of the great European powers, and restore Greece to her ancient national independence.

On returning from this Greek expedition, with hopes disappointed, and a spirit embittered by unwonted failure, Lord Cochrane resumed the task he so seldom intermitted of vindicating his character from the effects of the De Berenger trial. But his enemies were still in office, and as they stood committed to their former award, his indignant appeals for justice were disregarded. Thus matters continued, until the death of George IV. and the succession of William IV. produced an entire change in the political horizon. As a sailor and a Whig, the new sovereign admired the naval achievements of his lordship, and sympathized in his wrongs; the party with which Lord Cochrane was identified, and by whom his innocence had been maintained, had succeeded to place and power; and the natural consequence of this change was, that his lordship was restored to his rank in the navy, an act of justice which was welcomed by the whole nation. But still, much more should have been done which was left undone, and his impassioned complaints were continued. To grant a second trial, by which the innocence of the condemned might be established, and the penalties of his sentence reversed, was contrary to the usage of English law, and his lordship's restoration to his naval rank was merely an act of royal clemency, by which his offence was forgiven, rather than declared a nonentity. In addition to this imperfect acquittal, his arrears of pay and restoration to rank as a knight of the Bath were still withheld. It was therefore in no mere spirit of discontent that he continued to feel himself a deeply injured man, and demand a full redress. This indeed came at last, but tardily enough. In 1841 he was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the Blue. In 1844 he received a good-service pension for services performed up to the period of his trial. In 1847 he was replaced in his rank as a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath; although, by some strange inconsistency, his banner was not restored to its place in the chapel of Henry VII., and was not indeed set up until the day before his funeral. In 1848 he was appointed admiral in command of the North American and

West India station. Previous to these reluctant dribbles of atonement, he had in 1831, in consequence of the death of his father, become Earl of Dundonald.

As the peace under which Europe still continued afforded no opportunity for active service, his lordship employed his declining years in those scientific studies to which, like his father, he was enthusiastically addicted, and which he had never failed to resume with every interval of leisure. His investigations, however, were chiefly connected with his profession, and of a substantial and practical character. He was especially aware of the great revolution that would take place in naval warfare by the use of steam, and was among the earliest who tried experiments in reference to the construction of steam-ships of war, having constructed for this purpose a vessel called the *Janus*, of extraordinary power and dimensions. Thus he remained chiefly secluded in his study until the Russian war, when its difficulties called him forth. One of the fruits of his early studies was the fabrication of a tremendous apparatus which would insure the destruction of armies and fortresses; and this he suggested to George IV., then prince regent, soon after his arrival from the exploit in the Basque Roads. A committee was appointed to examine and report, who found the scheme so terrible that they shrank from it in dismay; and Lord Cochrane, who would only use it in defence of his own country, kept his plan a profound secret. In 1846, when a war with France seemed imminent, he again brought forward his proposal, which was once more submitted to a commission of three most eminent engineers; but they too were so appalled by its fearfully destructive character, that they reported it as not in "accord with the feelings and principles of civilized warfare." He now came forward a third time with his plan, which was to annihilate the resistance of Cronstadt or Sebastopol; and when it was pronounced inexpedient, he offered, old as he was, to go against either of these forts, and superintend its destruction in person. But still he kept the secret locked within his own breast, and it was buried with him in his grave. And what was this mysterious destructive power? Curiosity was tantalized with the question, and theory after theory was given in reply. Some thought it must be some powerful agency, the force of which no ramparts constructed by human hands could resist. Others thought it must be some shell, or explosive instrument, the bursting of which would so poison the surrounding atmosphere, that every living thing within its range would expire. As no certainty could be obtained, it formed a boundless field for fancy and conjecture.

Besides these studies Lord Cochrane, during his long and varied career, published many works of scientific and professional interest; but the most popular of his writings were his *Autobiography of a Seaman*, being a history of his own life until the termination of his trial, and his *Narrative of Services in the Liberation of Chili, Peru, and Brazil*; works which he published after his restoration to naval rank, and by which he hoped that his illustrious deeds would be known, and his fair fame vindicated, after he had passed away from the world. His death occurred at Kensington, on the 30th of October, 1860, at the ripe age of eighty-four years, and his remains were interred in Westminster Abbey, near the centre of the nave, the place reserved for the most illustrious of Britain; while the whole nation bewailed his departure. He was survived by his widow, and by four sons and a daughter, to perpetuate an otherwise imperishable memory, from

which the obloquy that obscured it is yearly passing away.

COCKBURN, MRS. ALICE. This accomplished lady, who, like Lady Anne Barnard, immortalized herself by the production of a single song, was a daughter of Robert Rutherford, of Fairmalee, in Selkirkshire. The year of her birth is uncertain, but it appears to have been about 1710 or 1712. In her youth she must have been distinguished by her beauty, as a certain Mr. Fairbairn, who taught French in Edinburgh, mentions her by her maiden name of Alice Rutherford, with nineteen other ladies, in his work entitled *L'Eloge d'Ecosse*, as the most charming belles of the Scottish capital. Her poetical powers appear to have been recognized at an early period, and the production of her beautiful song, *I've seen the Smiling of Fortune Beguiling*, originated, we are told, in the following incident. A gentleman of her acquaintance, in passing through a sequestered but romantic glen, observed a shepherd at some distance tending his flocks, and amusing himself at intervals by playing on a flute. The scene altogether was very interesting, and being passionately fond of music, he drew nearer the spot, and listened for some time unobserved to the attractive but artless strains of the young shepherd. One of the airs in particular appeared so exquisitely wild and pathetic, that he could no longer refrain from discovering himself, in order to obtain some information respecting it from the rural performer. On inquiry, he learned that it was the *Flowers of the Forest*. This intelligence exciting his curiosity, he was determined, if possible, to obtain possession of the air. He accordingly prevailed on the young man to play it over and over, until he picked up every note, which he immediately committed to paper on his return home. Delighted with his new discovery, as he supposed, he lost no time in communicating it to Miss Rutherford, who not only recognized the tune, but likewise repeated some detached lines of the old ballad. Anxious, however, to have a set of verses adapted to his favourite melody, and well aware that few, if any, were better qualified than Miss Rutherford for such a task, he took the liberty of begging this favour at her hand. She obligingly consented, and, in a few days thereafter, he had the pleasure of receiving the stanzas from the fair author. Among the recollections of Sir Walter Scott, the following occurs of the circumstances under which the song was written: "A turret in the old house of Fairmalee is still shown as the place where the poem (*I have seen the Smiling*, &c.) was written. The occasion was a calamitous period in Selkirkshire or Ettrick Forest, when no fewer than seven lairds or proprietors, men of ancient family and inheritance, having been engaged in some imprudent speculations, became insolvent in one year."

In 1731 this beautiful and talented poetess was married to Patrick Cockburn, advocate, youngest son of Adam Cockburn, of Ormiston, lord justice-clerk of Scotland. At a time when the Pretender and his son were keeping Britain astir with the promise of a descent upon its shores, the distinctions of Whig and Tory were matters of life-and-death importance, in which every member of the community had a stake; and both Mrs. Cockburn and her husband were keen Whigs, and staunch adherents of the existing government. In this character the advocate deprived the Pretender's cause of a powerful ally, and perhaps the expected ally himself from ruin, according to the following statement of Sir Walter Scott: "Her husband acted as commissioner for the Duke of Hamilton of that day; and being,

as might be expected from his family, a sincere friend to the Revolution and Protestant succession, he used his interest with his principal to prevent him from joining in the intrigues which preceded the insurrection of 1745, to which his grace (who was then only in his twenty-second year) is supposed to have had a strong inclination." Mr. Cockburn died in 1753, and his widow survived him for more than forty years. Her own death occurred in Edinburgh on the 22d of November, 1794, when she was more than eighty years old.

To this scanty record of her life (the general fate of her sex, however talented) it is fortunate that we can add a few particulars to fill up the outline, from the affectionate notices of her distinguished kinsman, Sir Walter Scott. From these we learn that Mrs. Cockburn had cultivated poetry from an early period, and that she continued to indulge in it until near the close of her life; but in this case it was more in the spirit of an amateur than an author, her productions being chiefly short poetical pieces, or sportive parodies concerning passing events, or the persons with whom she was connected. One instance of this he gives in a set of verses, descriptive of some of her friends, which she sent to a company where most of them were assembled, and where their brief caricature likenesses were so admirably sketched, that the originals were recognized as soon as the verses were read aloud. One of these was the following upon Sir Walter Scott's father, then a young man, and remarkably handsome, but distinguished still more highly by his upright character than his personal endowments:—

"To a thing that's uncommon—
A youth of discretion,
Who, though vastly handsome,
Despises flirtation;
To the friend in affliction,
The heart of affection,
Who may hear the last trump
Without dread of detection."

In describing her style of life, we have a picture of the state of fashionable society in Edinburgh during the last century, which its "oldest living inhabitant" only saw in its departure—and over the records of which its present children can sometimes linger with regret. "My mother and Mrs. Cockburn," Sir Walter says, "were related, in what degree I know not, but sufficiently near to induce Mrs. Cockburn to distinguish her in her will. Mrs. Cockburn had the misfortune to lose an only son, Patrick Cockburn, who had the rank of captain in the dragoons, several years before her own death. She was one of those persons whose talents for conversation made a stronger impression on her contemporaries than her writings can be expected to produce. In person and feature she somewhat resembled Queen Elizabeth; but the nose was rather more aquiline. She was proud of her auburn hair, which remained unbleached by time, even when she was upwards of eighty years old. She maintained the rank in the society of Edinburgh which Frenchwomen of talents usually do in that of Paris; and in her little parlour used to assemble a very distinguished and accomplished circle, among whom David Hume, John Home, Lord Monboddo, and many other men of name, were frequently to be found. Her evening parties were very frequent, and included society distinguished both for condition and talents. The *petit souper*, which always concluded the evening, was like that of Stella, which she used to quote on the occasion:—

'A supper like her mighty self,
Four nothings on four plates of delf.'

But they passed off more gaily than many costlier

entertainments. She spoke both wittily and well; and maintained an extensive correspondence, which, if it continues to exist, must contain many things highly curious and interesting. My recollection is, that her conversation brought her much nearer to a Frenchwoman than to a native of England; and, as I have the same impression with respect to ladies of the same period and the same rank in society, I am apt to think that the *vieille cour* of Edinburgh rather resembled that of Paris than that of St. James's; and particularly, that the Scotch imitated the Parisians in laying aside much of the expense and form of these little parties, in which wit and good humour were allowed to supersede all occasion of display. The lodging where Mrs. Cockburn received the best society of her time would not now afford accommodation to a very inferior person." "Even at an age," Sir Walter elsewhere adds, "advanced beyond the usual bounds of humanity, she retained a play of imagination, and an activity of intellect, which must have been attractive and delightful in youth, but were almost preternatural at her period of life. Her active benevolence, keeping pace with her genius, rendered her equally an object of love and admiration." The dress and appearance of this venerable lady are thus described in the letter of a lady written to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq.:—"She had a pleasing countenance, and piqued herself upon always dressing according to her own taste, and not according to the dictates of fashion. Her brown hair never grew gray; and she wore it combed up upon a toupee—no cap—a lace hood tied under her chin, and her sleeves puffed out in the fashion of Queen Elizabeth, which is not uncommon now, but at that time was quite peculiar to herself." And thus, after having bloomed for well nigh a century, and when an entire change of society was at hand, the last flower of the forest was "wede away," leaving a native fragrance behind her which time will not soon extinguish.

COCKBURN, HENRY THOMAS, one of the lords of session, and a lord-commissioner of judiciary. This accomplished scholar, eminent lawyer, and upright judge, was born in 1778, and was the son of Archibald Cockburn, a baron of the court of exchequer in Scotland. His family connections and influence naturally selected the law for his profession, and after a suitable education for the purpose, Henry Thomas Cockburn was called to the Scottish bar in 1800. But it was no easy arena into which he had entered; for the ground was preoccupied by Titans, and of these it is enough to mention the names of George Cranstoun, Thomas Thomson, Francis Jeffrey, Fullerton, and Moncrieff. To win distinction amidst such a band of talented competitors, and be enrolled among their number, was no ordinary achievement; but this he accomplished, and was soon distinguished as one of the most talented of our Scottish advocates. There were other circumstances also more difficult perhaps to overcome than that of such a rivalry; for he was of small stature and homely countenance—obstacles naturally of serious detriment to the progress of an orator and pleader. He also persisted in the use of the Scotch dialect, although the literary taste of the day had banished it, and when even ordinary feeling was condemning it as low and vulgar. "Mr. Cockburn," says Lockhart, in *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolks*, "is a homely speaker; but he carries his homeliness to a length which I do not remember ever to have heard any other truly great speaker venture upon. He uses the Scottish dialect—always its music, and not unfrequently its words—quite as broadly as Mr. Clerk of Eldin, and perhaps at first hearing with

rather more vulgarity of effect; for he is a young man, and I have already hinted that no young man can speak Scotch with the same impunity as an old one." "Nevertheless," the same author adds, "I am sure no man who has witnessed the effect which Mr. Cockburn produces upon a Scottish jury would wish to see him alter anything in his mode of addressing them. . . . His use of the language, and his still more exquisite use of the images and allusions of common Scottish life, must contribute in the most powerful manner to his success in this first great object of all his rhetoric. There is an air of broad and undisguised sincerity in the simple tones and energetic phrases he employs, which finds its way like a charm to the very bottom of the hearts around him. He sees it painted in their beaming and expanding faces, and sees, and knows, and feels at once that his eloquence is persuasive. Once so far victorious, he is thenceforth irresistible. He has established an understanding between himself and his audience—a feeling of fellowship and confidence of communion which nothing can disturb. The electricity of thought and of sentiment passes from his face to theirs, and thrills back again from theirs to his. He has fairly come into contact; he sees their breasts lie bare to his weapon, and he will make no thrust in vain." To the same effect is the description of another Scotch writer, by which the portrait of Cockburn at the bar is complete. "As a pleader, especially in criminal cases or jury trials, we shall never again see the equal of Mr. Cockburn. Jeffrey alone, and that only on some occasions, approached him. His sagacity, his brevity, his marvellous power of expression—so homely, yet so truly and touchingly eloquent—his mingled pathos and humour, his winning Scotch manner, his masterly analysis of evidence, and the intense earnestness, not the less effective that it was visibly chastened and restrained, with which he identified himself with his client—made his appeals to Scottish juries always powerful, and frequently resistless."

In this manner the career of Cockburn was continued as an advocate until 1830. His history for years had exclusively been that of a brilliant and successful lawyer, but without the political promotion to which such high talents were entitled; and for this neglect his political opinions were sufficient to account. He had commenced public life as a Whig; he had adhered unflinchingly to the principles of his party even when they were the most obnoxious to the ruling powers, and could expect nothing more from government than forbearance in return. It was too well known that he was the friend of the chief supporters of the *Edinburgh Review*, and an occasional contributor to its pages, and that there was no hope of purchasing his recantation. But the great political change in the year above-mentioned, by which his party came into place and power, reversed this order of things, and while Jeffrey was appointed lord-advocate, Cockburn became solicitor-general for Scotland. In 1834 both were elevated to the bench, and as a judge, Lord Cockburn was distinguished by the same high character which he had won as an advocate. "As a judge," says the writer from whom we have last quoted, "he was distinguished by his skillful detection of falsehood in principle or in evidence, by breadth and distinctiveness of view, not unfrequently receiving the confirmation of the House of Lords on appeal, by his graceful and luminous exposition, by purity and impartiality of character, and by uniform affability and courtesy of demeanour." In 1837 he received the additional appointment of a lord-commissioner of judiciary, and here his professional promotions terminated.

In the life of Lord Cockburn there are few incidents

of a public character to narrate; his course was an even tenor, and its chief events were the transitions by which he rose to the highest place in his profession. In private life, while he held by his distinctive principles, he was too good-natured to obtrude them upon society; and this forbearance, with his many lovable qualities, made him be esteemed by all parties alike. It was often a subject of regret with those who knew his varied abilities out of the range of his own profession, that he had not attempted to establish for himself a permanent reputation by authorship; but except a few articles in the *Edinburgh Review* and other periodicals, he published nothing until 1852, when he had attained the ripe age of seventy-four years. He then produced the *Life of Lord Jeffrey*, and a volume of his correspondence—a work so admirably written, and containing such vivid delineations of the distinguished men of a departed age, and the fashions of past Scottish life, as well as a minute record of his hero, that the work, notwithstanding the transient nature of the subjects, is still a favourite with the reading public of our country. One peculiarity of Lord Cockburn by which his popularity was enhanced, was his intense love of the site, scenery, and architecture of Edinburgh, and his consequent endeavours that these should either be untouched by modern innovations, or at least treated with a gentle and careful hand; and the changes proposed by town-councils and civic architects, by which his beloved "Auld Reekie" was to be beautified, he either watched with a jealous eye, or could not patiently tolerate. These feelings set his pen in motion with an intensity indicative of a ruling passion strong in death, so that four or five years before he died he wrote a pungently sarcastic pamphlet, entitled *The Best Way of Spoiling the Beauty of Edinburgh*; and scarcely three weeks before his death he addressed two letters to an influential Edinburgh newspaper in favour of the southeast angle of East Prince's Street, as the best site attainable for the restoration of Trinity College Church. Nor was this love of beauty in Lord Cockburn confined to mere theory, but was an active principle, which his house of Bonaly, near Colinton, and the pleasure-grounds that surrounded it, testified, where he had bestowed time, labour, skill, and money in their improvement, although there was no son to inherit his labours and sacrifices. It was here finally that his lordship died, on the 26th of April, 1854, after a brief illness of five days.

COCKBURN, JOHN, of Ormiston, the father of Scottish husbandry, was born in the latter part of the seventeenth century. His father, Adam Cockburn, of Ormiston (in East Lothian), held the eminent office of lord-justice clerk after the Revolution. His mother was Lady Susan Hamilton, third daughter of John, fourth Earl of Haddington. So early as the days of the Reformation, the family had distinguished itself by its zeal in behalf of liberal institutions and public liberty. The laird of that day maintained an alliance with the English reformers, when hardly any other Scottish gentleman dared to oppose the tyranny of Beatoun; and it was in his house that the celebrated George Wishart was found, previous to his being brought to trial and burned. From that period down to the Revolution the Cockburns of Ormiston were invariably on the liberal side of the question. The subject of this memoir inherited all the patriotism of his race, and in the lifetime of his father, in his capacity as a member of the last Scottish parliament, took an active interest in accomplishing the union. He was the first representative of East Lothian in the parliament of Great Britain, and continued to be elected to that distin-

guished place in all the successive parliaments till 1741. Mr. Cockburn at one period of his parliamentary career held the post of lord of the admiralty.

It was not, however, in a political career that he was destined to gather his chief laurels. At the close of the seventeenth century, on account of the religious and civil broils which had so long distracted the country, the condition of agriculture in Scotland was at a very low ebb. The tenantry, so far from being able to make any improvement, were too poor in general even to stock the lands they occupied. Fletcher of Salton, who published a treatise on the affairs of Scotland, in 1698, describes their situation as abject and miserable; and Lord Kaimes, in still stronger language, declares, that before the union they were so benumbed with oppression, that the most able tutor in husbandry would have made nothing of them. By a short-sighted policy the landlords in general had no other principle than to force as much from the soil for every passing year as they could. The tenants were so much disheartened, that it was difficult to let a farm, and none were taken upon leases of more than five years. But even if other circumstances had been more favourable, there was such a rooted prepossession in favour of old systems, and so much ignorance of the science of agriculture, that improvement was almost hopeless.

Lord Ormiston, father of Mr. Cockburn, had made an attempt so early as 1698 to break through the old system of short leases. He then granted Robert Wight, eldest son of Alexander Wight, one of his tenants in Ormiston, a lease of the farm of *Muirhouse*, now *Murrays*, to endure for *eleven* years. Mr. Wight accordingly commenced inclosing his fields, a process heretofore quite unknown in Scotland. In 1713 Lord Ormiston granted to the same person a lease of a neighbouring farm to endure for *nine* years.

John Cockburn, who became possessed of the estate about the year 1714, immediately entered upon a much more extensive system of improvement. He had marked with extreme concern the supine condition of Scottish husbandry, which his parliamentary visits to England had enabled him to contrast with the more fortunate condition of that country; and with an enlarged liberality of soul, which scorned all his own immediate interests for the sake of ultimate general good, he began to grant long leases of his farms upon exceedingly small rents. As an instance it may be mentioned, that he granted to Robert Wight a new lease of the Murrays farm for thirty-eight years, from 1718, at a rent of £750 Scots, or £62, 10s. od. sterling, and upon paying £1200 Scots, or £100 sterling, by way of fine or grassum, at the expiration of that term, a renewal thereof for other nineteen years, and so on from one period of nineteen years to another in all time coming: a degree of liberality which speaks more strongly than anything else possibly could, for the backward state of agriculture at the time. But the enterprising spirit of Mr. Cockburn did not rest here. In giving long leases he had enabled his tenants to make the improvements he wished; but still it was necessary to teach them how these improvements should be conducted. For this purpose he brought down skilful persons from England, who introduced the culture of turnips, rape, and clover; and at the same time he sent up the sons of his tenants to study agriculture in the best cultivated districts of the south. Experiments were likewise made of the effects of enriching the land by flooding. Turnips were sown upon the estate so early as 1725, and Alexander Wight, one of his tenants, was probably the first man in the island who sowed them in drills, and

cultivated them with the plough. The culture of this valuable root was brought by him to such perfection, that, in 1735, a turnip of his raising, weighing 34½ lbs, was carried to Edinburgh, and hung up in John's coffee-house as a show.

Even while engaged in his public duties in England, Mr. Cockburn was constantly reverting in thought to the improvements he had set on foot in East Lothian, and he carried on a constant correspondence with his tenants respecting the progress of their mutual plans. In some of these letters he breathes the strongest sentiments of benevolence and patriotism. "No person," says he to Mr. Alexander Wight in 1725, "can have more satisfaction in the prosperity of his children, than I have in the welfare of persons situated on my estate. I hate tyranny in every shape; and shall always show greater pleasure in seeing my tenants making something under me they can call their own, than in getting a little more money myself, by squeezing a hundred poor families, till their necessities make them my slaves."

His proceedings were at first the subject of ridicule among the more narrow-minded of his neighbours; but the results in time overpowered every mean feeling, and gradually inspired a principle of imitation. In 1726 he encouraged his tenant Alexander Wight in setting up a malting brewery and distillery, which soon got into repute, and promoted the raising of grain in the neighbourhood. As a preliminary step to further improvements, he reformed the village of Ormiston, changing it from the original mean and squalid hamlet into a neat and well-built street. He then commenced a series of operations for setting up a linen manufactory. This he considered as one of the staple trades of Scotland, and as the best support of the general interest. He viewed it as intimately connected with husbandry; the land affording an opportunity of producing the raw article to the manufacturers, while they in return furnished hands for carrying on agricultural works, especially in harvest, and for the consumption of its various produce. To attain these objects, an eminent undertaker from Ireland, both in the manufacturing and whitening of linen, was induced to take up his residence at Ormiston; and a favourable lease of a piece of ground for a bleachfield and some lands in the neighbourhood was granted to him. This was the first bleachfield in East Lothian, probably the second in Scotland—for, before 1730, fine linens were sent to Haarlem in Holland to be whitened and dressed. It is said that this Irish colony was the means of introducing the potato in Scotland, at least as an object of field culture; and that valuable root was raised in the grounds on this estate so early as 1734. Mr. Cockburn also introduced some workmen from Holland, to give instructions in the art of bleaching. He obtained for his rising manufactory the patronage of the board of trustees, and likewise some pecuniary aid.

About the year 1736 the progress of agricultural improvement at Ormiston had excited so much notice all over Scotland, that Mr. Cockburn, always awake to every circumstance which could forward his darling object, seized upon such a notable opportunity of disseminating useful knowledge among his brother proprietors and their tenantry. He instituted what was called the Ormiston Society, composed of noblemen, gentlemen, and farmers, who met monthly for the discussion of some appropriate question in rural economy, settled upon at their former meeting, on which question all the members present delivered their opinion. This club lasted for about eleven years, and was of great service in promoting the views of its founder. It consisted at last of 106

members, comprising almost all the best intellects of Scotland at that time.

Mr. Cockburn was married, first, in 1700, to the Hon. Miss Beatrix Carmichael, eldest daughter of John, first Earl of Hyndford; secondly, to an English lady, related to the Duchess of Gordon, by whom he had a son named George. It is distressing to think that, about the year 1748, this great patriot was obliged, probably in consequence of his spirited exertions for the public good, to dispose of his estate to the Earl of Hopetoun. He died at his son's house at the Navy Office, London, on the 12th of November, 1758. His son, who was a comptroller of the navy, married Caroline, Baroness Forrester in her own right, and was the father of Anna Maria, also Baroness Forrester in her own right, who died unmarried in 1808.—Patrick Cockburn, advocate, brother of the agriculturist, was married, in 1731, to Miss Alice Rutherford of Fairnalee, a woman of poetical genius, authoress of the more modern verses to the tune of *The Flowers of the Forest*, and who died in Edinburgh, November 22, 1794.

It would be difficult to do full justice to the merits of such a character as Cockburn of Ormiston, or to describe the full effects of his exertions upon the interests of his country. It may be said that he lived at a time when the circumstances of Scotland were favourable to improvement, as it was the first age of reaction after a long depression. But, although the country would have made great advances without his aid, there can be little doubt that he considerably anticipated the natural period of improvement, and gave it an impulse much greater than was likely to be otherwise received. On what other principle are we to account for the immense degree to which the agriculture of Scotland now transcends that of England—the country from which it so recently derived its first hints in the art?

COLQUHOUN, PATRICK, a writer on statistics and criminal jurisprudence, was born at Dumbarton, March 14, 1745. His father, who acted as registrar of the county records, was nearly allied to Sir Robert Colquhoun, Bart. of Nova Scotia, and also to Sir James Colquhoun of Luss. Having lost his father ere he attained his sixteenth year, Patrick Colquhoun determined, like many others of his countrymen, to seek his fortune abroad. He settled on what was called the Eastern Shore in Virginia, where for five years he carried on commercial pursuits. It was the general custom of the inhabitants of this district to cross the Chesapeake Bay twice a year, in order to transact business at the seat of government; and such were the qualifications for public business manifested even at this early period by Mr. Colquhoun, that many were in the habit of trusting their concerns to him, instead of going to the general mart in person. Besides carrying on these trading speculations, he studied very hard at this time, and endeavoured, both by reading intelligent books and conversing with intelligent men, particularly of the legal profession, to fit himself for public duties. In 1766, when twenty-one years of age, he returned to his own country for the sake of his health, and settled as a merchant in Glasgow, where he soon after married a lady of his own name, the daughter of the provost of Dumbarton. On the breaking out of the war with the colonies, Mr. Colquhoun sided with government, and in 1776 he was one of fourteen principal contributors to a fund for raising a regiment in Glasgow, for his majesty's service in that struggle. He thus became a person of public consideration, and succeeded, in 1780, in carrying through parliament a bill of great consequence to the trade of the country.

In 1781, when occupying a place in the town-council of Glasgow, he suggested and carried forward to completion the design for building the coffee-house and exchange in that city. Next year he was elected provost of Glasgow. He now became the founder of that excellent institution, the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures at Glasgow, of which he was the first chairman. While holding these distinguished offices, he was also chairman of the committee of management of the Forth and Clyde canal, and the leading manager of various other public bodies. A genius for business on a large scale was conspicuous in all his undertakings. In 1785 he repaired to London to obtain legislative relief for the cotton trade, then in a languishing condition, and for some years afterwards he devoted a large portion of his time to similar objects. In 1788 he visited Ostend, then a *dépôt* for East India goods, to ascertain how far similar British manufactures could enter into competition with the imports of the Flemings; and it was owing to his exertions that our muslins, then an infant manufacture, became so extensively known throughout the Continent. Connected with this subject he published three pamphlets, which tended to make his efforts known to the British merchants. In the same year Mr. Colquhoun laid the plan of a general hall in London for the sale of cottons, which, however, was rendered of little effect by the breaking out of the war with France. On this subject he also published a pamphlet. In the month of November, 1789, he settled with his family in London, and soon after began to project those improvements in the London police and magistracy, by which he earned the principal part of his fame. The police of London was at this time in a state of shameful inefficiency, while the magistrates, except in the *city* itself, were a set of low mercenary individuals, known by the justly opprobrious title of *trading justices*. On this subject Mr. Colquhoun composed several popular treatises, and in 1792, when seven public offices were established, with three justices to each, he was appointed to one of them, through the influence of his friend Mr. Henry Dundas, afterwards Viscount Melville. His exertions as a magistrate were of a nature truly useful; and he published the result of his experience in 1796, under the title of *A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, explaining the Various Crimes and Misdemeanours which at present are felt as a Pressure on the Community, and suggesting Remedies*. This work earned a merited reputation, and went through a large annual reprint for the five succeeding years. It obtained the praise of the select committee of finance, and particular marks of approbation from the Duke of Portland, then secretary of state for the home department. He was, in consequence of this work, appointed agent in Great Britain for the colony of the Virgin Isles. In 1800 appeared his treatise on the *Police of the River Thames*, a work certainly demanded in no small degree by the circumstances. Though it may hereafter appear almost incredible, it is nevertheless true, that the shipping of London, previous to this period, was totally unprotected from the vast hordes of thieves which always exist in a large city. While property on the banks of the river was so far protected, that which floated on the river itself had no protection whatever. Accordingly, a generation of thieves, called *mudlarks*, prowled constantly about the vessels, and made prey annually of property to a vast amount. Not only did the cargoes suffer, but even sails, anchors, and other such bulky articles, were abstracted by these daring depredators. For many years this had been felt as a grievous hardship, but it is amazing how

long an evil may be tolerated for which no remedy has been provided by the necessities of our ancestors. It was looked upon as a matter of course, a mischief incident to the situation of things; and as each individual only suffered his share of the immense amount of loss, there had been no general effort at a reformation. Mr. Colquhoun's work, however, effectually roused public attention to the subject, and an effective river police was immediately instituted, by which the shipping has been ever since fully protected. For his services on this occasion, the West India merchants presented him with the sum of £500.

Although Mr. Colquhoun bore externally a somewhat pompous and domineering aspect, and was certainly a zealous advocate for keeping the people in due subjection to the powers above them, there never perhaps was a heart more alive than his to the domestic interests of the poor, or a mind more actively bent upon improving both their physical and moral condition. He was one of the first men in this country who promoted a system of feeding the poor, in times of severe distress, by cheap and wholesome soups. And, in the famine of 1800, few men were more active in behalf of the starving population. He also took an early interest in the system of charity schools, being of opinion that the true way of improving the condition of the people was to enlighten their minds. In 1803 he was instrumental in founding a school in Orchard Street, Westminster, in which three or four hundred children of both sexes were taught the rudiments of human knowledge. He also published in 1806 a work entitled *A New System of Education for the Labouring People*, which obtained an extensive circulation. Two years afterwards appeared his *Treatise on Indigence*, in which the institution of a provident bank is strongly urged.

In 1797 Mr. Colquhoun was honoured with the degree of LL.D. by the university of Glasgow, in consequence of his services in that part of the kingdom. Throughout the course of his long and useful life, he received many other testimonies of the public approbation. His last work appeared in 1814, under the title, *A Treatise on the Population, Wealth, Power, and Resources of the British Empire, in every Quarter of the World, including the East Indies*. Dr. Colquhoun's publications in all amount to twenty; and of these an accurate list is given in the *Annual Obituary* for 1812. After having been concerned in public life for about thirty-nine years, during which he had transacted business with eight or ten successive administrations, in 1817 he tendered his resignation as a magistrate, in consequence of his increasing years and infirmities; this, however, was not accepted by Lord Sidmouth until the subsequent year, when the secretary of state for the home department expressed the high sense entertained of his long and faithful services by his majesty's government. Dr. Colquhoun died of a schirrous stomach, April 25, 1820, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

The character of Dr. Colquhoun has been thus drawn by Dr. Lettson:—"When the importance of the morals of the community, with its influence on individual as well as general happiness, is duly considered, one cannot but contemplate a public character, who, with unceasing exertion, endeavours to promote every virtuous and charitable sentiment, with gratitude and reverence; a magistrate clothed with power to enforce obedience, but possessing benevolence more coercive than power; who is eminently vigilant to arrest in its progress every species of vice, and commiserates, as a man humanized by Christian amenities, every deviation from rectitude, and reforms while he pities—such is a being clothed

with robes of divinity. In this point of view, I, indeed, saw my friend, Patrick Colquhoun, Esq., whose exertions point to every direction where morals require correction, or poverty and distress the aid of active benevolence. As an indefatigable magistrate, and an able writer in general, Mr. Colquhoun is well known throughout Europe. I introduce him in this place as the founder and promoter of various institutions for supplying the poor, in distress, with cheap and nutritious articles of food, to an extent truly astonishing, and without which famine must have been superadded to poverty. The enumeration alone of my friend's publications must evince the activity of his benevolence, with which his time and fortune have ever kept pace. May the reader endeavour to emulate his virtues! He will then not only diffuse happiness among the community, particularly the lower classes, but insure the supreme enjoyment of it in his individual capacity."

COMBE, ANDREW, M.D. This excellent physician and physiologist was the fifteenth child and seventh son of Mr. George Combe, brewer, at Livingston's Yards, in the suburbs of Edinburgh, and Marion Newton, his wife, and was born on the 27th of October, 1797. After being educated in the initiatory branches at a private seminary, he was sent, at the age of eight, to the high-school of Edinburgh, and having continued there at the study of Latin and Greek for five years, he went to the university, where, in the course of two seasons, he contrived to forget what Latin he had learned at school, and become a respectable Grecian. But with all this teaching of dead languages, his own was allowed to shift as it might, so that, although he could read Homer, he was unable to pen a tolerable ordinary epistle. Like many others under a similar process of tuition, and who have risen to distinction in spite of such perversity, Andrew Combe, by the diligent self-cultivation of after-years, acquired that mastery of the English language, and excellence in composition, which his works so fully attest. After he had passed a sickly taciturn boyhood, and entered his fifteenth year, it was fitting that he should announce the future profession he meant to follow; but to every question on this head from his parents, his invariable answer was, "I'll no be naething." They understood these two negatives in the Scottish acceptance, of course, and reckoning such a choice of total idleness inexpedient in one of a family of seventeen children, his father chose for him the medical profession, into which the apathetic youth was to be inducted without further delay. Accordingly, in spite of all his struggles, Andrew was forced into a new suit of clothes, carried out of the house, and trotted along by dint of pulling and pushing, to the dwelling of his future master, where he was bound and left—to an apprenticeship which he had no future cause to regret.

After finishing his apprenticeship, during which he attended the usual medical course at the university and the public hospital, Andrew Combe, when he had entered upon his twentieth year, took the diploma of surgeon. Previous to this event his intellectual habits had received not only a fresh impulse, but also a new direction, from the study of phrenology, which was introduced into Edinburgh through the arrival and lectures of Dr. Spurzheim. Of this science Mr. George Combe, afterwards its distinguished advocate, became an earnest student, and his younger brother Andrew was not long in following the example. The latter, however, when he had little more than commenced his inquiries in earnest upon the subject, went to Paris in 1817 to

perfect himself in his professional studies. The Continent was now opened to Britain by the general peace, and our medical students were eager to avail themselves of the opportunity by completing their education in the French capital. Among the Parisian lecturers on the various departments of science whom Andrew Combe attended for this purpose, he was so fortunate as to be a pupil of Professor Dupuytren, to whose lessons so many of our most eminent physicians have been so deeply indebted. He also frequently associated in Paris with Dr. Spurzheim, by whom he was completely converted to a belief in that science by the rules of which all his future habits of investigation were more or less directed. As this was a most important event in his life, it may be proper to give his own account of it:—"My attention was first seriously turned to the examination of these doctrines during my residence at Paris, in the autumn of 1818, when Dr. Spurzheim's *Observations sur la Phrenologie*, then just published, were happily put into my hands at a time when, from there being no lectures in any of the Parisian schools, I had ample leisure to peruse that work deliberately. I had not proceeded far before I became impressed with the acuteness and profundity of many of the author's remarks on the varied phenomena of human nature, and with the simplicity of the principles by which he explained what had previously seemed contradictory and unintelligible; and in proportion as I advanced, the scrupulousness of statement, sobriety of judgment, and moral earnestness with which he advocated his views and inculcated their importance, made me begin to apprehend that to condemn without inquiry was not the way to ascertain the truth of phrenology, or to become qualified to decide in a matter of medicine or of philosophy. I therefore resolved to pause, in order to make myself acquainted with the principles of the new physiology, and to resort, as he [Dr. Spurzheim] recommended, to observation and experience for the means of verifying or disproving their accuracy, before again hazarding an opinion on the subject." Thus prepared for examination and conviction, he examined and was convinced. After two years of such study the following conclusion was the result:—"Actuated by the natural feeling of improbability that so much should have been discovered in so short time by only two individuals, however eminent their talents and felicitous their opportunities, I still expected to meet with some important errors of detail; and, so far from being disposed to adopt implicitly all the propositions of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim, I rather looked for, and expected to find, some hasty conclusions or unsupported assumptions; and my surprise was extreme to discover that, in the whole extent of their inquiry, they had proceeded with so much caution and accuracy as, in all their essential facts and inferences, to have rendered themselves apparently invulnerable." At the early age of twenty-one he thus became a firm believer in phrenology, and, unlike many others of his contemporaries, he continued to believe in its principles and apply its rules to the last.

After a course of diligent study at Paris continued for nearly two years, and a tour through Switzerland, he returned to Edinburgh at the close of 1819. He was now ready, as far as professional knowledge and the encouragement of friends went, for the commencement of business as a medical practitioner; but, unfortunately, he needed for himself the aid which he should have imparted to others. In his rambles in Switzerland he had over-tasked his strength, and on returning to Edinburgh, a cold

room and damp bed confirmed the evil. A voyage to Italy was judged necessary for his recovery, and he embarked at Greenock for Leghorn at the end of the following year. The cure was effectual, for he returned to Edinburgh in May, 1822, and soon after commenced practice as a surgeon, while his extensive family connection, and the reputation he had already acquired, soon procured him an extensive circle of occupation. At this time, also, he first appeared before the world as an author, in an essay *On the Effects of Injuries of the Brain upon the Manifestations of the Mind*, which was first read before the Phrenological Society, and afterwards published in its *Transactions*. In this way he brought his beloved science into full play at the commencement of his public life, not only in a literary but also a professional capacity, notwithstanding the obloquy and derision with which it was generally treated at this period. In 1823, while the phrenological controversy was at its height, Mr. Combe again entered the field in its defence, by an essay entitled *Observations on Dr. Barclay's Objections to Phrenology*, which was also published in the *Transactions* of the society. In the same year he, in conjunction with four others, established the *Phrenological Journal*, to which he was an active contributor till his death. In 1836 he collected the most important of these articles, and published them in a separate volume. Eager to extend the knowledge of a science to which he was so devoted, and justify its claims to universal attention, he also hazarded their introduction into a quarter where they were little likely to appear without a severe examination. This was in the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, of which he was a member, and before which he was obliged in his turn to write a dissertation upon a subject selected by a committee of the society. The question proposed in 1823 was, "Does Phrenology afford a satisfactory Explanation of the Moral and Intellectual Faculties of Man?" and Mr. Combe was appropriately selected to write the dissertation. He set to work upon the question *con amore*, and produced a digest of all he had learned, thought, and observed, to bear upon the affirmative, while the discussions that followed upon the subject occupied two nights of earnest debate before crowded audiences. This able article, which was first published in the *Phrenological Journal*, was also included in the volume of *Selections* to which we have already alluded. In 1825 he graduated as doctor of medicine, and on that occasion chose for the subject of his thesis, "The Seat and Nature of Hypochondriasis," which was also published in an enlarged form in the *Phrenological Journal*, and the *Selections*.

In commencing the medical art, first as surgeon and afterwards as doctor, Combe was made aware of two faults which, in his course of practice, he carefully laboured to avoid. The first was that of never interposing until the crisis of danger had arrived. No rules were prescribed either to avoid a disease or escape the repetition of an attack after the first had been conquered. As long as the patient was upon his legs he might use what diet or exercise he pleased: upon all this the man of healing was silent; he thought it enough to come in at the moment of danger, and treat the sufferer *secundum artem* until the danger was over, without troubling himself about the morrow; and if fresh excesses produce a deadlier renewal of the malady, he was ready to double the dose, and proportion the penance to the evil. The homely proverb, that "prevention is better than cure," was too vulgar a rule for scientific notice; and it was only when the disease fairly showed face that

a doctor girded himself for the onset. This was anything but satisfactory to Dr. Combe, so that, in his treatment of every malady, he was more solicitous to prevent its occurrence than to show his professional prowess by overcoming it at its height; and if the constitution of the patient made the disease a natural tendency, his medical skill was exerted in showing how the coming of the evil might be retarded, or its inflictions softened. Hence his carefulness in inculcating the rules of diet and exercise, of ablution and ventilation, which, homely and common-place as they are, and therefore deemed unsuited to a learned physician, are yet the true essentials of the healing art. Another fault which he was also careful to avoid, was that of dictating to the patient the medical regulations that were to be strictly followed without assigning a cause, or enlisting his reason in their behalf. A blind, implicit faith was exclusively demanded by too many of our medical practitioners, and the remedy was to be used without question or scruple. Dr. Combe saw that, however this pope-like assumption of infallibility might gratify the vanity of the physician, it was little likely to benefit the patient, more especially if his faith was of that unruly kind that requires argument and proof. He therefore tried to enlist the reason of the patient in behalf of the rules prescribed for his cure, and showed so much of the nature, origin, and tendencies of the disease as would enable him to co-operate in its removal. "The consequences of this mode of proceeding," says his biographer, "were equally beneficial to his patients and to himself. They became convinced that it was nature that was dealing with them, and that, although they might 'cheat the doctor,' they could not arrest the progress of her evolutions, or escape from aggravated evils, if they obstructed the course of her sanative action. Under these convictions they obeyed his injunctions with earnestness and attention. By being premonished of approaching symptoms, which were frequently steps in the progress of the cure, but which, if not explained, might have been regarded as aggravations of the malady, they were saved from much alarm, and he from many unnecessary calls and attendances. His present biographer had ample opportunities of remarking how few messages, even during the busiest seasons of his practice, came to him from patients under treatment, and how very rarely he was called upon to visit them during the night. He ascribed this comparative immunity from nocturnal calls to the explanations and pre-arrangements now adverted to."

It was not till 1831 that Dr. Combe appeared as the author of a separate work, as his productions had hitherto been articles and essays, which were afterwards published in the form of pamphlets. Among the subjects he had studied in connection with phrenology was that of insanity; and from its importance, as well as the general interest which several cases of mental disease had lately excited, he resolved to give at full length the fruits of his study on this painful malady, with a view to its prevention, amelioration, and cure. The title of the work he published was *Observations on Mental Derangement; being an Application of the Principles of Phrenology to the Elucidation of the Causes, Symptoms, Nature, and Treatment of Insanity*. After this, his close application to professional duties, in which he embarked with his whole heart, and the physiological studies that occupied every moment of his leisure time, so exhausted his delicate constitution, that intermission and change of climate were again found necessary; and accordingly he spent the winter of 1831-32 in Italy, and the following year in Edin-

burgh, London, and Paris. In 1834, though his health was still infirm, he published in Edinburgh *The Principles of Physiology applied to the Preservation of Health, and to the Improvement of Physical and Mental Education*. This work was so favourably received, and continued to be so highly valued, that at the period of his death 28,000 copies of it had been sold, exclusive of the numerous editions that had been published in the United States of North America. So highly was Dr. Combe's professional reputation now established, that in 1836 he was honoured with the appointment of physician to the King of the Belgians. This occasioned two visits to Brussels during the same year. At the same time he published his *Physiology of Digestion, considered with Relation to the Principles of Dietetics*, which went through nine editions. In 1838 Dr. Combe was appointed one of the physicians extraordinary to the queen in Scotland, an office of professional honour merely, as no salary is attached to it. In 1840 he published *A Treatise on the Physiological and Moral Management of Infancy; being a Practical Exposition of the Principles of Infant Training, for the Use of Parents*. This work, which was highly esteemed, and obtained an extensive circulation, he continued to improve till his death. His last effort in authorship was an article on phrenology, which was published in the *British and Foreign Medical Review* for January, 1840.

Enough has been said in the foregoing narrative to show that Dr. Combe, although so able a physician, was himself often in need of the benefits of the healing art. Originally of a delicate and consumptive constitution, through which the activity and application of his early youth had been frequently checked, his maladies had increased from year to year, so that in 1834 he was obliged to renounce the more active part of his profession, and confine himself to consulting practice. His constitution rallied in consequence of this relief, and from 1837 to 1841 he enjoyed a better state of health than he had hitherto experienced. At a later period, however, his ailments returned, and with so permanent a hold, as convinced him that, however lingering his last illness might be, it had now commenced in good earnest. Still, however, his wonted tranquillity, and even cheerfulness, were unabated; and to the last he continued to correspond with his friends upon those important subjects which had formed the great study of his life. At length, by the recommendation of his medical advisers, he tried the effect of the climate of Madeira, to which island he repaired in November, 1842. After having dwelt a few months there and returned home, he was obliged to make a second visit to Madeira, where he wintered during 1843-44. As voyaging was found beneficial in protracting at least the inevitable termination of his disease, he tried the effect of a trip to New York in the spring of 1847. But this, the last, was the most unfortunate of all his voyages, for the vessel in which he sailed carried 360 steerage passengers, chiefly Irish emigrants; and as the steerage extended from stem to stern of the vessel, the cabin overhead was pervaded during the whole passage with a sickening atmosphere, the effect of which accelerated his dissolution. Having made a three-weeks' sojourn in New York, he returned to Scotland; and only six weeks subsequently he died, after a short illness, on the 9th of August, 1847. He had thus only reached the age of fifty, but the chief subject of wonder is, that he had lived so long and done so much. He could never have held out so well but for his close and conscientious attention to those rules of health which he recommended to others; and thus, although

he might be considered a dying man at the age of confirmed manhood, he was permitted to enjoy that which, above every other earthly blessing, he most valued—a life of thorough and benevolent usefulness. Even to the last he was thus occupied; and when the pen dropped from his fingers, it was in the act of writing to a friend for information about the regulations of emigrant vessels, as he was at that time employed, during the brief intervals of his last illness, in preparing a communication upon the ship-fever, which in that year was so fatal in the statistics of British emigration. "Dr. Combe belonged," as is well observed by one who intimately knew and deeply loved him, "to that rare class of physicians who present professional knowledge in connection with the powers of a philosophical intellect; and yet, in practical matters, appear constantly under the guidance of a rich natural sagacity. All his works are marked by a peculiar earnestness, lucidity, and simplicity, characteristic of the author; they present hygienic principles with a clearness for which we know no parallel in medical literature. To this must be ascribed much of the extraordinary success they have met with; and on this quality undoubtedly rests no small portion of their universally acknowledged utility. . . . The personal character and private life of Dr. Combe formed a beautiful and harmonious commentary upon his writings. In the bosom of his family, and the limited social circle to which his weakly health confined him, he was the same benignant and gentle being whom the world finds addressing it in these compositions. . . . Kindly and cordial to all, he did not seem to feel as if he could have an enemy; and therefore, we believe, he never had one. It might almost have been said that he was *too* gentle and unobtrusive; and so his friends perhaps would have thought him, had it not, on the other hand, appeared as the most befitting character of one who, they all knew, was not to be long spared to them, and on whom the hues of a brighter and more angelic being seemed already to be shed."

COMBE, GEORGE. This enthusiastic phrenologist and practical moral philosopher was born at Edinburgh, October 21, 1788; and being ten years older than his brother Andrew Combe, M.D., the subject of the preceding memoir, he was enabled to superintend the education of the latter, and give a direction to his physiological and moral studies. Having adopted the legal profession, George Combe became a writer to the signet in 1812, and continued with undivided attention to follow this occupation; when, in 1816, an event occurred that gave his mind a new bias. In that year Dr. Spurzheim visited Scotland, and by his lectures and conversations on phrenology not only aroused the public attention, but the public astonishment. Men were taught that not merely the intellectual character was dimly indicated upon the forehead of each individual, but all his qualities—intellectual, moral, and physical—mapped out one by one over the whole region of his skull; and that he thus carried about with him his character written in letters about which there could neither be suspicion nor controversy. Like many of his considerate countrymen, George Combe at first was hard of belief, and regarded both the system and its advocate with aversion; but further inquiry removed his prejudices, and convinced him that this startling theory had fact for its basis. He became not only a believer in the truth of phrenology, but its ardent, eloquent, disinterested expositor; and continued with the earnestness of an apostle to expound its doctrines, until he had made a considerable number of influential converts, of whom he was the

recognized leader and head. Nor was this a situation with which a merely ambitious man would have been contented; for in hard-headed and orthodox Scotland, phrenology was regarded not only as a monstrosity in science, but a heresy in religion. He persevered, however, until society was persuaded to listen to its claims, and acknowledge that they were neither ridiculous nor atheistical.

The life of Combe was henceforth bound up in the science which he so devotedly loved. Mainly through his exertions it lived and flourished in Scotland for the day, until it was superseded by new opinions; and during the period of its ascendancy, it materially influenced those systems of moral and psychological investigation which still refused to recognize it as an authority and guide. In his Phrenological Hall, Clyde Street, Edinburgh, which was stored with a choice collection of casts of heads, he held meetings of the society, and delivered public lectures on phrenology; he originated and conducted the *Phrenological Journal*, which continued from 1824 to 1847, and extended to twenty volumes, himself contributing many articles to the series; and he delivered many successful courses of lectures, not only in various parts of the United Kingdom, but also in America and Germany. But his numerous writings were still more influential than his lectures, from the popularity they acquired and their influence on the public mind. The first of these was his *Essays on Phrenology*, published in 1819, after he had become a thorough convert to the system. Five years afterwards he published his *System of Phrenology*, which went through five editions, and was translated into German and French. In 1828 he published the most important of his works, entitled *The Constitution of Man considered in Relation to External Objects*, being an attempt to demonstrate the essential harmony of the nature of man with the surrounding world; and the consequent necessity of studying the laws of nature, in order that we may realize the advantages of the external world, lessen our exposure to its evils, and carry out successfully our physical, social, and moral improvement. Of this work, which so materially influences many of the systems of physical and social reform advocated in the present day, nearly 100,000 copies were sold in Britain, numerous editions were printed in America, and it was translated into French, German, and Swedish. Besides these works he wrote the following: *Elements of Phrenology*, 1824; *Lectures on Popular Education*, 1833; *Notes of his Experiences in Germany and America*; *Lectures on Moral Philosophy*, 1840; *Life and Correspondence of Andrew Combe, M.D.*, 1850; *Principles of Criminal Legislation and Prison Discipline*, 1854; *Phrenology applied to Painting and Sculpture*, 1855; and *The Currency Question considered in Relation to the Bank Restriction Act, 7 and 8 Victoria, c. 32*, 1855. The latest of his works, entitled *The Relation between Science and Religion*, which he published in 1857, eloquently inculcates and earnestly enforces the duty and advantage of obedience to the precepts of natural religion.

With all this travelling, lecturing, and authorship upon his favourite science and the subjects connected with it, which of themselves might have been sufficient for a long and active life, Mr. Combe continued to 1837 a practical man of business, and was devoted to his profession as a writer to the signet. As a citizen, he also entered fully into the public questions of the day, and took an active part in the subjects of parliamentary reform, the abolition of the corn-laws, and the establishment of a system of national education in which every sect and party might coalesce. In 1833 he married Cecilia, daughter of the celebrated

Mrs. Siddons, by whom he was survived. His own death occurred on the 14th August, 1858, his regular living and temperate habits having carried a delicate constitution onward to that age of threescore and ten years which forms the usual boundary even of the most vigorous and robust. His large collection of books on the subject of phrenology has been deposited in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

CONSTABLE, ARCHIBALD, an eminent publisher, was born, February 24, 1776, at Kellie, in the county of Fife, where his father, Thomas Constable, acted as overseer to the Earl of Kellie. After receiving a plain education at the school of his native parish (Carnbee), he became, in 1788, apprentice to Mr. Peter Hill, bookseller in Edinburgh, the friend and correspondent of Robert Burns. About the time of the expiration of his apprenticeship, he married the daughter of Mr. David Willison, printer, who, though averse to the match, was of some service in enabling him to set up in business for himself. This latter step he took in the year 1795, opening a shop on the north side of the High Street, near the cross, and devoting himself at first chiefly to the sale of old books connected with Scottish history and literature. In this line of trade he speedily acquired considerable eminence, not so much by the extensiveness of his stock, for his capital was very limited, as by his personal activity, agreeable manners, and the intelligence with which he applied himself to serve the wants of his customers. At an early period of his career his shop was resorted to by Mr. J. G. Dalzell, Mr. Richard Heber, Mr. Alexander Campbell, Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Alexander Murray, Dr. John Leyden, Mr. Walter Scott, Mr. Thomas Thomson, and other young men possessed of a taste for Scottish literary and historical antiquities, for some of whom he published works of no inconsiderable magnitude, previously to the close of the eighteenth century. In 1801 he acquired the property of the *Scots Magazine*, a venerable repository of historical, literary, and archaeological matter, upon which he employed the talents of Leyden, Murray, Macneil, and other eminent men in succession, though without any considerable increase to its reputation. In the preceding year he had commenced the *Farmer's Magazine*, under the management of an able East Lothian agriculturist, Mr. Robert Brown, then of Markle: this work, which appeared quarterly, for many years enjoyed a considerable degree of prosperity, but eventually drooped with the class to whom it appealed, and sank with the house of the publisher.

The small body of ingenious and learned persons who, in 1802, originated the *Edinburgh Review*, placed it under the commercial management of Mr. Constable, who, though unprepared for the great success which it experienced, was not long in perceiving the high merits of its conductors, and acting towards them in an appropriately liberal manner. The business of publishing this great work remained with him for twenty-four years. In 1804 he commenced the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, which remained with him till 1826. It was throughout a successful publication. In 1805 he published, in conjunction with Longman & Co. of London, the first original work of Sir Walter Scott, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, the success of which was also far beyond his expectations. In the ensuing year he issued a beautiful edition of what he termed *The Works of Walter Scott, Esq.*, in five volumes, comprising the poem just mentioned, the "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," "Sir Tristram," and a series of lyrical pieces. Notwithstanding the success of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Mr. Constable was looked

upon as a bold man when, in 1807, he offered Mr. Scott £1000 for a poem which was afterwards entitled *Marmion*. Such munificence was quite a novelty in the publishing trade of Scotland, and excited some attention even in a part of the island where literary affairs had heretofore been conducted on a larger scale. Not long after the appearance of this poetical romance, Mr. Constable and his partner had a serious difference with its illustrious author, which lasted till 1813, although in the interval he edited for them the works of Swift, as he had previously those of Dryden. An enumeration of the many valuable books which were afterwards published by the subject of this memoir, would be out of place in the present work; but the mention of a few, such as Mr. J. P. Wood's excellent edition of *Douglas' Scottish Peerage*, Mr. G. Chalmers' *Caledonia*, the *Edinburgh Gazetteer* in six volumes, the *Philosophical Works of Mr. Dugald Stewart*, and the *Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica* (the stock and copyright of which work he purchased in 1812), will be sufficient to suggest a career far transcending in enterprise and brilliancy anything of the kind ever known in Scotland. In 1804 Mr. Constable had assumed as partner Mr. Alexander Gibson Hunter, of Blackness, and from that time the business was carried on under the designation of Archibald Constable and Company. A few years afterwards, when the concerns of the house had become very extensive, Mr. Constable thought it a hardship that so much of his wares should pass through the hands of an English agency, who at once absorbed a considerable share of his profits, and could not profess to promote his interest with so much zeal as their own. He and his Edinburgh partner therefore joined, December, 1808, with Mr. Charles Hunter and Mr. John Park, in commencing a general book-selling business in London, under the designation of Constable, Hunter, Park, and Hunter. This speculation, however, being found to be unattended with the expected advantages, was given up in 1811. In the early part of this year Mr. A. G. Hunter retired from the Edinburgh house, on which occasion Mr. Constable, acting on the liberal view which he usually took of the value of his stock, and perhaps not unwilling to impress the world with an exalted idea of his prosperity, allowed to his partner a greater amount of actual cash (£17,000 is understood to have been the sum paid) than what was justly his due. Mr. Robert Cathcart of Drum, writer to the signet, and Mr. Robert Cadell, then a clerk in Mr. Constable's shop, were assumed in Mr. Hunter's place, and the firm still continued under the designation of Archibald Constable and Company. Mr. Cathcart being carried off after a few days' illness in November, 1812, Mr. Cadell remained Mr. Constable's sole partner.

Mr. Constable and his partner published, after 1813, all the poetical works of Sir Walter Scott, and the whole of his prose fictions (excepting the first series of the *Tales of My Landlord*) down to the year 1826. The vast amount of lucrative business arising from these publications, and others of nearly equal popularity and importance, produced in the subject of this memoir the sincere though erroneous conviction that he was a prosperous, and in one respect a wealthy man. He had never, it is true, possessed much free capital; he had scarcely ever known what it was to be exempt from difficulties for ready money; yet he could calculate for certain on the productiveness of several of his more important speculations, and he every day saw around him such a large and increasing amount of stock, that nothing less than the demonstration of figures could have given him

greater assurance of his affluent condition. That demonstration unfortunately was wanting. Mr. Constable was no arithmetician. His mind was one of those which delight in forming lofty enterprises and ambitious schemes, but are too much engrossed with the glories of the ultimate object, to regard much the details by which it is proposed to be accomplished. For very many of his publications, the literary labourer was greatly overpaid; in most cases, he printed a much larger impression than was necessary, or, if the demand came nearly up to the supply, the benefits of success were lost upon an undemanded second edition. He had a magnificent way of transacting every kind of business, seeming in general less to regard the merits of the matter in hand, than the dignity of his name and profession. Proceeding in this manner rather like a princely patron of letters, than a tradesman aiming at making them subservient to his personal interest, Mr. Constable was easily led into a system of living greatly beyond his real means, and from which the pressure of no embarrassments, however severe, could awaken him. Another error, to which the steps were perhaps as natural and easy, was his yielding to the desires of his friend Sir Walter Scott for money, and the means of raising money, as a fore-payment of literary labour. Both men were in some degree intoxicated by the extraordinary success they had met with in their respective careers, which seemed to assure them against the occurrence of any real difficulty in any of the processes of worldly affairs; and, mutually supporting their common delusion, they launched without rudder or compass into an ocean of bank credit, in which they were destined eventually to perish. The reverence of the publisher for the author was not greater than was the confidence of the author in "the strong sense and sagacious calculations" (his own words) of the publisher. Both afterwards discovered that they had been in a great measure wrong, as even the works of a Scott could only produce a certain sum, while the calculations of Mr. Constable, though bearing the impress of an ardent and generous temperament, were not conducted upon those rules which alone will insure good results in commercial affairs. It is painful to reflect on the change which adversity brought over the mutual sentiments of these distinguished men. Mr. Constable lived to lament on a deathbed the coldness which the results of his bankruptcy had introduced into the mind of his former friend, and to complain (whether justly or not) that, if he had not been so liberal towards that friend, he might have still known prosperity. Sir Walter, on the other hand, lived to suffer the pain of pecuniary distress in consequence of the loose calculations of himself and his publisher, and to entertain in his benevolent and tranquil mind, so changed a feeling regarding that individual, as prevented him from paying the common respect of a friend to his remains, when, in the hour of calamity and sorrow, they were transferred to the grave.

Mr. Constable had in early life entertained literary aspirations only less ambitious than those by which he distinguished himself in commercial life. Though wanting the advantages of an academical education, he wrote his own language fluently and correctly. Scottish antiquities formed the department in which he desired to exert himself, and the present writer has heard him, amidst the pressing cares of business, express a touching regret for the non-fulfilment of the hopes which he once entertained in reference to this favourite study. From respect for his literary abilities, Miss Seward bequeathed to him her whole correspondence, in the expectation that he would personally undertake the duty of editor; a task, how-

ever, for which he found it necessary to employ a substitute, in the person of Mr. Morehead. The only literary efforts of Mr. Constable which have ever been ascertained, consist in the editing of *Lamon's Diary* in 1810, and of a compilation of *The Poetry contained in the Waverley Novels*, and the composition of a small volume which appeared in 1822, under the title of "*Memoir of George Heriot, Jeweller to King James*," containing an account of the Hospital founded by him at Edinburgh." Having become a widower in 1816, Mr. Constable in 1818 married Miss Charlotte Neale, who survived him. In the early part of 1822 he was obliged, by a due regard to his physical and mental energies, to reside for some months in England. It may also be mentioned among the particulars of his life, that in 1823, though professedly a Whig in politics, he was included by the liberal policy of the government in a list of new justices of the peace for the city of Edinburgh. In the same year he removed from the warehouse he had occupied for nearly thirty years in the High Street to an elegant mansion adjacent to the Register House, in the new town, which had become his own by purchase from the connections of his second marriage.

In the year 1825 Mr. Constable projected perhaps the most remarkable of all his undertakings—*A Miscellany of Original and Selected Works in Literature, Art, and Science*, which he designed to publish in small fasciculi at one shilling, every three constituting a volume. Having marked the tendency towards a system of cheap popular reading which was at this time very observable in the public mind and in the bookselling business, he had resolved to take advantage of the irresistible impulse for the reproduction of some of his best copyrights; calculating securely that these, especially if mixed up with new productions from the pens of the best modern writers, would appropriate a large share of the patronage extended by the people to cheap works, while the vast sale that might be expected as a consequence of their humble price, could not fail to afford an ample remuneration to all concerned. The design was one worthy, in its daring novelty and its liberal promise, of a publisher who, in almost all his enterprises, had shown a comprehensiveness of mind above his fellows. Nor can it be doubted that, if carried into execution with the whole powers of the original house, and the prestige which the name of Constable now carried to every British ear, it would have met with a success more than sufficient to redeem the fortunes of the establishment. Unfortunately the commercial distresses which marked the close of 1825 operated unfavourably upon a London firm, with which Archibald Constable and Company were intimately connected, and at the close of the January of the ensuing year both were compelled to stop payment. The debts of the latter house were understood to be about a quarter of a million, for a considerable part of which Sir Walter Scott unfortunately stood responsible. The stock in which the subject of this memoir was wont to contemplate an immense fund of dormant wealth, was consequently sequestered, and its real value (especially on a peremptory sale) being very different from the apparent, it sufficed to discharge but a small part of the existing obligations.

Mr. Constable, who at this time had the young family arising from his second marriage springing up around him, now retired into comparative privacy, to experience the usual fate of those whom fortune has suddenly deserted. Most of his friends having suffered considerably by his bankruptcy, and being deeply impressed with a sense of the imprudence which had led to that event, paid him no longer any

regard, though, while his fortunes lived, they would have given "fifty, nay, an hundred ducats for his portrait in little." Notwithstanding these painful circumstances, to which was soon added a return of some dropsical ailments which had formerly afflicted him, he resolved to make an endeavour for the support of his family, by commencing, though with material restrictions of plan, the *Miscellany* which had formerly been announced. Having made the necessary arrangements with the trustee upon the sequestered estate, he issued the first number late in the year 1826, being the beginning of a reproduction of Captain Basil Hall's *Travels*, which that gentleman, with a kindness worthy of his distinguished abilities, had conferred as a present upon the veteran publisher. Though unable now to command all the copyrights and new productions which he originally contemplated, he succeeded in calling around him some of the rising talent of the day, and would in all probability have soon been once more engaged in an extensive and enterprising course of business, if death had not stepped in to claim his part. Mr. Constable gradually sank under his dropsical ailment, and on the 21st of July, in the year just named, breathed his last at his house in Park Place, in the fifty-second year of his age. Mr. Constable was of middle stature, and, in his latter years, of somewhat unwieldy bulk; his countenance, a fair index to his mind, displayed lineaments of uncommon nobleness and beauty.

COOK, REV. GEORGE, D.D. This learned divine and ecclesiastical historian was born at St. Andrews in 1773. His education was conducted at the schools and colleges of his native city, at that time distinguished for its high literary character and the eminent men it produced, while his subsequent career fully showed how well he had availed himself of such opportunities of mental improvement. From the early period of boyhood the studies of George Cook had been directed towards the church, in which his family had considerable influence; and at the age of twenty-two he was ordained minister of Laurencekirk, Kincardineshire. On settling down into such a tranquil residence, the young divine did not resign himself either to rural indolence or literary epicurism; on the contrary, his studies were of the most laborious, indefatigable character, as well as directed to the highest interests of his sacred profession; and it was while minister of Laurencekirk that he produced most of those works by which his fame was extended over the world of ecclesiastical literature. As an author, his first work, published in 1808, was *Illustrations of the General Evidence establishing Christ's Resurrection*. His next, in 1811, was the *History of the Reformation*, the most popular of all his works, until it was eclipsed by the more attractive productions upon the same subject at a later period, and by writers possessing more ample opportunities of information, of whom we need scarcely mention the name of D'Aubigné. After this work on general ecclesiastical history, Dr. Cook turned his attention to that part of it which concerned his own church and country, and published, in 1815, the *History of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution*—a work in which the research was of the most trying character, so many of the materials being at that time in obscure, moth-eaten manuscript, which have since been printed mainly through the public spirit of our antiquarian societies. In 1820 appeared his *Life of Principal Hill*, and in 1822 his *View of Christianity*.

The learning and talent displayed in these works, as well as the important subjects which they illus-

trated, and the high interests which they were designed to advance, naturally brought Dr. Cook into the front rank of the most talented of his clerical brethren, and in church courts his opinions obtained that ascendancy to which they were so justly entitled. To these also were added the highest honorary distinctions which our primitive national church, so jealous of the doctrine of Presbyterian parity, reluctantly accords to the most favoured of her children. Thus, in 1825, he was moderator of the General Assembly, and in the following year he was appointed a member of the royal commission for examining into the state of our Scottish universities. He was also appointed dean of the order of the Thistle, and one of his majesty's chaplains.

On the death of Dr. Inglis, which occurred in 1834, the leadership of his party in the church, which that eminent divine had so ably conducted, was by universal choice conceded to Dr. Cook. Always a situation of difficulty and trouble, even in the most quiescent periods of our church's history, it was peculiarly so at the present crisis; for the Moderate party, which Dr. Cook headed, and that for so long a period had been in the ascendancy, had now lost its prestige; and the Evangelical portion of the church, already increased from a handful into an army, and backed by the popular suffrage, which had always inclined to it since the days of the solemn league and covenant, was advancing with all the energy of a newly resuscitated cause, and giving certain promise that at no distant day it would recover its former superiority. Against such an onward tide it was not wonderful if Dr. Cook and his brethren were unable to make head, although they struggled bravely and to the last. Consistently with the principles which he had adopted from the beginning, and advocated on every occasion, both as an author and a divine, Dr. Cook could not be expected to sympathize with the opposite party in their claims for the abolition of patronage, and the entire exemption of the church from state control, and accordingly he contested every inch of ground with a zeal and honesty equal to their own. At length the result took him as completely by surprise as it did the wisest politicians and profoundest calculators of the day. The memorable 18th of May, 1843, occurred, on which the disruption of the Kirk of Scotland took place, and when, after it had been confidently asserted that not even twenty ministers would abandon their livings, nearly 500 rose from their places in the General Assembly and bade a final farewell to the Established Church. It was a melancholy spectacle, a stunning blow to the upright affectionate heart of the leader of the Moderates. The labours of his past public life were thus destroyed by a single stroke, and while history recorded the calamitous event, he must have guessed that it would reproach him as one of the chief causes of the evil. And besides, in that departing train, whose self-sacrificing devotedness he was well disposed to acknowledge, how many were there whom he had revered for their commanding talents, and loved for their piety and worth, but who were now lost for ever to the church with which he was identified, and whom he must henceforth meet or pass by as the ministers of a rival and hostile cause! Such to Dr. Cook was the disruption; and although his own party exonerated him from blame, while his church still continued as before to be directed by his counsels, the rest of his life was clouded by the recollection of an event which the best men, whether of the Free or Established Church, will never cease to regret.

The latter years of Dr. Cook's life were spent at St. Andrews, as he had been appointed to the chair

of moral philosophy in its university, in the room of Dr. Chalmers, when the latter was called to Edinburgh. Here his end was sudden, his death having been instantaneous, and occasioned by the rupture of a blood-vessel while he was walking in the Kirk Wynd, on his way to the college library. This melancholy event occurred on the forenoon of the 13th of May, 1845.

COUTTS, THOMAS, who long moved at the head of the monied and banking interest of the metropolis, was the fourth and youngest son of John Coutts, originally of Dundee, and afterwards of Edinburgh, where he held the office of chief magistrate in 1743. The mother of Mr. Coutts was a daughter of Sir John Stuart of Allanbank, in Berwickshire, who was the maternal grandson of Miss Grizel Cochrane, daughter of Sir John Cochrane, the associate of Russell and Sidney in their project for liberating Britain from the tyranny of the last Stuarts. Of this lady, great-great-grandmother to Mr. Coutts, the following anecdote has been related by her relation, the Earl of Dundonald:—

“Sir John Cochrane, being engaged in Argyle's rebellion against James II., was taken prisoner after a desperate resistance, and condemned to be hanged. His daughter having noticed that the death-warrant was expected from London, attired herself in men's clothes, and twice attacked and robbed the mails (betwixt Berwick and Belford) which conveyed the death-warrants; thus, by delaying the execution, giving time to Sir John Cochrane's father, the Earl of Dundonald, to make interest with Father Petre, (a Jesuit), King James' confessor, who, for the sum of £5000, agreed to intercede with his royal master in behalf of Sir John Cochrane, and to procure his pardon, which was effected.”

Mr. Coutts was born about the year 1731. His father carried on the business of a general merchant, and established the bank which has since attained such distinguished respectability under the auspices of Sir William Forbes and his descendants. An elder son, James, entered into partnership with a banking house in St. Mary Axe, London, which corresponded with that of John Coutts and Co., Edinburgh. Subsequently Thomas Coutts, the subject of the present memoir, entered also into that house. He then became partner with his brother of a banking house in the Strand, which had long been carried on under the title of Middleton and Campbell; and finally, on the death of his brother, in 1778, he became the sole manager of this extensive concern.

Mr. Coutts possessed the accomplishments and manners of a gentleman; plain but fashionable in his dress; sedate in his deportment; punctual and indefatigable in business even to a very advanced age. His great ambition through life was to establish his character as a man of business, and he certainly obtained such a reputation in this respect as few men have enjoyed. Instances are related of his refusing to overlook a single penny in accounts even with those friends to whom he was in the habit of dispensing his hospitality with the most liberal hand. With such qualifications, and blessed with length of days beyond the usual span of human life, it is not surprising that he acquired immense wealth, and placed himself at the head of that important class to which he belonged. Nor was he exclusively a man of business: he enjoyed the society of literary men in a high degree, and was distinguished for his taste in theatricals. He was also a liberal dispenser of his wealth to the poor.

Mr. Coutts was twice married:—first to Susan

Starkie, a female servant of his brother James, by whom he had three daughters—Susan, married in 1796 to George Augustus, third Earl of Guildford; Frances, married in 1800 to John, first Marquis of Bute; and Sophia, married in 1793 to Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. About three months after the decease of his first wife, which took place in 1815, he married Harriet Mellon, an actress of some distinction in her profession, whom he constituted, at his death, *sole* legatee of his immense property, consisting of personals in the diocese of Canterbury sworn under £600,000, besides considerable real estates in lands, houses, &c., and the banking establishment in the Strand. This lady afterwards became by marriage Duchess of St. Albans, and, by her acts of beneficence, proved herself not unworthy of the great fortune which she had acquired. Mr. Coult's death took place at his house in Piccadilly, February 24th, 1822, about the ninetieth year of his age.

CRAIG, JAMES, M.A., was born at Gifford in East Lothian, in 1682, and educated in the university of Edinburgh. He was first minister at Yester, in his native county; then at Haddington; and finally at Edinburgh, where he was very popular as a preacher. While in the first of these situations, he wrote a volume of *Divine Poems*, which have gone through two editions, and enjoyed at one time a considerable reputation. In 1732, when settled in Edinburgh, he published *Sermons*, in three volumes 8vo, chiefly on the principal heads of Christianity. He died at Edinburgh in 1744, aged sixty-two.

CRAIG, JOHN, an eminent preacher of the Reformation, was born about the year 1512, and had the misfortune to lose his father next year at the battle of Flodden. Notwithstanding the hardships to which this loss subjected him, he obtained a good education, and removing into England, became tutor to the children of Lord Dacre. Wars arising soon after between England and Scotland, he returned to his native country, and became a monk of the Dominican order. Having given some grounds for a suspicion of heresy, he was cast into prison; but having cleared himself, he was restored to liberty; and returning to England, endeavoured, by the influence of Lord Dacre, to procure a place at Cambridge, in which he was disappointed. He then travelled to France; and thence to Rome, where he was in such favour with Cardinal Pole, that he obtained a place among the Dominicans of Bologna, and was appointed to instruct the novices of the cloister. Being advanced to the rectorate, in consequence of his merit, he had access to the library; where, happening to read Calvin's *Institutes*, he became a convert to the Protestant doctrines. A conscientious regard to the text in which Christ forbids his disciples to deny him before men, induced Craig to make no secret of this change in his sentiments; and he was consequently sent to Rome, thrown into a prison, tried and condemned to be burned, from which fate he was only saved by an accident. Pope Paul IV. having died the day before his intended execution, the people rose tumultuously, dragged the statue of his late holiness through the streets, and, breaking open all the prisons, set the prisoners at liberty. Craig immediately left the city; and as he was walking through the suburbs, he met a company of banditti. One of these men, taking him aside, asked if he had ever been in Bologna. On his answering in the affirmative, the man inquired if he recollected, as he was one day walking there in the fields with some young noblemen, having administered relief to a poor maimed soldier, who asked him for alms.

Craig replied that he had no recollection of such an event; but in this case the obliged party had the better memory: the bandit told him that he could never forget the kindness he had received on that occasion, which he would now beg to repay by administering to the present necessities of his benefactor. In short, this man gave Craig a sufficient sum to carry him to Bologna.

The fugitive soon found reason to fear that some of his former acquaintances at this place might denounce him to the Inquisition; and accordingly he slipped away as privately as possible to Milan, avoiding all the principal roads, for fear of meeting any enemy. One day, when his money and strength were alike exhausted by the journey, he came to a desert place, where, throwing himself down upon the ground, he almost resigned all hope of life. At this moment a dog came fawning up to him, with a bag of money in its mouth, which it laid down at his feet. The forlorn traveller instantly recognized this as "a special token of God's favour;" and picking up fresh energy, proceeded on his way till he came to a little village, where he obtained some refreshment. He now bent his steps to Vienna; where, professing himself of the Dominican order, he was brought to preach before the emperor Maximilian II., and soon became a favourite at the court of that sovereign. His fame reverting to Rome, Pope Pius III. sent a letter to the emperor, desiring him to be sent back as one that had been condemned for heresy. The emperor adopted the more humane course of giving him a safe-conduct out of Germany. Reaching England about the year 1560, Craig heard of the reformation which had taken place in his native country; and, returning thither, offered his services to the church. He found, however, that the long period of his absence from the country (twenty-four years) had unfitted him to preach in the vernacular tongue, and he was therefore obliged for some time to hold forth to the learned in Latin.¹ Next year, having partly recovered his native language, he was appointed to be the colleague of Knox in the parish church of Edinburgh, which office he held for nine years. During this period he had an opportunity of manifesting his conscientious regard to the duties of his calling, by refusing to proclaim the banns for the marriage of the queen to Bothwell, which he thought contrary to the laws, to reason, and to the word of God. For this he was reproved at the time by the council; but his conduct was declared by the General Assembly two years after to have been consistent with his duty as a faithful minister. About the year 1572 he was sent by the General Assembly to preach at Montrose, "for the illuminating the north; and when he had remained two years there, he was sent to Aberdeen to illuminate these dark places in Mar, Buchan, and Aberdeen, and to teach the youth in the college there." In 1579 Mr. Craig, being appointed minister to the king (James VI.), returned to Edinburgh, where he took a leading hand in the general assemblies of the church, being the compiler of part of the Second Book of Discipline; and, what gives his name its chief historical lustre, the writer of the NATIONAL COVENANT, signed in 1580 by the king and his household, and which was destined in a future age to exercise so mighty an influence over the destinies of the country.

John Craig was a very different man from the royal chaplains of subsequent times. He boldly

¹ His Latin discourses were delivered in Magdalen's Chapel, in the Cowgate, Edinburgh; a curious old place of worship, which still exists, and even retains in its windows part of the stained glass which adorned it in Catholic times.

opposed the proceedings of the court when he thought them inconsistent with the interests of religion, and did not scruple on some occasions to utter the most poignant and severe truths respecting the king, even in his majesty's own presence. In 1595, being quite worn out with the infirmities of age, he resigned his place in the royal household, and retired from public life. He died on the 4th of December, 1600, aged eighty-eight, his life having extended through the reigns of four sovereigns.

CRAIG, JOHN, an eminent mathematician, flourished at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries. The only circumstance known respecting his life is, that he was vicar of Gillingham, in Dorsetshire. The following list of his writings is given in Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*:—*Methodus figurarum, lineis rectis et curvis comprehensarum: quadraturas determinandi*. London, 1685, 4to.—*Tratatus Mathematicus, de figurarum curvilinearum, &c., et locis geometricis*. London, 1692, 1693, 4to.—*Theologia Christiane Principia Mathematica*. London, 1699, 4to. Reprinted, Leipsic, 1755.—*De Calculo Fluentium*, lib. ii., et *de Optica Analytica*, lib. ii. London, 1718, 4to.—*The Quantity of the Logarithmic Curve*; translated from the Latin, *Phil. Trans. Abr.* iv. 318. 1698.—*Quantity of Figures Geometrically Irrational*. Ib. 202. 1697.—*Letter containing Solutions of two Problems: 1, on the Solid of Least Resistance; 2, the Curve of Quickest Descent*. Ib. 542. 1701.—*Specimen of determining the Quadrature of Figures*. Ib. v. 24. 1703.—*Solution of Bernoulli's Problem*. Ib. 90. 1704.—*Of the Length of Curve Lines*. Ib. 406. 1708.—*Method of Making Logarithms*. Ib. 609. 1710.—*Description of the Head of a Monstrous Calf*. Ib. 668. 1712."

CRAIG, THOMAS, author of the *Treatise on the Feudal Law*, and of other learned works, was probably born in the year 1538. It is uncertain whether he was the son of Robert Craig, a merchant in Edinburgh, or of William Craig of Craighinty, afterwards Craigston, in the county of Aberdeen. In 1552 he was entered a student of St. Leonard's College, in the university of St. Andrews, but does not appear to have completed the usual course of four years, as he left the college in 1555, after receiving his degree as Bachelor of Arts. He then repaired to France, and studied the civil and canon law in some of the flourishing universities of that country. On his return, about the year 1561, he continued his studies under the superintendence of his relation, John Craig, the subject of a preceding memoir. After distinguishing himself in a very eminent degree as a classical scholar, he was called to the bar in February, 1563, and in the succeeding year was placed at the head of the criminal judicature of the country, as justice-depute, under the hereditary officer, the justice-general, an honour vested in the noble family of Argyle. Among his earliest duties in this capacity, was that of trying and condemning Thomas Scott, sheriff-depute of Perth, and Henry Yair, a priest, for having kept the gates of Holyrood House, to facilitate the assassination of Rizzio. In 1566, when James VI. was born, Craig, relaxing from his severer studies at the bar, hailed the birth of the royal infant, and predicted the happiness which such an event promised to his unsettled country, in a Latin poem entitled *Genethliacon Jacobi Principis Scotorum*. This, says Mr. Tytler, in his elegant work, *The Life of Sir Thomas Craig*, is a poem of considerable length, written in hexameters, and possessing many passages not only highly descriptive of the state of Scotland at this time, but in

themselves eminently poetical: it is to be found in the *Delicia Poetarum Scotorum*. "Craig," says Mr. Tytler, "appears to have been a man of a modest and retiring disposition, averse to any interference in the political intrigues of the times, devoted to his profession, and fond of that relaxation from the severer labours of the bar, which is to be found in a taste for classical literature. While his contemporaries are to be found perpetually implicated in the conspiracies against their mistress the queen, and their names have come down to us contaminated by crime, the character of this good and upright man shines doubly pure amid the guilt with which it is surrounded. Although a convert to the reformed opinions, and from this circumstance naturally connected with the party which opposed the queen, his sense of religion did not confound or extinguish his principles of loyalty. His name appears only in the journal books of the court in the discharge of the labours of his profession, or it is found in the justiciary records under his official designation of justice-depute, or it is honourably associated with the literature of his country; but it is never connected with the political commotions which the money and intrigues of England had kindled in the heart of our nation." Craig pursued an extensive practice at the bar for a period of upwards of forty years, and during all that time his name is scarcely ever found mingling with the political movements of the times. During the later part of his career he devoted much of his time to the composition of his learned *Treatise on the Feudal Law*, upon which his reputation principally rests. To describe the law of our country, as he found it established by the practice of the courts in his own age; to compare it with the written books on the feudal law; and to impart to it somewhat of the form and arrangement of a science, demonstrating, at the same time, its congruity in its fundamental principles with the feudal law of England, such were the objects of Sir Thomas Craig in this work, which he completed in 1603, a period when it might have been of signal service, if published, in removing some of the prejudices which stood in the way of a union between the two countries. The treatise, which was written in a vigorous Latin style, was not, however, put forth to the world till forty-seven years after the death of the learned author. The enlarged and liberal mind of Sir Thomas Craig rendered him a zealous promoter of every object which tended to preserve the mutual peace, or facilitate the union of England. In January, 1603, he finished a *Treatise on the Succession*, to further the views of his sovereign upon the throne about to be vacated by the death of Elizabeth. This work was more immediately occasioned by the celebrated *Conference on the Succession*, written by the Jesuit Parsons, under the assumed name of Doleman, in which the right of James VI. was contested in a manner equally able and virulent. The treatise of Craig, probably on account of the quiet succession of James a few months after, was never sent to the press; but an English translation of it was published in 1703 by Dr. Gatherer. How much of his time Craig was in the habit of dedicating to the Muses does not appear; but the *Delicia Poetarum Scotorum* contains another poem written by him on the departure of his native monarch from Edinburgh, to take possession of his new kingdom of England. It is entitled *Ad Serenissimum et Potentissimum Principem Jacobum VI. e sua Scotia Discedentem, Paranelicon*. "This poem," says Mr. Tytler, "is highly characteristic of the simple and upright character of its author. While other and more vernal bards exhausted their imagination in the composition of those encomiastic

addresses, the incense commonly offered up to kings, the *Paræneticon* of Craig is grave, dignified, and even admonitory. He is loyal, indeed, but his loyalty has the stamp of truth and sincerity; his praises are neither abject nor excessive; and in the advices which he has not scrupled to give to his sovereign, it is difficult which most to admire, the excellent sense of the precepts, or the energetic latinity in which they are conveyed." Craig also addressed a similar poem to Prince Henry, who accompanied his father to England.

It would appear that Craig either was one of those who accompanied the king to England, or soon after followed him; as he was present at the entrance of his majesty into London, and at the subsequent coronation. He celebrated these events in a Latin hexameter poem, entitled *Στεφανοφορία*, which is neither the chastest nor the most pleasing of his productions, although the richest in metaphorical ornament and florid description. Craig was, in 1604, one of the commissioners on the part of Scotland, who, by the king's desire, met others on the part of England, for the purpose of considering the possibility of a union between the two countries. He wrote a work on this subject, in which he warmly seconded the patriotic views of the king. This treatise, written, like all his other works, in Latin, has never been published; although, in point of matter and style, in the importance of the subject to which it relates, the variety of historical illustrations, the sagacity of the political remarks, and the insight into the mutual interests of the two countries which it exhibits, it perhaps deserves to rank the highest of all his works. The work upon which he appears to have been last engaged is one upon the old controversy respecting the homage claimed from Scotland by the English monarch. The *De Hominio* of Craig remained in manuscript till the year 1695, when a translation of it was published by Mr. George Kidpath, under the title, *Scotland's Sovereignty Asserted, or a Dispute concerning Homage*.

Craig was, in the latter part of his life, advocate for the church, and under that character was employed at the famous trial of the six ministers in 1606, on a charge of treason for keeping a General Assembly at Aberdeen. He was perhaps unfitted, by his studious and modest disposition, to come farther forward in public life. King James repeatedly offered him the honour of knighthood, which he as constantly refused: he is only styled "Sir Thomas Craig," in consequence of an order from the king that every one should give him the title. He had been married, in early life, to Helen Heriot, daughter of the laird of Trabrown, in East Lothian, to which family belonged the mothers of two great men of that age, George Buchanan and the first Earl of Haddington. By this lady he had four sons and three daughters. Sir Lewis Craig, the eldest son, who was born in 1569, was raised, at the age of thirty-four, to the bench, where he took the designation of Lord Wrightshouses. As this was in the lifetime of his own father, the latter had sometimes occasion to plead before his son. A pleasing tradition regarding the filial respect shown by Sir Lewis is preserved in the biographical sketch prefixed to the treatise *De Feudis*. The supreme judges in those days sat covered, and heard the counsel who pleaded before them uncovered. "Whenever," says his biographer, "his father appeared before him, Sir Lewis, as became a pious son, uncovered, and listened to his parent with the utmost reverence."

Another family anecdote of a very pleasing character is derived from the same source. The father

of Sir Thomas Craig had been educated in the Roman Catholic religion. His son, whose studies after his return from France were, as we have seen, superintended by Mr. John Craig, the eminent reformer, appears early and zealously to have embraced the new opinions. The old man continued in the faith of the Church of Rome till a late period of his life; but, being at length converted by the unanswerable reasons which were incessantly, though reverentially, urged by his son, he became, to the great joy of the subject of this memoir, a convert to the true religion.

This great man died on the 26th of February, 1608, when, if we are right as to the date of his birth, he must have attained his seventieth year.

CRAIG, WILLIAM, a distinguished senator of the College of Justice, and a large contributor to the literary paper styled the *Mirror*, was the son of Dr. William Craig, one of the ministers of Glasgow; a man of so much eminence that the editors of the *Biographia Britannica* thought proper to admit an account of him, drawn up by Professor Richardson, into their very select collection.¹ The subject of the present memoir was born in 1745, and received his education at Glasgow College, where he attended the classes of Smith in moral philosophy and political economy, and those of Miller in jurisprudence and civil law. His acquirements were at an early period very great, especially in the belles-lettres, and to a less degree in history and metaphysics. He entered at the bar in 1768, and was the contemporary and intimate friend of some of the most distinguished men of the last age. Robert Blair, afterwards lord-president; Alexander Abercromby, afterwards Lord Abercromby; along with Craig and some others, held for some years a private meeting once every week, for mutual improvement in their legal studies. It is remarkable that, at the commencement of Mr. Pitt's administration in 1784, Blair, Abercromby, and Craig were appointed together to be depute-advocates under Sir Ilay Campbell, who was at the same time nominated lord-advocate. Mr. Craig held this office till 1787, when he was nominated sheriff of Ayrshire. On the death of Lord Hailes, in 1792, Mr. Craig was appointed to succeed him on the bench, on which occasion he assumed the designation of Lord Craig. In 1795 he succeeded Lord Henderland as a judge of the court of justiciary.

In the concluding number of the *Mirror*, which appeared on the 17th of May, 1780, it is mentioned that "the idea of publishing a periodical paper in Edinburgh took its rise in a company of gentlemen whom particular circumstances of connection brought frequently together. Their discourse often turned upon subjects of manners, of taste, and of literature. By one of those accidental resolutions of which the origin cannot easily be traced, it was determined to put their thoughts in writing, and to read them for the entertainment of each other. Their essays assumed the form, and soon after some one gave them the name, of a periodical publication. The writers of it were naturally associated; and their meetings increased the importance, as well as the number, of their productions. Cultivating letters in the midst of business, composition was to them an amusement only; that amusement was heightened by the audience which this society afforded; the idea of publication suggested itself as productive of still higher entertainment. It was not, however, without diffidence that such a resolution was taken. From that and

¹ Dr. Craig was author of an *Essay on the Life of Christ*, and of *Twenty Discourses* on various subjects.

several circumstances it was thought proper to observe the strictest secrecy with regard to the authors; a purpose in which they have been so successful, that at this moment the very publisher of the work knows only one of their number, to whom the conduct of it was intrusted."

It is now to be mentioned, upon the credit of the sole survivor of the association above alluded to, that the first idea of starting this periodical work occurred to Mr. Craig, who, next to Mr. Mackenzie, was the most zealous of them all in the cultivation of the belles-lettres. The remaining persons concerned were Mr. Alexander Abercromby, of whom a memoir has been given in the present dictionary; Mr. Robert Cullen, afterwards Lord Cullen; Mr. Macleod Bannatyne, afterwards Lord Bannatyne; Mr. George Home, afterwards Lord Wedderburn, and one of the principal clerks of session; Mr. William Gordon of Newhall, and Mr. George Ogilvy, both also advocates, but of whom the first died, and the latter fell into bad health, before having made any contribution to the *Mirror*. Mr. Mackenzie was the only individual unconnected with the bar. The association was at first termed, the *Tabernacle*; but when the resolution of publishing was adopted, it assumed the name of the *Mirror Club*, from the title of the projected paper. It was resolved to commit the business of publishing to Mr. Creech, the well-known bookseller, and the duty of communicating with him, and of the general superintendence of the work, was devolved on Mr. Mackenzie. The club used to meet once a week, sometimes in one tavern, sometimes in another, in order that their proceedings might be less liable to the observation of their acquaintance. A list of their haunts will tell strangely in the ears of those who, thinking of the *Mirror* as the pink of elegance in literature, might expect to find that every circumstance connected with its composition was alike elegant. The club met, for instance, sometimes in Clerihugh's, in Writer's Court; sometimes in Somers's, opposite the Guardhouse in the High Street; sometimes in Stewart's oyster-house in the Old Fish-market Close; and fully as often, perhaps, in Lucky Dunbar's, a moderate and obscure house, situated in an alley leading betwixt Forrester's and Libberton's Wynd. On these occasions, any member who had written a paper since the last meeting, produced it to be read and considered. But as a general invitation had been held out for contributions from persons not members of the club, and a box placed at Mr. Creech's shop for receiving them, the papers so contributed, as well as those produced by the members, were read over and considered, and a selection made of those proposed to be adopted. Among these occasional contributors were several individuals of great respectability, of whom we may mention Lord Hailes, Professor Richardson of Glasgow, Dr. Henry, author of the *History of Great Britain*, and Mr. David Hume, afterwards one of the barons of exchequer. Some other papers of no inconsiderable merit were supposed to be from ladies. The *Mirror* was commenced on the 23d of January, 1779, and finished with the 110th number on the 27th of May, 1780. It appeared in one small folio sheet, which was sold at three halfpence, and though not above four hundred were ever sold of any particular number, the public approbation was so high as to demand the immediate republication of the whole in three volumes duodecimo.

Mr. Craig's contributions to the *Mirror*, which were the most numerous, next to those of Mr. Mackenzie, are indicated in a later edition of the work.

To the *Lounger*, which was started some years

after by the same club, he also contributed many excellent papers.

Lord Craig, who possessed originally a very weak constitution, enjoyed so poor a state of health in his latter years as to be obliged to resign his place on the justiciary bench. He died on the 8th of July, 1813. The mental qualifications of this eminent person were of a very high order. Although his practice at the bar had never been very extensive, he was much esteemed in his character as a judge, his decisions being remarkable for their clearness and precision, while his habits were of a singularly industrious order, considering the state of his health. In private life he was beloved on account of his gentle, unassuming manners, and his eminently benevolent and sociable disposition.

CRAIK, GEORGE LILLIE, M.A., LL.D. A life of this gentleman, if fully written, would present an interesting picture of literary life in London, under its most recent phases; and form a record of successful struggle, in which high talent, persevering energy, and moral rectitude could win their way along a path so crowded with difficulties and defeats. Dr. Craik was born at Kennoway, in the county of Fife, in 1798. His father, the Rev. William Craik, was first parish schoolmaster, and afterwards minister of Kennoway; his mother, Patterson, was daughter of Mr. Henry Lillie, farmer in the same parish. He was the eldest of three brothers, the second being the Rev. James Craik, D.D., of Glasgow, and the third the Rev. Henry Craik of Bristol. Of the early life of the subject of this memoir we know little, but it is evident that, even while a boy, he must have been forming those habits of studious application, and gathering those stores of general knowledge for which he was afterwards distinguished among his literary associates. Possessing also the best of all inheritances in a virtuous and intellectual parentage, we are told, that from father and mother he derived a remarkable combination of strength and sweetness; great firmness of character, indomitable perseverance, and an almost fastidious refinement. "These qualities," the same authority truly adds, "stamped his individuality as a man quite as much as a man of letters, and caused him to exercise, wherever he went, a large and abiding influence both social and moral."

After qualifying himself by a general English education and some knowledge of the ancient classics, George L. Craik entered the university of St. Andrews, and went through the usual *curriculum* of what are called the gown-classes, after which he became a student of theology. But although he finished the usual course prescribed by the church, he did not take license as a preacher. It is probable that general literature had more attractions for him than the study of theology, and that he already felt the profession of an author to be his proper vocation. It appears also that before his college career was ended, he had, like many other aspiring students, precluded in authorship. In 1816, when only eighteen years old, he began to support himself at college as a tutor to younger students than himself, and soon afterwards he was appointed editor of a local newspaper called the *Star*. From 1812, when he entered the university, until 1820, when his connection with it closed, he had carried off many college honours, and was regarded by his fellow-students as a scholar of great attainments and very superior intellectual powers. It was more important still that the professors were of the same opinion; and of these, Dr. Chalmers, in recommending him to his friends in Glasgow, where Mr. Craik intended

to deliver a course of lectures, wrote, among other affectionate eulogiums, "You cannot speak too highly of him." In 1823 he married Jannette, daughter of Cathcart Dempster, Esq., of St. Andrews; and having thus the responsibilities of marriage upon his head, without the intention of looking forward to church preferment, he commenced active life as a lecturer on poetry, a choice, which not only his own taste, but the celebrity which Hazlitt had previously won in Scotland by his lectures on the poets, may probably have inspired. He delivered a series of lectures accordingly in Glasgow, Dublin, Belfast, and Liverpool; but soon found that, however adventurous or alluring, such an erratic course was too uncertain and unprofitable for one who had others than himself to support. He therefore went to London, and settled down to that systematic course of literary occupation which he continued until the close of his active and well-spent life.

The first years of Mr. Craik's career in the metropolis were such as a young literary adventurer usually experiences. A few months or weeks suffice to dispel the imaginary halo that surrounds it. However estimated in his own locality, he is nobody in London until he is tried and tested anew. Whatever be his talents he must step forth and show them, as the search after modest merit in its murky concealments is out of the question. And while the French litterateur in his garret may hope to win rank and political influence by his writings, and become the leading man of the state, British authorship must reckon itself fortunate if, instead of a premiership, it can only find a publisher. Even the choice, too, of his subjects with a reference to his own past studies, acquirements, and likings, he must forego, as he is but a candidate in the literary market, and can only hope to dispose of those wares which for the present are in chief demand. Such is the fate of the adventurer in London who seeks to live by authorship as a profession: he must not only throw aside the stock of MS. with which he hoped to take the world by storm, but strip himself of his very skin, and commence a new intellectual life. It is by such a painful process, however, that the enthusiastic aspirant finds he can become something better than a fourth-rate novelist or a fifth-rate poet, and that after a course of stern experience he discovers the way in which he can best succeed. Much of this was experienced by Mr. Craik after he had settled himself in the great metropolis in 1824. His lectures on poetry were not in demand, and instead of controlling he must follow the tide. He therefore laid himself out for such chance work as might occur, and was rewarded for his compliance, although such engagements were slow in coming, and scantily remunerated. He abandoned the imaginative for the more solid departments of literature—politics, ethics, biography, history, criticism—and found in these the fittest exercise for his well-trained powers, and the best outlet for his extensive general knowledge. But even already, although so humbly employed and in anonymous authorship, his worth began to be recognized, and influential friends to gather round him, whose esteem could console him amidst years of poverty and privation, and inspire him with the hope that better days awaited him.

The first regular literary engagement of Mr. Craik that promised to be permanent, was in the *Verulam*, a weekly literary and scientific newspaper, the literary department of which he was appointed to conduct. But this paper, although supported by high patronage, and ably conducted, did not meet the popular taste, and was very soon abandoned. Such was the

fate of several publications of the period which in a newspaper form were intended to be the vehicles of substantial knowledge to the masses. They were the earliest experiments among those attempts to popularize the important truths of science and literature by which the common people were to be enlightened, before they could be reformed and elevated; but where the readers, expecting a light lively newspaper, were overwhelmed with scientific and political lectures. It was an unpardonable disappointment, and was resented accordingly. After the failure of the *Verulam*, a dreary interval of precarious occupation succeeded, until the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge had commenced; and Mr. Craik, whose talents were already well known to the directors, and especially its distinguished president Lord Brougham, was engaged as one of its chief contributors. Soon after this society had commenced its operations, he produced his *Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties*, a work so popular that its very title became a household word; and as it appeared without the name of the author, conjecture was busy, and the work was attributed for some time to the most eminent literary personage of the day. His next work, published in 1831 by the same society, was *Paris and its Historical Scenes*, in two volumes, and afterwards *The New Zealanders*. These works, published under the series of *Entertaining Knowledge* edited and published by Mr. Charles Knight, brought him into close intercourse with that enterprising publisher, and Mr. Craik was extensively engaged with the *Penny Magazine* and *Penny Cyclopaedia*, in the latter of which publications he was employed from its commencement to the close, contributing to it some of its most valuable articles in history and biography.

An entire history of England being still a desideratum, had been some time under consideration, and it was resolved that Henry's learned and able but somewhat neglected work should be reproduced in a better style, and the narrative continued to the present day. Of this undertaking Mr. Craik was to be editor, with proper coadjutors, and the attempt was commenced in earnest; but before it had proceeded far onward, the difficulty of piecing new materials into the original framework was found so great, that it was judged better to produce an entirely new work rather than attempt to repair and enlarge the old. The old materials were therefore thrown aside, and nothing of Henry retained but his plan of historical writing by separate divisions, which also, in the present case, was subjected to considerable changes and modifications. The result of this careful deliberation was that highly popular work, *The Pictorial History of England*—the first attempt after that of the Rev. Dr. Henry to write a national history in all the different departments of a nation's progress, which promises to introduce a new and most important era in that department of authorship. Of this difficult work, which commenced in 1839, Mr. Craik was editor, and while he welded the different chapters of its contributors into one harmonious and consistent account—not always an easy or conciliatory task—he principally wrote the chapters on "Religion," "Constitution," "Government and Laws," "National Industry and Literature," of each successive period. How well his task was discharged both as editor and contributor, the *Pictorial History* itself gives sufficient evidence. His own contributions, enlarged and improved, were afterwards published as separate works, in *Knight's Weekly Volumes*, the first of which was entitled *Sketches of the History of Literature and Learning in England from the Norman Conquest to the Present Time*, in six volumes,

which were afterwards expanded into a still larger work, entitled *History of English Literature and the English Language*, 1862. The second work, formed from his chapters in the *Pictorial History*, and published in the same series, was *A History of British Commerce from the Earliest Times*, 3 vols. 1844. Besides these, he also published in *Knight's Weekly Volumes*, *Spenser and his Poetry*, 3 vols. 1845; *Bacon, his Writings, and his Philosophy*, 3 vols. 1846; a concluding volume of *Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties*, containing female examples only, 1847; and a work entitled *Popular Tumults*.

Without taking into account his numerous contributions to the periodical literature of the day, the research they occasioned, the careful deliberation with which they were studied, and the fastidious excellence that characterized their composition, Mr. Craik, it will be seen, since his arrival in London had been no remiss student. Gifted with an iron constitution, it had been severely tasked, and the variety of subjects which successively demanded his study might well make him sigh for relief, even though that relief should be nothing but a change of labour. An author by profession, had the literature in which he dealt been of that showy sensational kind which arrests the mob of readers, and pleases for the day, he might with half the toil have won fortune at least, if not fame, and been able to retire with a competence. But he had devoted himself to the more solid and useful, and therefore less lucrative, departments of his high vocation; and while other writers were content to amuse the public, his ambition was to elevate and instruct it. Hence the very moderate competence in the way of remuneration which his toils could obtain for him at the best, and the prospect that all this would cease when occupation forsook him, and he was too weary to work. But sufficient for the day is the evil thereof, and he looked forward with his wonted cheerfulness and energy. In the meantime he had won a reputation worth living for, and a circle of friends who formed a world worth living in; men, the most distinguished in literature and science, who appreciated his high talents, and loved him for his amiable social qualities. Nor was his benevolent disposition less remarkable, and he was anxious to smooth for others the way he had found so rough for himself. To young litterateurs, therefore, he was always ready with his advice and literary assistance, and often with his purse too, even when his own resources were by no means overflowing. And not merely as a friend, companion, and counsellor, but as a husband and father, his kindly affections were always alive, and constantly willing forth.

From the wear and tear of such close application and multifarious studies, Mr. Craik in 1849 found a welcome relief by being appointed professor of English literature and history at Queen's College, Belfast. "From this date," writes one who evidently knew him intimately and loved him well, "his career is identified with that of the newly-founded university, to which his ardent love of letters, his sound judgment, and generous wisdom brought such large help—equally appreciated by both students and professors. Probably no college instructor was ever more widely popular than Professor Craik; while his genial qualities, his ready and inexhaustible memory, and his profound knowledge of men and books, made him welcome in every society. At Belfast, both within and without the college walls, his well-known figure, hale and active, with the flowing white hair, clear blue eye, and mouth full of both humour and sweetness, will be long missed and vividly remembered." Although now comfortably

settled, and with a regular routine of occupation, Professor Craik, instead of sinking into learned ease, retained all his activity and love of authorship, so that, when his course of lectures was prepared, and his work in full train, he resumed his active pen for the press, and filled up his spare time with fresh achievements in literature. In 1849–1852 he produced the *Romance of the Peerage*, in 4 vols.; in 1855, *Outlines of the History of the English Language*; in 1856, *The English of Shakspeare illustrated in "Julius Cæsar;"* and in 1862 the *Manual of English Literature and the English Language*. Having been appointed in 1859 and 1862 examiner of the Indian civil service, he revisited London during these and other summers, and occasionally extended his visits to his native Scotland; but his permanent home was Belfast, where his chief duties lay. Thus peacefully his life went on until 1866, when in February, while lecturing to his class, he was struck with paralysis, from which he only temporarily recovered. His decease occurred on the 25th of June of the same year, and his remains were interred in the churchyard of Holywood near Belfast.

Mr. Craik, who had taken the degree of M.A. while a student at the university of St. Andrews, was also honoured with that of LL.D. a short time before his death. By his wife, who died in 1856, he had issue one son and three daughters, of whom two survive. His character as an author is thus summed up in a brief memoir of him which appeared in *Knight's English Cyclopædia*, while he still lived: "Scrupulous accuracy, unwearied research, and sound criticism, united with an ardent desire for the safe and gradual advance of all that may practically improve the condition of society, are the leading characteristics of Mr. Craik's writings. Few have laboured more earnestly in the cause of general education."

CRAWFORD, DAVID, of Drumsay, near Glasgow, historiographer to Queen Anne, was born in 1665, and educated for the bar. Having abandoned professional pursuits in a great measure, for the sake of studying Scottish antiquities and history, he was appointed historiographer royal for Scotland by Queen Anne, to whom he was probably recommended by his being a zealous Tory and Jacobite. His political prepossessions, which as usual extended to a keen zeal in behalf of Queen Mary, induced him in 1706 to publish, at London, his well-known work, entitled *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, containing a Full and Impartial Account of the Revolution in that Kingdom, begun in 1567, Faithfully Compiled from an Authentic MS.* The avowed purpose of this publication was to furnish an antidote to the tendency of Buchanan's history. The substance of the work he says he derived from an ancient MS. presented to him by Sir James Baird of Saughtonhall, and which seemed to have been composed by a contemporary of the events described. In executing the task which he had imposed upon himself, the learned editor appears to have acted after the manner of a good partisan. In order that his work might the more perfectly meet the calumnies of Buchanan, he expunged from it every passage which told in behalf of the views taken by that writer, and introduced others instead from the contemporary Tory writers. The work was reprinted by Goodall in 1767, and still continues to be a popular narrative of the events of the *four regencies*. In 1804 Mr. Malcolm Laing, author of *The History of Scotland during the Seventeenth Century*, having obtained possession of the original MS. used by Crawford, published it, with a pre-

face denouncing the historiographer-royal as a rank impostor, inasmuch as he had set off that as a work of authority which had been vitiated for party purposes by his own hand. The same view has been taken of Mr. Crawford's character by Mr. Thomas Thomson, in the preface to a new print of the MS. for the use of the Bannatyne Club, which appeared in 1825, under the title of *The History and Life of King James the Sixth*. With deference to these writers, it may be suggested, in Crawford's defence, that his work was never pretended to be a faithful transcript of the original MS. except on the title-page, where it is so stated by the bookseller *ad captandum*, in obvious contradiction of the statement made by the editor within. The work comes forth with the character of a special pleading avowed upon the face of it; and those who depended upon such a *refacciamento* as upon a faithful contemporary chronicle, after the account given of it in the editor's preface, had only to blame their own simplicity. The truth is, Crawford's memoirs, when fully considered with a regard to the ideas prevalent respecting the purity of historical narrative at the beginning of the last century, will only appear an imposture to an opposite partisan. Crawford died in 1726.

CRAWFORD, GENERAL ROBERT. This gallant officer, whose chief theatre of distinction was the Peninsula during the campaigns of Wellington, was the third son of Sir Alexander Crawford, Bart., of Kilburnie, Stirlingshire. At an early age he entered the army, and on the 1st of November, 1787, he bore the commission of captain in the seventy-fifth regiment of Highlanders, with which he served in India. When the peace of Amiens opened the Continent to British tourists, Crawford repaired to France, that he might improve himself in military science; but the war which followed the short-lived peace soon recalled him from his professional studies to his duties at home, and he was again sent out to service in India.

Having gone through the various grades of promotion until he attained the rank of major-general, Crawford was sent, at the end of October, 1806, to South America, with 4200 men, upon an expedition that was originally designed to achieve the conquest of Chili. But from a mistaken idea that peace would again be established in a short period, the designs of our government in the matter of warlike expeditions were characterized by such delays and contradictory orders, that Crawford, from his attempts to obey them, fell under the displeasure of the home authorities, so that General Whitelocke was appointed to supersede him in the command. A short time, however, sufficed to convince them of the mistake they had committed by the change. An attack on Buenos Ayres was resolved upon by Whitelocke; and, as if to make success impossible, the British troops were ordered to leave the artillery behind; the soldiers were to enter the town with unloaded muskets; and while every house, which was flat-roofed according to the fashion of the climate, was defended by their armed occupants, who were admirable marksmen, and resolute to defend their homes to the last, each division of the assailants, on entering the town, was preceded by a corporal's guard, furnished only with crowbars to break open the doors, while the troops were quietly to await their progress. The town was easily entered by the British, but how they were to get out of it was the master difficulty; for deadly showers of shot from every house-top poured upon them, which they were obliged to endure without the means of returning it; and the enemy, safe within their well-barricaded

habitations, laughed at the attempts to take their town by iron crowds. General Crawford and his brigade, who by Whitelocke's arrangements had penetrated quite through the town, after losing nearly half his force, was obliged to entrench himself, with the remains of his troops, within a convent, where they were attacked by overwhelming numbers supplied with artillery as well as musketry. Thus isolated from support, and without the means of effectual resistance, they had no alternative but to surrender. Under such a commander as Whitelocke the brave troops that afterwards under Wellington achieved such victories, experienced nothing but a ruinous and shameful defeat; and Crawford, with three of his regiments, were prisoners in the hands of their triumphant enemies. This was followed by humiliating conditions, which Whitelocke accepted; in consequence of which the prisoners were restored, and the British troops withdrawn from the river Plata.

After this bitter taste of the degradations with which war is so often accompanied, Crawford was so fortunate as to act under the orders of a very different general, and upon a better field of action, being sent to serve in the army of the Peninsula. His brigade formed part of the centre column which Wellington commanded in person at the battle of Rorica; and he also served in the battle of Vimeiro, which was fought on the same month. Crawford was joined to the expedition of General Sir John Moore, and occupied a conspicuous place in confronting the dangers of the retreat to Corunna. One particular service in which he was engaged on these occasions, was at the crossing of the Esla river. While the British stores and baggage were conveyed across by a ferry-boat, General Crawford during that tedious operation was posted with the second light brigade on the left bank of the river—which was high, and commanded the bridge—so that the passage of the troops might be accomplished in safety. In the meantime the French were in close pursuit; and their cavalry had overtaken the British rearguard, and encountered it in a series of skirmishes. The English horse and the stragglers being now all across the river, Crawford gave orders to destroy the bridge; which was instantly commenced with alacrity, one half of his troops being engaged in the demolition, while the other half kept the enemy at bay. When the work was finished, he withdrew his troops in the face of the pursuers, by laying planks across the broken arches, along which his soldiers marched by single files—a most difficult and dangerous operation; but the night, which was dark, and the swelling of the river, which every moment threatened to flow over the planks, caused the retreat to be undiscovered, and his whole brigade was removed to the other side in safety.

After this successful exploit, General Crawford was sent by Sir John Moore with 3000 men to keep open the road to Vigo, and secure its port, as a place of embarkation for the British army if it should be impossible to effect it at Corunna. Finding that his stay in this quarter was unnecessary, Crawford commenced his march to rejoin Wellington. His troops, after a march of twenty miles were in *brivouac* near Malpartida de Placencia, when they were roused from their repose by the reports which the runaway Spaniards had spread in that quarter. Apprehending that some critical event was in progress at Wellington's head-quarters, Crawford allowed his men to rest only a few hours; and leaving behind him about fifty of the weakest, he commenced his march, resolving not to halt until he had joined the conflict at Talavera. As his brigade advanced, he

was met by crowds of Spanish fugitives, with cries of "The British army is defeated—Sir Arthur Wellesley is killed—The French are only a few miles distant!" These cowards, whose vision was distracted by their fear, even pretended to point out the enemy's advanced posts on the nearest hills. But these reports, instead of stopping only hastened the march of the troops; and leaving only seventeen stragglers behind them, they, in twenty-six hours, accomplished a march of sixty-two English miles, each man carrying from fifty to sixty pounds weight upon his shoulders. "Had the historian Gibbon known of such a march," exclaims Napier, with honest military pride, "he would have spared his sneer about the 'delicacy of modern soldiers.'" It has been characterized by the historian of Modern Europe as the most rapid march by any foot-soldiers of any nation during the whole war. Deep must have been the regret of such heroes when they arrived in a close compact body at the field of Talavera, to find that their efforts had been useless only by an hour or two—that the battle of Talavera had just been fought and won.

When the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, and the capture of other important towns by the French, occasioned the transference of the war from Spain to Portugal, General Crawford occupied a conspicuous part during the retreat of the British army from the one country to the other. He was appointed by Wellington to secure the line of the Coa, for which service he had three regiments of admirably trained infantry, and 400 excellent German hussars, while generals Picton and Cole were to come up to his aid if required. Crawford admirably fulfilled his task, stationing his troops in small detachments along the bank of the Agueda, so skillfully, that they extended twenty-five miles, and could not be attacked except at great disadvantage. During these arrangements, prodigious activity was necessary, so that he was everywhere; but he was nearly starved from his post, no money nor supplies being forthcoming. It was necessary to procure corn, and being of a fiery impatient temper, he seized upon some church plate, for which rash act he was immediately rebuked. But no popular explosion of the Spaniards followed; and the priests, convinced of his necessities, and the prompt means he would use in relieving them, took care to have his soldiers provided with supplies. The enemy gathered upon him in such force as might have overwhelmed him, but after several skirmishes he continued to maintain his ground until Ciudad Rodrigo had fallen. After this capture the whole French army, to the number of 60,000 men, advanced, upon which Wellington, aware of Crawford's fiery temper, ordered him not in any case to fight beyond the Coa. But the neighbourhood of such a force, after he had kept it three months at bay, and the presence of Massena himself, who now commanded it, was too much for prudential considerations, or even for positive commands, and with his small force of 4000 infantry and 1100 cavalry he prepared to give battle. This terrible affair, called the battle of the Coa, which occurred on the 24th of July, was one of the most remarkable episodes of the whole of this important war. The gallantry and confidence of the British seem to have confounded the calculations of the enemy as to their numbers, and such was the nature of their attacks over the whole field, as served to keep up the delusion. Two hundred and seventy British and forty-four Portuguese were killed, wounded, or taken, while the French lost above a thousand men; and when the engagement ceased it was upon equal terms, neither party having obtained the victory. But such a resistance on the

part of the British was tantamount to many victories.

During the battle General Picton, who ought to have supported Crawford, came up alone from Pinhel, and when the latter desired the support of the other's division it was refused, and the two generals parted after a sharp altercation. In their respective characters, which the author of the *History of the Peninsula War* has sketched, we can perceive the men themselves, as well as the causes of their disagreement. "Picton and Crawford were not formed by nature to act cordially together. The stern countenance, robust frame, saturnine complexion, caustic speech, and austere demeanour of the first promised little sympathy with the short thick figure, dark flashing eyes, quick movements, and fiery temper of the second; nor, indeed, did they often meet without a quarrel. Nevertheless they had many points of resemblance in their characters and fortunes. Both were inclined to harshness, and rigid in command; both prone to disobedience, yet exacting entire submission from inferiors, and they were alike ambitious and craving of glory. They both possessed decided military talents, were enterprising and intrepid, yet neither were remarkable for skill in handling troops under fire. This, also, they had in common, that both, after distinguished services, perished in arms, fighting gallantly; and being celebrated as generals of division while living, have, since their death, been injudiciously spoken of, as rivalling their great leader in war. . . . If they had even comprehended the profound military and political combinations he was conducting, the one would have carefully avoided fighting on the Coa, and the other, far from refusing, would have eagerly proffered his support."

The next affair in which Crawford distinguished himself was the battle of Busaco. Wellington had selected this steep rugged ground as the best for defence, and having made his arrangements, he awaited the attack of Massena and Ney, in the confidence of being successful. Crawford moved down from his post on the 25th of September, 1810, and at the sight of the enemy gathering in front, seemed disposed to repeat the desperate experiment of the Coa. Apprehending such a result, which would have disconcerted his whole plan of action, Wellington sent orders to withdraw this division. In the battle that followed, Crawford, who was opposed to Ney, had so advantageously disposed his troops upon the heights, that they could not be attacked but at great disadvantage; and standing alone on one of the rocks which overlooked the enemy, he watched the motions below, and the advance of the French to attack him. Now was the time, and in a quick shrill voice he ordered his soldiers to charge; the command was obeyed with equal alacrity, and in a few minutes the French were driven in confusion down the steep. After this success, and when the heat of conflict was succeeded by a momentary truce for relieving the wounded, a French company towards evening seized a village within half-musket shot of Crawford's division, and refused to retire. This was enough to kindle the general's rage, and after cannonading the village, he sent down the forty-third regiment, which drove out the French in a few minutes. When the events of the campaign brought on the battle of Fuentes d'Onore, May 5, 1811, Crawford with his light division covered the passage of the seventh division over the river Turones, and then retired slowly over the plain in squares, followed by the enemy's horse, which continually outflanked him; but the squares presented such a firm and formidable aspect that the enemy were afraid to attack them. After this successful demonstration, the

light division formed a reserve to the right of the first division, and performed an effectual part in the conflict.

After the skirmish at Elbodo, and the retrograde movement of the British army, Crawford received orders from Wellington to fall back upon Giunaldo, at which the British troops were to be concentrated. It was a movement that demanded the utmost speed, for Wellington, who was there in person, had scarcely 15,000 men, while Marmont had collected 60,000 in front of him. The order was delivered at two o'clock; but Crawford, who was only sixteen miles distant, did not arrive until three on the following day. Unaware of the critical condition of his chief, averse to anything that looked like a retreat, and desirous to signalize himself by some bold deed against the enemy who followed his footsteps, his march had been a very leisurely process; on the other hand, Wellington, who would not abandon the light division, awaited its arrival. It was well that he could concentrate his troops from other quarters during the night, and that Marmont was ignorant of his situation. On the arrival of Crawford with his division, his commander said to him nothing more than, "I am glad to see you safe, Crawford." The other replied, "Oh, I was in no danger, I assure you." "But I was from your conduct," replied Wellington. This mild rebuke from such a man was almost equivalent to the condemnation of a court-martial. In the night Wellington, by a skilful concentric movement from Giunaldo and other neighbouring places, united the whole army on new ground twelve miles behind Giunaldo.

The career of the daring and chivalrous Crawford was now drawing to an abrupt close. The reduction of Ciudad Rodrigo being necessary for the success of our arms, Lord Wellington, after investing the fortress eleven days in the face of a superior enemy, resolved to take it by storm. On the 19th of January, 1812, two large breaches having been completed, the third division, under General Picton, was appointed to storm the greater opening, while Crawford with his light division was to undertake the less. It was significant of the desperate nature of the enterprise, that two of the bravest generals of the British service were selected to conduct it. Crawford's division carried the smaller breach; but Crawford himself fell mortally wounded on the glacis, while bringing up his troops to the attack. A musket-shot which had struck his left arm, penetrated his side, and lodged in the lungs. He was immediately carried to the rear, but, notwithstanding the attempts of the surgeons, who bled him twice, he did not recover from a deadly insensible stupor until the following morning. He felt that recovery was impossible, and when General Stewart talked of future achievements, by which the campaign was likely to be distinguished, and the share which his friend might have in them, Crawford in a faint voice answered that his last fight had been fought, and that all would soon be over. On the 23d his pain was so much abated that he was able to converse with apparent ease, and he spoke chiefly of his wife and children. Again and again he besought his aide-de-camp to tell his wife that he was sure they would meet in heaven, and that there was a providence over all which never would forsake the soldier's widow and his orphans. Thus he continued till he died on the 24th, in the midst of a profound slumber. A grave was dug for him at the foot of the breach which his light division had so gallantly won; and Wellington, who so highly valued his military qualities that he could overlook his faults, attended his funeral, as did also several of the chief officers of the British and Spanish armies. General

Crawford married Bridget, daughter of Henry Holland, Esq., who with three sons survived him; and a monument to his memory, and that of Major-general M'Kinnon, who also fell in the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo, was erected in St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

CREECH, WILLIAM, an eminent bookseller, was the son of the Rev. William Creech, minister of Newbattle, a most respectable clergyman, and of Miss Mary Buley, an English lady related to a family of rank in Devonshire. He was born in the year 1745, and received a complete classical education at the school at Dalkeith, which was taught by Mr. Barclay, a preceptor of some distinction, who also educated the first Viscount Melville, and the Lord-chancellor Loughborough. He was at first designed for the medical profession, but eventually was bound apprentice to Mr. Kincaid, a bookseller in Edinburgh. In the year 1766 Mr. Creech went upon a tour of the Continent, in company with Lord Kilmaurs, son of the Earl of Glencairn. After his return, in 1771, he was received by his former master into partnership, and finally, in 1773, left in full possession of the business. For forty-four years Mr. Creech carried on by far the most extensive bookselling concern in Scotland, publishing the writings of many of the distinguished men who adorned Scottish literature at the close of the eighteenth century. His shop, which occupied a conspicuous situation in the centre of the old town, and yet, by a curious chance, commanded a view thirty miles into the country, was, during all that long period, the rialto of literary commerce and intercourse, while his house in the neighbourhood also attracted its more select crowds at the breakfast hour, under the name of *Creech's levee*. While thus busied in sending the works of his friends into the world, he occasionally contributed articles to the newspapers and other periodical works, generally in reference to the passing follies of the day, of which he was a most acute and sarcastic observer. During his own lifetime, he published a volume of these trifles, under the title of *Edinburgh Fugitive Pieces*, which was republished with his name, and with some additions, after his death. He was one of the founders of the Speculative Society in 1764.

Mr. Creech's style of composition is only worthy of being spoken of with respect to its ironical humour, which was certainly its only feature of distinction. This humour, though said to have been very powerful when aided by the charm of his own voice and manner in conversation, is of too cold, wiry, and artificial a kind to have much effect in print. It must also be mentioned, that, although very staid and rigid in style, it involves many allusions by no means of a decorous nature.

In private life Mr. Creech shone conspicuously as a pleasant companion and conversationalist, being possessed of an inexhaustible fund of droll anecdote, which he could narrate in a characteristic manner, and with unerring effect. He thus secured general esteem, in despite, it appeared, of extraordinary fondness for money, and penuriousness of habits, which acted to the preclusion not only of all benevolence of disposition, but even of the common honesty of discharging his obligations when they were due. He died, unmarried, on the 14th of January, 1815.

CRICHTON, JAMES, commonly styled the *Admirable Crichton*. The learned and accurate Dr. Kippis, editor of the *Biographia Britannica*, was the first, we believe, who thoroughly sifted and critically

examined the truth or consistency of those marvelous stories which had so long attached to and rendered famous the name of the Admirable Crichton. Many had long doubted their credibility, and many more had been deluded by them. It fell to the lot of this keen critic, by a minute and candid investigation of the truth, to confirm and rectify the minds of both.

James Crichton was the son of Robert Crichton of Eliock, lord-advocate of Scotland, partly in the reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI. His mother was Elizabeth Stuart, only daughter of Sir James Stuart of Beith, a family collaterally descended from Murdoch, Duke of Albany, third son of Robert III. by Elizabeth Muir, and uncle to James I. He was born in the castle of Cluny, in Perthshire, some time about the year 1560.

He received the first rudiments of his education at Perth, from which place he was removed at an early age to the university of St. Andrews, at that time esteemed the first school of philosophy in Scotland. The progress which he made in his studies is said to have been astonishing. He had hardly passed his twelfth year when he took his degree as Bachelor of Arts; two years afterwards, that of Master of Arts; being then esteemed the third scholar in the university for talents and proficiency. His excellence did not stop here. Before attaining the age of twenty he had, besides becoming master of the sciences, attained to the knowledge of ten different languages, which he could write and speak to perfection. He had also every accomplishment which it is befitting or ornamental in a gentleman to have. He practised the arts of drawing and painting, and improved himself to the highest degree in riding, fencing, dancing, singing, and in playing upon all sorts of musical instruments. It remains only to add, that this extraordinary person possessed a form and face of great beauty and symmetry; and was unequalled in every exertion requiring activity and strength. He would spring at one bound the space of twenty or twenty-four feet in closing with his antagonist: and he added to a perfect science in the sword, such strength and dexterity that none could rival him.

Crichton, now about the age of twenty, and thus accomplished, set out upon his travels; and is said first to have directed his course to Paris. It was customary in that age to hold public disputations, in which questions alike abstruse and useless in the scholastic philosophy were discussed. Soon after his arrival in this city, he determined, in compliance with such a usage, to distinguish himself by a public display of part of his great acquirements. To this end he affixed placards to the gates of the different schools, halls, and colleges of the university, inviting all those versed in any art or science, discipline, or faculty, whether practical or theoretic, to dispute with him in the college of Navarre, that day six weeks, by nine of the clock in the morning, where he would attend them, and be ready to answer to whatever should be proposed to him in any art or science, and in any of these twelve languages—Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Greek, Latin, Spanish, French, Italian, English, Dutch, Flemish, and Sclavonian; and this either in verse or prose, at the discretion of the disputant. We give the challenge pretty fully in this place, that we may have no further occasion to repeat it.

During the interesting interval of the six weeks Crichton, we are informed, so far from showing the least flutter or uneasiness, diverted himself with the various amusements of the gay city. He devoted his time almost entirely to hunting, hawking, riding

on a well-managed horse, tossing the pike, handling the musket, and other feats of the like kind; or to more domestic trifling, such as balls, concerts, cards, dice, or tennis. This nonchalance is said to have provoked the sneers of the students; and their satire went the length of affixing a placard containing the following words on the gate of the Navarre college—"If you would meet with this monster of perfection, to make search for him either in the tavern or the brothel is the readiest way to find him."

The decisive day at length arrived; there attended, we are told, at this singular convocation, about fifty professors, doctors of law and medicine, and learned men, and above three thousand auditors. He acquitted himself beyond expression in the disputation, which lasted from nine o'clock in the morning till six at night. "So pointedly and learnedly he answered to all the questions which were proposed to him, that none but they who were present can believe it. He spake Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and other languages, most politely. *He was likewise an excellent horseman*; and truly, if a man should live a hundred years without eating, drinking, or sleeping, he could not attain to this man's knowledge, which struck us with a panic fear; for he knew more than human nature can well bear. He overcame four of the doctors of the church; for in learning none could contest with him, and he was thought to be Antichrist."¹ At the conclusion the president, after a speech of high commendation, rose from his chair, and, amidst the admiration and acclamations of the whole assembly, presented him with a diamond ring and a purse full of gold. From the event of this day he attained the title of The Admirable Crichton.

Crichton was so little fatigued, we are told, by this Herculean trial of mental prowess, that, on the succeeding day, he appeared with all the fire and freshness of youth at a tilting match in the Louvre, and in the presence of several of the ladies and princes of the court of France, carried away the ring fifteen times successively, "and broke as many lances on *the Saracens*," a chivalrous pastime of the period so called.

We next find Crichton at Rome, where he soon took occasion to exhibit a similar challenge to that of Paris. Here, in presence of the pope, many cardinals, bishops, doctors of divinity, and professors in all the sciences, he again delighted and astonished all spectators by the amazing proofs which he displayed of his universal knowledge. Bocaline, who was then at Rome, relates the transaction somewhat differently. According to this authority, Crichton's placard runs thus: "Nos Jacobus Crichtonus, Scotus, cuicumque rei propositæ ex improvise respondebimus." This was a bold challenge in the capital of Christendom; and the ridicule which it could not fail to excite showed itself in a pasquinade, the humour of which is not amiss, though it be local: "And," said this addendum to the challenge, "he that will see *it*, let him go to the sign of the Falcon and *it* shall be shown." The Italian further informs us that this affront, which put Crichton upon the level of jugglers and mountebanks, nettled him so much that he left the place.

He next proceeded to Venice; and it was on his way thither that he composed one of the four little Latin poems, all by the way which remain to prove the literary and poetical talents of Crichton. Aldus Manutius, the younger of the celebrated family of printers to whom it was inscribed, thought so very highly of it, and on further acquaintance with its author was so

¹ Mackenzie's *Scottish Writers*, vol. iii. p. 119.

greatly delighted, that he forthwith formed a friendship with him. He was of service in introducing Crichton to some of the principal men of Venice; and among the rest to Laurentius Massa, Sperone Speroni, and Joannes Donatus. A presentation soon followed to the doge and senate, before whom he made an oration, which, for brilliant eloquence and consummate grace, we are led to understand, could not be surpassed. In effect, in the words of Imperialis, talking of him on this occasion, "he was esteemed a prodigy of nature." Here he likewise disputed upon different subjects in theology, philosophy, and the mathematics, before the most eminent professors, in large assemblies. Many people from a distance came to hear and see him; and, as a late biographer has alleged, "lives of him were drawn up and published." His visit to Venice was, it is conjectured, in the year 1580.

After a residence of about four months in Venice, during the latter part of which time he was afflicted with a severe illness, Crichton repaired to Padua, where was a university whose fame, in that age, was spread over Europe. The day after his arrival there was convened in honour of him, at the house of Jacobus Aloisius Cornelius, a meeting of all the learned men of the place, when Crichton opened the assembly with an encomiastic poem in praise of the city, the university, and the persons present. He then disputed for the space of six hours on matters in general; and, in particular, exposed with great judgment the errors of Aristotle and his commentators, which he did, nevertheless, with such engaging modesty as excited universal admiration. In conclusion, he thought proper to deliver an extempore oration in verse, in praise of ignorance, which was conducted with so much ingenuity ("in order," says one of his biographers, "to reconcile his audience to their comparative inferiority") that his hearers were astonished, and no doubt highly gratified. Another disputation was to have been held in the Bishop of Padua's palace, which some unforeseen circumstances, according to Manutius, prevented. Imperialis, however, differs from this statement; and relates that his father (then thirteen years of age) had witnessed Crichton upon such an occasion; that he was opposed by Archangelus Mercenarius, a famous philosopher; and that he acquitted himself so well as to obtain the approbation of a very honourable company, and even of his antagonist himself.

In the midst of the great reputation which Crichton now enjoyed, there were not wanting many persons who took occasion to detract from it, affecting to consider him as a literary impostor, whose acquirements were totally superficial. To put an end at once to all such cavils or invidious reflections, he caused a challenge, similar to the others already made mention of, to be fixed on the gates of St. John and St. Paul's church. The chief novelty on this occasion was, that he engaged, at the pleasure of his opponents, to answer them either in the common logical way, or by numbers and mathematical figures, or in a hundred different sorts of verse. According to Manutius, Crichton sustained this contest without fatigue for three days; during which time he supported his credit and maintained his propositions with such spirit and energy, that from an unusual course of people he obtained acclamations and praises than which none more magnificent were ever heard by men. It by much exceeded any of his former contests of a similar nature; and it is the last of them of which we have any account.

To Sir Thomas Urquhart posterity is alone in-

debted for the next incident recorded in the life of the Admirable Crichton, and its interest has certainly suffered little in coming from the graphic pen of that redoubted fabler. We cannot do better than give the exordium in his own words:—"A certain Italian gentleman, of a mighty, able, strong, nimble, and vigorous body, by nature fierce, cruel, warlike, and audacious, and in the gladiatory art so superlatively expert and dexterous, that all the most skilful teachers of escrime and fencing-masters of Italy (which, in matter of choice professors in that faculty, needed never as yet to yield to any nation in the world) were by him beaten to their good behaviour, and, by blows and thrusts given in which they could not avoid, enforced to acknowledge him their over-comer: bethinking himself how, after so great a conquest of reputation, he might by such means be very suddenly enriched, he projected a course of exchanging the blunt to the sharp, and the foils into tucks; and in this resolution, providing a purse full of gold, worth near upon 400 pounds, English money, travelled amongst the most especial and considerable parts of Spain, France, the Low Countries, Germany, Pole, Hungary, Greece, Italy, and other places, wherever there was greatest probability of encountering with the eagerest and most atrocious duellists; and immediately after his arrival to any city or town that gave apparent likelihood of some one or other champion that would enter the lists and cope with him, he boldly challenged them, with sound of trumpet, in the chief market-place, to adventure an equal sum of money against that of his, to be disputed at the sword's point who should have both." Sir Thomas goes on to relate the success of this bravo of Italy, whose person and character he has sketched with so masterly a pencil. "At last returning homewards to his own country, loaded with wealth, or rather the spoil of the reputation of these foreigners, whom the Italians call *Tramontani*, he, by the way, after his accustomed manner of boarding other places, repaired to the city of Mantua." Having received the protection of the duke, and published his challenge, it was not long before he found opponents willing to engage him on his own terms. "For it happened at the same time that three of the most notable cutters in the world (and so highly cried up for valour that all the bravos of the land were content to give way to their domineering, how insolent soever they should prove, because of their former constantly-obtained victories in the field) were all three together at the court of Mantua; who, hearing of such harvest of 500 pistoles, to be reaped (as they expected) very soon, and with ease, had almost contested among themselves for the priority of the first encounter, but that one of my lord duke's courtiers moved them to cast lots who should be first, second, and third, in case none of the former two should prove victorious." Next ensue the successive calamitous combats of these brave men: for he "whose fortune it was to be the first of the three in the field, had the disaster to be the first of the three that was foiled; for at last with a thrust in the throat he was killed dead upon the ground." The second "was laid flat dead upon the place by means of a thrust he received in the heart;" and the last, "his luck being the same with those that preceded him, by a thrust in the belly, he, within four and twenty hours after, gave up the ghost."

Sir Thomas manages with the ability, and indeed pretty much in the style, of a standard romancer, the scene which was to wind up the interest of his story to its height. And first he pauses in his narration, to take notice how these lamentable spectacles caused shame and grief to the "Duke and citie of

¹ *Tyler's Life of Crichton*, p. 34.

Mantua;" and how "the conquering duellist, proud of a victorie so highly tending to both his honour and profit, for the space of a whole fortnight, or two weeks together, marched daily along the streets of Mantua (without any opposition or controulment) like another Romulus or Marcellus in triumph." The way thus artfully prepared, the true knight, for whom, as in books of romance, this adventure had been reserved, is introduced—

"—Which the never-too-much-to-be-admired Crichton perceiving—to wipe off the imputation of cowardice lying upon the court of Mantua, to which he had but even then arrived (although formerly he had been a domestic thereof), he could neither eat nor drink till he had first sent a challenge to the conqueror, appelling him to repair with his best sword in his hand, by nine of the clock in the morning of the next day, in presence of the whole court, in the same place where he had killed the other three, to fight with him upon this quarrell; that in the court of Mantua there were as valiant men as he; and, for his better encouragement to the desired undertaking, he assured him that, to the foresaid 500 pistoles, he would adjoin a thousand more; wishing him to do the like, that the victor, upon the point of his sword, might carry away the richer booty. The challenge, with all its conditions, is no sooner accepted of, the time and place mutually descended upon, kept accordingly, and the 1500 pistoles, *hinc inde*, deposited, and the two rapiers of equal weight, length, and goodness, each taking one, in presence of the duke, duchess, with all the noblemen, ladies, magnificoes, and all the choicest of both men, women, and maids of that city, as soon as the signal for the duel was given, by the shot of a great piece of ordinance, of threescore and four pound ball, the two combatants, with a lion-like animosity, made their approach to one another."

The combat, as it resembles much in management and fashion those with which the reader of old romances must be well acquainted, so does it likewise come up to them in minuteness, we can hardly say tediousness, for of that the author is incapable. Crichton long kept upon the defensive with his adversary, and showed such excellent dexterity, "that he seemed but to play while the other was in earnest." After long fencing, falsifying, and parrying, warding from tierce to quart, priming, and seconding, and after every variety of posture had been gone through, "the never-before-conquered Italian finding himself a little faint, enters into a consideration that he may be overmatched," and sad thoughts seize upon all his spirits. We may indulge the reader with the conclusion of this eventful conflict in the words of its original chronicler; and in these it may possibly be invested with a propriety and interest which we would but vainly labour to bestow upon it.

"Matchless Crichton, seeing it now high time to put a gallant catastrophe to that so-long-dubious combat, animated with a divinely inspired fervencie to fulfil the expectation of the ladies, and crown the duke's illustrious hopes, changeth his garb, falls to act another part, and from defender turns assailant: never did art so grace nature, nor nature second the precepts of art with so much liveliness, and such observance of time, as when, after he had struck fire out of the steel of his enemy's sword, and gained the feeble thereof, with the fort of his own, by angles of the strongest position, he did, by geometrical flourishes of straight and oblique lines, so practically execute the speculative part, that, as if there had been remoras and secret charms in the variety of his motion, the fierceness of his foe was in a trice trans-

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qualified into the numness of a pageant. Then was it that, to vindicate the reputation of the duke's family, and expiate the blood of the three vanquished gentlemen, he alonged a stoccade *de pied ferme*; then recoyling, he advanced another thrust, and lodged it home; after which, retiring again, his right foot did beat the cadence of the blow that pierced the belly of this Italian; whose heart and throat being hit with the two former stroaks, these three franch bouts given in upon the back of the other: besides that, if lines were imagined drawn from the hand that livered them, to the places which were marked by them, they would represent a perfect isosceles triangle with a perpendicular from the top angle, cutting the basis in the middle; they likewise give us to understand, that by them he was to be made a sacrifice of atonement for the slaughter of the three aforesaid gentlemen, who were wounded in the very same parts of their bodies by other three such venses as these; each whereof being mortal, and his vital spirits exhaling as his blood gushed out, all he spoke was this, That seeing he could not live, his comfort in dying was, that he could not die by the hand of a braver man: after the uttering of which words he expiring, with the shril clareens of trumpets, bouncing thunder of artillery, bethwacked beating of drums, universal clapping of hands, and loud acclamations of joy for so great a victory." Crichton generously bestowed the prize of his victory upon the widows of the brave gentlemen whose deaths he had thus avenged.

In consequence, it is said, of this achievement, and the wonderful proficiency of the young Scotsman, the Duke of Mantua made choice of him as tutor to his son, Vincentio di Gonzaga, a young man of dissolute conduct and unsettled principles. The appointment seems to have been gratifying to all parties; and, as Sir Thomas Urquhart informs us, Crichton composed a comedy on the occasion, which he exhibited before the court. This we must by no means enlarge upon; for though that author's account of the matter is complete and curious, it is of great length, and may with more pleasure and advantage be read at large in the original. The piece, we may only remark, belonged to a class of the drama known by the name of the *Comedia a soggetto*; in which one actor performs all the characters, however numerous; and must appear in the various dresses appropriate to each. The Admirable Crichton had his usual success. The composition was regarded as one of the most ingenious satires that ever was made upon mankind. It was the last display, too, of those wonderful talents and endowments which their possessor was destined to make on the stage of this world; and if, in any part of our narrative, we may have betrayed symptoms of incredulity, we lay all such feelings aside in coming to the concluding circumstance, the tragic nature of which must always excite deep sympathy and regret.

On a night of the carnival, as Crichton was returning from some serenading party, and amusing himself as he went solitarily along, by playing upon his guitar, he was suddenly set upon by five or six armed persons in masks. These, with great vigour and bravery, he either put to flight, wounded, or kept at a distance. The one who seemed to be the leader he contrived to disarm; and this person proved to be the prince, his pupil, Vincentio di Gonzaga; for, pulling off his mask and discovering himself, he begged his life. Crichton, on this, fell upon his knees, and expressed the concern he felt for his mistake, alleging that what he had done he had been prompted to by self-defence; that if his prince had any design upon his life he might always be

master of it. Saying this, and taking his sword by the point, he presented it to Gonzaga, who immediately received it; and the evil passions by which he had been actuated being inflamed rather than subdued by his shameful discomfiture, he is said instantly to have run his defenceless victor through the heart.

It ought, however, in justice to be said, that the above, though the popular statement of Crichton's death, has been qualified by more than one of his biographers, in its circumstances of atrocity; and, indeed, though such actions assume a different character in Italy from what, happily, we are acquainted with in this country, he ought to have the advantage of every extenuation which impartiality can allow of. It is uncertain whether the meeting occurred by accident or design. Sir Thomas Urquhart, with his usual romance, has told a most extravagant, and it must be allowed, absurd, love story; thus implicating jealousy in the transaction; but the most probable version seems to be, that Crichton was stabbed in a drunken frolic; that the high rank of the one party, and great merit of the other; the relation in which they stood to each other; and the concealment of the real circumstances came, at length, from the natural love all people, and especially the Italians, have for amplification and exaggeration, to invest the whole in the tragic garb which it now wears.

Great and general, according to the old author we have so often quoted, was the grief and lamentation which this sad event caused in Mantua. The whole court went into mourning for nine months. The epitaphs and elegies written to his memory, and stuck upon his hearse, would exceed, if collected, the bulk of Homer's works; and long after, his picture had its place in the closets and galleries of the Italian nobility; representing him on horseback, with a lance in the one hand, and a book in the other. In a summary of excellences which we cannot help transcribing, the same author thus takes leave of the individual he has in so great a degree tended to exalt:—"Crichton gained the esteem of kings and princes, by his magnanimity and knowledge; of noblemen and gentlemen, by his courtliness and breeding; of knights, by his honourable deportment and pregnancy of wit; of the rich, by his affability and good fellowship; of the poor, by his munificence and liberality; of the old, by his constancy and wisdom; of the young, by his mirth and gallantry; of the learned, by his universal knowledge; of the soldiers, by his undaunted valour and courage; of the merchants and artificers, by his upright dealing and honesty; and of the fair sex, by his beauty and handsomeness, in which respect he was a masterpiece of nature."

Crichton is supposed to have been in the twenty-second year of his age at the time of his death. One or two pictures are preserved of him; and there is reason to believe that they are originals. By these it would appear that his frame was well proportioned, and his head well shaped, though rather small than otherwise. His face is symmetrical and handsome, but has no particular expression of character. There is a print of him in the *Museum Historicum et Physicum of Imperialis*, which, though poorly executed, is probably authentic.

Such is the wonderful story told us by early writers of the Admirable Crichton, in which his own age devoutly believed, and which a love of the marvellous has continued to perpetuate to our own day. Its incredible character, however, is of itself sufficient to discredit it, and a dispassionate examination to reduce it within reasonable bounds; and this reduction has been attempted by Dr. Kippis, the chief

biographer of Crichton, in the following conclusion:—"It is evident that he was a youth of such lively parts as excited great present admiration, and high expectations with regard to his future attainments. He appears to have had a fine person, to have been adroit in his bodily exercises, to have possessed a peculiar facility in learning languages, to have enjoyed a remarkably quick and retentive memory, and to have excelled in a power of declamation, a fluency of speech, and a readiness of reply. His knowledge, likewise, was probably very uncommon for his years; and this, in conjunction with his other qualities, enabled him to shine in public disputation. But whether his knowledge and learning were accurate or profound may justly be questioned; and it may equally be doubted whether he would have arisen to any extraordinary degree of eminence in the literary world. It will always be reflected upon with regret, that his early and untimely death prevented this matter from being brought to the test of experiment."

CROMARTY, EARL OF. See MACKENZIE, GEORGE.

CRUDEN, ALEXANDER, styled by himself, Alexander the Corrector, was born at Aberdeen, on the 31st May, 1700; the son of a respectable merchant and bailie of that city. Having received a good elementary education, he entered Marischal College, with the intention of studying for the church. He there made considerable progress in his studies, and had the degree of Master of Arts conferred upon him, when decided symptoms of insanity appeared. His malady has been absurdly ascribed to the bite of a mad dog, and, with more probability, to a disappointment in love. At all events, it is certain that he became so unreasonably importunate in his addresses to the daughter of one of the clergymen of Aberdeen, that it was found necessary to put him under restraint. This lady, however, it afterwards appeared, was unworthy of the devotion he paid her, and there is a very interesting anecdote of his meeting her many years afterwards in London, where she had hid herself after fleeing from Aberdeen. On his release from confinement in 1722, he left the scene of his disappointments, and repairing to England, found employment as tutor for many years in a family in Hertfordshire, and afterwards in the Isle of Man. In the year 1732 he settled in London, where he was employed by Mr. Watts, the printer, as corrector of the press; he also engaged in trade as a bookseller, which he carried on in a shop under the Royal Exchange. Having gained the esteem of many of the principal citizens of London, he was, on the recommendation of the lord-mayor and aldermen, appointed bookseller to the queen.

Soon after Cruden's arrival in London he had commenced his elaborate work called the *Concordance of the Bible*; and having, after inconceivable labour, finished it, he had the honour of dedicating and presenting it to Queen Caroline, the consort of George II., who graciously promised to "remember him;" but, unfortunately for him, she died suddenly a few days after. Involved in embarrassments by the expense of publishing his *Concordance*, and by his neglect of business while he was compiling it, he abandoned his trade, and sunk into a state of melancholy despondency. His former mental disease now returned upon him with increased violence, and he was guilty of so many extravagances, that his friends were obliged to place him in a private lunatic asylum. On his recovery he published a lengthened account of his sufferings, under the title of "*The London Citizen exceedingly Injured*;" giving an account of his severe and long campaign at Bethnal's Green,

for nine weeks and six days; the Citizen being sent there in March, 1738, by Robert Wightman, a notoriously conceited whimsical man; where he was chained and handcuffed, strait-waistcoated and imprisoned; with a history of Wightman's blind bench, a sort of court that met at Wightman's room, and unaccountably proceeded to pass decrees in relation to the London Citizen," &c. &c. He also instituted legal proceedings against his physician and this Mr. Wightman, the proprietor of the asylum, for cruelty. He was not able, however, to substantiate his charge, although there is much reason to fear that, in pursuance of the treatment to which lunatics were at that time subjected, Cruden was harshly dealt with; which seems to have been the less excusable as he appears to have been at all times harmless.

The next fifteen years of his life were passed by him apparently in a state of inoffensive imbecility, although his former employers did not consider him incapable of continuing corrector of the press. In the year 1753 his relations conceived themselves justified in again putting him under restraint; but as he was perfectly inoffensive he was only confined for a few days. On his liberation he insisted that his sister, Mrs. Wild, who sanctioned these proceedings, should consent to a species of retributory reconciliation with him, and submit to a confinement of forty-eight hours in Newgate, and pay him a fine of ten pounds. Her rejection of this proposal was a matter of great surprise to him, and he therefore brought an action of damages against her and others, laying his claim at £10,000. On the verdict being returned for the defendants, he was quite resigned; but published an account of his ill-usage, under the title of *The Adventures of Alexander the Corrector*, which, like all his other publications of a similar description, has that air of mingled insanity and reason which its title indicates, and which pervades other works by him on similar topics. His insanity now displayed itself in many ways sufficiently whimsical. Fully persuaded that he was commissioned by Heaven to reform the manners of the age, he assumed the title of *Alexander the Corrector*. To impress the public with the validity of his pretensions he printed and circulated on small pieces of paper, sentences confirmatory of his high calling, such as that "Cruden was to be a second Joseph, to be a great man at court, and to perform great things for the spiritual Israel of Egypt." He went about the country exhorting the people to reform their manners and to keep holy the Sabbath-day. In order that his exhortations might have greater weight with his hearers, he wished his authority to be recognized by the king and council, and that parliament should constitute him by act "*The Corrector of the People*." Still farther to assist him in his mission, he made a formal application to his majesty, to confer on him the honour of knighthood; "for," said he, "I think men ought to seek after titles rather to please others than themselves." He gives an amusing account of his attendance at court while soliciting this honour, and of his frequent interviews with the lords in waiting, the secretaries of state, and other persons of rank; and complains grievously that his applications were not attended to. From his censure, however, he exempts the Earl of Paulet, who, he says, "spoke civilly to him; for, being goutish in his feet, he could not run away from the Corrector as others were apt to do." Wearied, at length, by his unavailing attendance at court, he next aspired to the honour of representing the city of London in parliament, and was a candidate at the general election of 1754. His addresses

to the livery were singularly ridiculous, but he was withheld by no discouragement; for, when one of the bishops, with whom he had obtained an interview, intimated to him that he had no chance of the election, unless Providence especially appeared for him. "This," he said in his account of the interview, "the Corrector readily acknowledged;" and indeed in his addresses he mentioned that he expected a divine interposition in his favour. After his failure in this pursuit, he consoled himself with the reflection, "that he had their hearts, although their hands had been promised away." "The Corrector," he adds, "was very cheerful and contented, and not at all afflicted at the loss of his election."

Cruden, as a lover, was remarkably susceptible, and no less zealous in the pursuit of the objects of his admiration, than in his attempts to attain political distinction. Amongst others, Miss Abney, the daughter of Sir Thomas Abney, the late Lord-mayor of London, was persecuted by his addresses. She, of course, discountenanced this folly, and the result was, what her admirer styled, "his declaration of war," being a lengthened memorial, wherein he rehearses his manifold grievances, and declares, that, since she had refused all his more reasonable overtures, he was now determined to carry on the war after an extraordinary manner, "by shooting of great numbers of bullets from his camp; namely, by earnest prayers to Heaven, day and night, that her mind may be enlightened and her heart softened." This, and all his other absurdities, had their rise in the desire to increase his own importance and wealth, by which he expected to render himself more powerful and effective in the execution of his imaginary mission for the reformation of the manners of the age. In 1754 he was employed as corrector of the press by Mr. Woodfall, the well-known publisher of *Junius' Letters*; and, although his labours seldom terminated before one in the morning, yet he would be found again out of bed by six o'clock busily employed turning over the leaves of his Bible, and with the most scrupulous care amending and improving his *Concordance*, preparatory to a new edition. In this drudgery he would patiently work until the evening, when he repaired to the printing-office.

The benevolence which animated Cruden's exertions for the benefit of his fellow-creatures was most disinterested and unwearied; and as far as his advice or money went, he aided all who were miserable or in distress. In the year 1762 he was the means of saving the life of a poor sailor condemned for forgery: having been present at the trial, he became persuaded that the accused had been the dupe of one more designing than himself, and, as he afterwards found him to be simple, and even ignorant of the nature of the crime for which he was condemned to suffer, he importuned government so unceasingly, that at last he succeeded in getting the punishment commuted into banishment. On another occasion he rescued a wretched female from the streets, and received her into his house; and, having instructed her in her duties, she remained in his service until his death. Next to the desire of doing good, loyalty seems to have been the most prominent feature in Cruden's character. In the political struggle between Mr. Wilkes and the administration, he wrote a pamphlet against the rabble's patriot, and went about with a sponge and rubbed from the doors and walls of the metropolis the popular "No. 45."

In the year 1769 Cruden once more visited the scenes of his youth, where he was received with considerable respect, and was allowed the use of one of the public halls to deliver a lecture on the necessity of a reformation of manners, and of keeping

holy the Sabbath-day. Having remained about a year in Aberdeen, he returned to London, and soon after, having complained for a few days previous, he was found dead in his closet, in the pious attitude of prayer. He died at his lodgings in Camden Street, Islington, 1st of November, 1770, in the 71st year of his age. Never having been married, he left his moderate savings among his relations, with the exception of £100, which he bequeathed to endow a bursary in Marischal College, Aberdeen, and some other trifling legacies for charitable purposes in the metropolis. Cruden was remarkable for the courteous affability of his manners, his active benevolence, and his pious devotion. His published works are:—*The History of Richard Potter*, 8vo, being that of the poor sailor whose life he saved; *The History and Excellency of the Scriptures prefixed to the Compendium of the Holy Bible*, Aberdeen, 2 vols. 24mo; *An Index to Bishop Newton's Edition of Milton's Works*—an elaborate work only inferior to the *Concordance; A Scripture Dictionary*, which was published in Aberdeen soon after his death; various pamphlets, particularly those wherein he gives a detailed account of his *Adventures*. These display some humour and much single-hearted insanity. But his great work was his *Concordance of the Old and New Testaments*. This is a work of the most extraordinary labour, and although it was not the first *Concordance of the Bible*, yet it affords a wonderful instance of what individual industry may accomplish. The first *Concordance* which was compiled, is said to have given employment to 500 monks, yet did Cruden by his own unassisted exertions produce one infinitely more complete, elaborate, and accurate than had ever appeared, and this not by copying from others, but by the most careful examination and study of the Bible. It is satisfactory to know that the labour bestowed on this work did not go unrewarded. Although the first edition was for a long time unsuccessful, it was ultimately sold off, and in 1761, thirty years after its publication, a second edition was called for, which he dedicated to George III. who was graciously pleased to order him £100; and a third edition was published in 1769. For the second edition the publishers gave Cruden £500, and when the third was called for, an additional present of £300, besides twenty copies on fine paper. An edition was published in 1810, under the careful superintendence and correction of Mr. David Bye, and in 1825 the work had reached the tenth edition. Indeed, so valuable and useful is this work that it is now reckoned an indispensable part of every clerical library.

CRUICKSHANKS, WILLIAM, F.R.S., an eminent surgeon in London, the assistant, partner, and successor of the famous Dr. William Hunter of the Windmill Street anatomical school, was the son of an officer in the excise, and was born at Edinburgh in the year 1745. After completing the elementary branches of his education at the schools of Edinburgh, he commenced the study of divinity at that university; but he soon forsook his clerical studies and directed his attention to medicine. With a view to that profession, he removed to Glasgow, where he went through a complete course of medical education at the university. Having devoted eight years of his life to assiduous study, he obtained, through the recommendation of Dr. Pitcairn, the situation of librarian to Dr. William Hunter of London; and so highly did that great man estimate his talents, that he soon after appointed him his assistant, and ultimately raised him to the honour of being his partner in superintending his establishment in Windmill

Street. On the death of Dr. Hunter in the year 1783, the students of that institution thought so favourably of Mr. Cruickshanks' professional acquirements, that they presented an address to him and to the late Dr. Baillie, requesting that they might assume the superintendence of the school; which they did.

Mr. Cruickshanks is known to the world by his medical publications; and as a teacher and writer he acquired a high reputation for his knowledge of anatomy and physiology. In the year 1786 he published his principal work, *The Anatomy of the Absorbent Vessels of the Human Body*, a production of acknowledged merit, which has been translated into several languages. He also wrote an ingenious paper on the nerves of living animals, which establishes the important fact of the regeneration of mutilated nerves. This paper, however, although read before the Royal Society, was not published in the *Transactions* of that body until several years afterwards. This delay was owing to the interference of Sir John Pringle, who conceived the idea that Mr. Cruickshanks had controverted some of the opinions of the great Haller. In the year 1797 Mr. Cruickshanks was elected fellow of the Royal Society. In 1799 he made his experiments on insensible perspiration, which he added to his work on the absorbent vessels. He had suffered for many years from acute pain in the head, and though warned that this pain arose from extravasated blood settled upon the *sensorium*, and that the greatest abstinence in his regimen was indispensable in order to prevent fatal consequences, yet, regardless of this warning, he continued to live freely; and, as had been foreseen, he was cut off suddenly in the year 1800, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. With much personal and intellectual vanity, Mr. Cruickshanks was an excellent anatomist and able physiologist, and a cool and skilful surgeon. He was generous and truly benevolent, literally going about doing good. He was one of the medical men who had the melancholy honour of attending Dr. Samuel Johnson in his last illness. In 1773 he was married to a lady from Dundee, who died in the year 1795, by whom he had four daughters.

CULLEN, LORD. See GRANT, SIR FRANCIS.

CULLEN, WILLIAM, M.D., one of the most highly gifted and accomplished physicians that Scotland has produced, was born on the 15th of April, 1710,¹ in the parish of Hamilton, in the county of Lanark. His father was by profession a writer or attorney, and also farmed a small estate in the adjoining parish of Bothwell, and was factor to the Duke of Hamilton. His mother was the daughter of Mr. Robertson of Whistlebury, the younger son of the family of Robertson of Ernock. The family consisted of seven sons and two daughters, and the subject of the present biographical sketch was the second son.

Occupying a respectable station of life, yet the parents of young Cullen, from the scantiness of their means, found it necessary to place him at the grammar-school of Hamilton, where he received the first part of his education. Although the funds of his family were not very ample, he was sent from the grammar-school of Hamilton to the university of Glasgow; and at the same time was bound apprentice to Mr. John Paisley, who was a member of the faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, and enjoyed an extensive

¹ In most of the biographical notices published of Dr. Cullen, the date of his birth is referred to the year 1712, an error corrected by Dr. Thomson, in his elaborate *Life of Dr. Cullen*, 8vo, 1832, who states the year of his birth to have been 1710, on the authority of the Session Record of the parish of Hamilton.

practice in that city. It does not appear that he went through a regular course of education at this seminary, but having early chosen medicine as a profession, the classes which he attended were probably regulated with a view to that object.

Having terminated his studies at Glasgow, Dr. Cullen, towards the end of the year 1729, went to London, with the view of improving himself in his profession; and there, soon after his arrival, through the interest of commissioner Cleland, who was a friend of Pope, and author of a letter prefixed to one of the editions of the *Dunciad* he obtained the appointment of surgeon to a merchant ship which traded between London and the West Indies. Mr. Cleland, a relation of his own, was fortunately the captain of the vessel in which he obtained this appointment. During the voyage he did not neglect the opportunity it afforded him of studying the effects of the diversity of climate on the human constitution, and the diseases which are so prevalent and fatal in our West Indian settlements. The facts he then gathered—the observations he then made—he subsequently referred to in his lectures in Glasgow and in Edinburgh. After returning from the West Indies, he remained a short time in London, where he attended the shop of Mr. Murray, an apothecary; and it is supposed that here he first paid particular attention to the study of materia medica. About this period—the end of the year 1731, or the beginning of the year 1732—in consequence of the death of his eldest brother, the duty of arranging his father's affairs devolved upon him; besides which, the necessity of providing for the education of his younger brothers and sisters rendered it expedient for him to return to Scotland. Aware of these circumstances, his friend, Captain Cleland, invited him to reside with him at his family estate of Auchinlee, in the parish of Shotts, and to take charge of the health of his son, who was affected with a lingering disorder. Whilst residing there, he seems to have combined with his medical practice the most unremitting application to his studies. Captain Cleland was often heard to say, that nothing could exceed his assiduity at this period; for when not engaged in visiting patients or in preparing medicines, his time was wholly occupied with his books.

Dr. Cullen having succeeded to a small legacy by the death of a relation, determined to devote his attention exclusively to his studies, before fixing himself as a medical practitioner in the town of Hamilton. Accordingly he first proceeded to the retired village of Rothbury, near Wooler in Northumberland; and afterwards to Edinburgh, where, engaged in the prosecution of his general studies, he remained during the winter sessions 1734-35-36. The medical school of the university of Edinburgh was at this period only beginning to attain the celebrity it now enjoys; for although professorships to each of the different branches of medical science had been instituted, and several attempts had been made to systematize a course of instruction, it was not until the year 1720 that these important objects were carried into effect. The Royal Infirmary, although in progress, was not at this time open to the public, nor were the advantages that are to be derived from clinical lectures yet recognized. A useful adjunct to this school of medicine was at this period formed, by the institution of the Medical Society, which originated in the latter end of the August of 1734. Dr. Cleghorn, Dr. Cuming, Dr. Russel, Dr. Hamilton, Mr. Archibald Taylor, and Dr. James Kennedy, then fellow-students at Edinburgh, and intimately acquainted with each other, after spending a social evening at a tavern, agreed to meet once a fortnight

at their respective lodgings, where it was arranged that a dissertation in English or Latin on some medical subject should be read, and afterwards discussed by the auditors. Dr. Cullen, says the *History* of the society, with the discrimination characteristic of a mind devoted to activity and eager in the pursuit of knowledge, hastened, as appears from a part of his correspondence still preserved, to unite himself with a society which even in its infancy had honours and advantages at its disposal. In its labours, it may safely be presumed, he took a prominent and animated share, and there can be no doubt that the value of its discussions were both attested and augmented by his distinguished participation.¹ This Society, thus humble in its commencement, subsequently held its meetings in a room in the Royal Infirmary, until, adequate funds having been raised, the building known as the Hall of the Medical Society in Surgeon's Square was founded.

Dr. Cullen continued his studies in Edinburgh until the spring of 1736, when he left it to commence business as a surgeon in Hamilton, where he appears to have been employed by the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton, and all the families of any consideration in that neighbourhood. During his residence there, the Duke of Hamilton was attacked with an alarming disease, which did not readily yield to the remedies he prescribed, and therefore it was deemed advisable to call in Dr. Clerk, who was accordingly sent for from Edinburgh. This accomplished physician highly approved of Dr. Cullen's management of the duke's case, and was so pleased with Dr. Cullen that he ever afterwards took every opportunity of cultivating his friendship. At Hamilton Cullen also became acquainted with Dr. William Hunter, with whom he ever afterwards continued on terms of the greatest intimacy, each living to see the other placed, by the concurrent suffrages of their medical brethren, at the head of his own department of medical science. When Dr. William Hunter became the friend of Dr. Cullen, the latter had completed his elementary education, and the agreement that took place between them was, that Dr. William Hunter should go and prosecute his medical studies in Edinburgh and London, and afterwards return to settle in Hamilton as a partner of Dr. Cullen; the object of which partnership was to enable Dr. Cullen, who disliked the surgical department of his profession, to practise only as a physician; while his friend and partner, Dr. William Hunter, was to act among their connections only as a surgeon. Dr. Hunter's biographer, Dr. Foart Simmons, gives the following account of the nature and termination of this arrangement, "which," says Dr. Thomson, "is, I have reason to believe, strictly correct. His father's consent having been previously obtained, Mr. Hunter in 1737 went to reside with Dr. Cullen. In the family of this excellent friend and preceptor he passed nearly three years; and these, he has been often heard to acknowledge, were the happiest years of his life. It was then agreed that he should go and prosecute his studies in Edinburgh and London, and afterwards return and settle in Hamilton in partnership with Dr. Cullen. Mr. Hunter, after prosecuting his studies for a winter at Edinburgh, went to London, where he was introduced to Dr. James Douglas, who was at that time engaged in the composition of his great anatomical work on the bones, and looking out for a young man of abilities and industry, whom he might employ as a dissector.

¹ *History of the Medical Society of Edinburgh*, printed for the Society, xxi.

This induced him to pay particular attention to Mr. Hunter; and finding him acute and sensible, he desired him to make another visit. A second conversation confirmed the doctor in the good opinion he had formed of Mr. Hunter; and, without any further hesitation, he invited him into his family to assist in his dissections, and to superintend the education of his son. Mr. Hunter, having communicated this offer to his father and Dr. Cullen, the latter readily and heartily granted his concurrence to it; but his father, who was very old and infirm, and expected his return with impatience, consented with reluctance to a scheme, the success of which he thought precarious." Dr. Cullen having, for the advantage of his friend, thus generously relinquished the agreement between them, was for a time deprived of a partner; but still determining to practise only as a physician, he took the degree of Doctor of Medicine at Glasgow in 1740, and, in the following year, entered into a contract with Mr. Thomas Hamilton, surgeon, on terms similar to those which had been formerly agreed on between him and Dr. Hunter.

Dr. Cullen, during his residence at Hamilton, was twice elected magistrate of that place—first in the year 1738, and again in the year 1739. While in the magistracy, he appears to have taken an active share in the agricultural improvements beginning at that time to be introduced into the west of Scotland. He frequently attended the meetings of the trustees appointed for the improvement of the high-roads, and was much consulted by them on the different matters that came under their consideration. Some of his papers relative to these subjects exhibit singular proofs of habits of arrangement, accuracy in transacting business, and a knowledge of rural and agricultural affairs which must have rendered his advice particularly acceptable. Agriculture was a study which continued at an after-period of his life to interest his attention; for we find him, when a lecturer on chemistry, endeavouring to throw light upon it by the aid of chemical science; and in the year 1758, after finishing his course of chemical lectures, he delivered, to a number of his friends and favourite pupils a short course of lectures on agriculture, in which he explained the nature of soils, and the operation of different manures.

Dr. Cullen, early in life, became attached to Miss Anna Johnstone, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Johnstone, minister of Kilbarchan, in the county of Renfrew. She was nearly of his own age; and he married her on the 13th of November, 1741. After his marriage Dr. Cullen continued for three years to practise as a physician at Hamilton; during which period, when not engaged in the more active and laborious duties of his profession, he devoted his time to the studies of chemistry, natural philosophy, and natural history; nor is there any doubt but that at this time he was preparing and qualifying himself to teach those branches of science on which he very shortly afterwards became so eminent a lecturer. Hitherto the advantages held out by the Duke of Hamilton prevented his seeking a more appropriate field for the display of his abilities; but after the death of the duke, which happened at the end of the year 1743, he was induced to transfer his residence to Glasgow. He settled in that city in the end of the year 1744, or beginning of 1745, at which period Dr. Johnstone was professor of medicine in the university, and Dr. Hamilton was the professor of anatomy and botany, but neither of them gave lectures. Dr. Cullen, who soon perceived the possibility of establishing a medical school in Glasgow similar to that which had been established in Edinburgh, made arrangements

with Dr. Johnstone, the professor of medicine, to deliver, during the following winter, a course of lectures on the theory and practice of physic, in the university. This course lasted six months; and, in the following session of 1747, with the concurrence of Dr. Hamilton, the professor of botany, besides lecturing on the practice of physic, he gave lectures, in conjunction with Mr. John Garrick, the assistant of Dr. Hamilton, on *materia medica* and botany. Dr. Cullen in the physic class never read his lectures; in allusion to which practice, he observed, "Written lectures might be more correct in the diction and fluent in the style, but they would have taken up too much time that might be otherwise rendered useful. I shall be as correct as possible; but perhaps a familiar style will prove more agreeable than a formal one, and the delivery more fitted to command attention."

As the institution of a course of lectures on chemistry was essential to a regular medical school, Dr. Cullen proposed to the faculty of the university of Glasgow, that lectures should be given on that branch of science by himself, and Mr. John Garrick, brother of Robert Garrick, Esq., of Hamilton, who was at that time assistant to Dr. Hamilton, the professor of anatomy. These proposals having been approved, the lectures on chemistry were commenced by Mr. Garrick; but he being taken ill, the remaining part of the course was delivered by Dr. Cullen. In commencing his second course of chemistry, Dr. Cullen printed and distributed among his students, "The plan of a course of chemical lectures and experiments, directed chiefly to the improvement of arts and manufactures, to be given in the college of Glasgow during the session 1748." But besides these lectures, Dr. Cullen, in the summer of 1748, gave lectures in conjunction with Mr. Garrick on *materia medica* and botany. Of the lectures delivered on *materia medica* only a few fragments of notes have been preserved, and these are not sufficient to afford a precise idea of the general plan which he followed. The lectures on *materia medica* and botany were again delivered in 1749; but how long they were delivered after that period has not been ascertained.¹ In his lectures on botany Dr. Cullen followed the system of Linnæus, and by so doing displayed no ordinary sagacity; for although the natural arrangements of Jussieu and Decandolle are now chiefly taught in the universities of this country, yet the artificial classification of Linnæus was the ladder by which botanists ascended securely to the generalizations of the natural system, and is still of great use in determining generic and specific distinctions. After Dr. Cullen discontinued his lectures on botany, he still pursued his botanical studies; as appears from a letter of a Danish physician, which contains the answer of Linnæus to certain queries that had been referred to him by Dr. Cullen. Already it must be obvious that Dr. Cullen, in devoting his attention so minutely to so many branches of science, displayed a mind of no ordinary activity and comprehensiveness. He seems, indeed, to have felt in its full force the observation of Cicero, that "all the sciences are connected, tendering to each other a mutual illustration and assistance."

During the period that he lectured on chemistry in Glasgow, the celebrated Dr. Black became his pupil, and Dr. Cullen was not long in discovering the talents of his young student. Thus began a mutual confidence and friendship which did honour both to the professor and his pupil, and was always mentioned by the latter with gratitude and respect.

¹ *The Bee*, vol. i. p. 7.

Dr. Black, after remaining nearly six years at the college of Glasgow, left it to terminate his studies in Edinburgh; and Dr. Cullen continued to correspond with him during the time of his studies. Many of these letters have been preserved, and relate principally to the chemical investigations in which they were mutually engaged; but Dr. Thomson observes that, "during this intercourse, Dr. Cullen seems to have been careful to avoid entering on any field of inquiry in which he anticipated that his pupil might reap distinction." A letter of Dr. Black's occurs, wherein, alluding to this ungenerous procedure, he thus addresses Dr. Cullen:—"I received your packet of chemistry, which rejoiced me extremely. A new experiment gives me new life; but I wonder at the *reserve* and *ceremony* you use with respect to me. Did I learn chemistry from you only to be a bar to your inquiries? The subject is not so limited as to be easily exhausted, and your experiments will only advance me so much further on." Helvetius and many other philosophers have maintained, that all mankind must be more or less actuated by the dictates of self-interest; and difficult as it may be to analyze the motives by which human conduct is often regulated, yet it cannot be concealed that the narrow-minded policy which Dr. Cullen in this instance betrayed, was significant of a selfishness altogether unworthy of the general tenor of his character.

During the period that Dr. Cullen lectured on chemistry in Glasgow, his attention was especially directed to the general doctrines of heat, on which various observations are found among his manuscripts that have been preserved. The only essay which he published on this subject appears in the second volume of the *Edinburgh Philosophical and Literary Transactions*. He also, in the end of the year 1753, transmitted to the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, a paper entitled, "*Some Reflections on the Study of Chemistry*," and an *Essay towards ascertaining the Different Species of Salts; being Part of a Letter addressed to Dr. John Clerk*." This letter afforded a specimen of an elementary work on chemistry which he at that time meditated, but which, from other multifarious occupations, he did not execute. The reputation he was now daily acquiring as a lecturer on chemistry, obtained for him the acquaintance of many persons of distinction who were celebrated for their talents and love of science. Among these was Lord Kaimes, then Mr. Home, who, being devoted to scientific pursuits, naturally found pleasure in the correspondence and society of a man whose mind was so congenial to his own. Lord Kaimes was especially delighted to find that Dr. Cullen had devoted so much attention to his favourite pursuit, agriculture; and continually urged him to publish a work on this important science. That Dr. Cullen had at this period made some progress in the composition of a work on agriculture we learn from Dr. Thomson, who informs us of the existence of a manuscript, part of which is in Dr. Cullen's own handwriting, entitled, *Reflections on the Principles of Agriculture*. Among his papers there is also an essay *On the Construction and Operation of the Plough*; composed apparently about the same period, and read before some public society, most probably the Philosophical Society in the college of Glasgow. The object of this essay was to explain the mechanical principles on which ploughs have been constructed, to find out what is the importance and effect of each part, and to examine what variation each, or all of them, require according to the difference of soil in which they are employed. In the year 1752 Dr. Cullen's opportunities of cultivating agriculture were increased by

his undertaking to manage and improve the farm of Parkhead, situated about eight miles from Glasgow, which he had purchased for his brother, Robert Cullen, Esq., who was at the time employed in a mercantile situation in the West Indies. But much as the attention of Dr. Cullen was devoted to it, it does not appear that he published anything theoretical or practical on agriculture; but he corresponded with Lord Kaimes very particularly on the subject, and the letters that transpired between them are well worthy of perusal.

Dr. Cullen, about the end of the year 1749, was introduced to the Earl of Islay, afterwards the Duke of Argyle; and, according to the authority of Dr. Thomson, the introduction took place through the interest of Lord Kaimes, who made a request to that effect through Mr. Lind, the secretary to the duke. This appears from a letter addressed to Dr. Cullen by Mr. Martine, and which proceeds thus:—"August, 1749. Mr. Lind, at Mr. Home's desire, talked very particularly about you to the Duke of Argyle; and your friends here desire that you will wait on his grace upon his arrival at Glasgow, which will be tomorrow evening." We are furthermore informed that the more immediate cause of Dr. Cullen's being introduced to the Duke of Argyle at this time was to obtain his grace's consent and patronage to his succeeding Dr. Johnstone as professor of medicine in the Glasgow university. A venerable member of the college of justice, who in his youth knew Dr. Cullen, and remembers him well, has favoured us with the following anecdote:—"About this period the Duke of Argyle, being confined to his room in Roseneath Castle with swelled gums, sent for Dr. Cullen. His grace, who was fond of dabbling occasionally in medicine, suggested a fumigation of a particular kind, and described an instrument which he thought would be suited to administer it. Dr. Cullen, willing to humour his new patron, instantly set off for Glasgow, procured the instrument, which was made of tin, according to the fashion described, and sent it early next morning to Roseneath. The noble patient finding it adapted to the purpose required, and feeling himself better after the fumigation, was much pleased with the attention of his physician, in whose welfare he subsequently took considerable interest. The Duke of Argyle had himself been educated at the university of Glasgow, had made a distinguished figure there, and had chosen the law as his profession. He afterwards studied law at Utrecht, but on returning to Scotland changed his determination, adopted the military profession, and became one of the most accomplished politicians of his age. By the influence of this nobleman with the crown, Dr. Cullen was appointed to be the successor of Dr. Johnstone in the university of Glasgow, and was formally admitted as the professor of medicine in that university on the 2d of January, 1751.

During the residence of Dr. Cullen in Glasgow, he still devoted a considerable portion of his time to chemistry, more especially investigating its application to the useful arts. He endeavoured particularly to suggest various improvements in the art of bleaching, and proposed an improved method in the manufacture or purification of common salt, which consisted in precipitating the earthy ingredients contained in the brine of sea-water by a solution of common potash, by which a salt is obtained more pure than that prepared in the ordinary manner; but owing to this process being too expensive to be adopted in the manufacture of salt on a large scale, it has never yet been brought into general use. He wrote on this subject an essay, entitled *Remarks on Bleaching*, which remains among his manuscript papers, but

appears never to have been published, although a copy of it was presented to the Board of Trustees for the Encouragement of Fisheries, Arts, and Manufactures in Scotland, in the records of which institution for June, 1755, it is mentioned that "three suits of table linen had been given as a present to Dr. William Cullen for his ingenious observations on the art of bleaching."

From the period of his appointment to be professor of medicine in the university of Glasgow until the year 1755, Dr. Cullen, besides his lectures on chemistry, delivered annually a course of lectures on the theory and practice of physic. He also projected at this period the design of publishing an edition of the works of Sydenham, with an account in Latin of his life and writings; but although he made some few preparations to commence this work, he very shortly abandoned the undertaking. Dr. Thomson informs us that his private practice at this time, although extensive, was by no means lucrative, and as a considerable portion of it lay in the country, he had but little time to pursue his scientific studies. These circumstances seem to have induced some of his friends to propose his removing to Edinburgh. Lord Kaimes likewise wrote several letters to Dr. Cullen advising him to transfer his residence to Edinburgh; and in the year 1755, Dr. Plummer, the professor in the chair of chemistry, having suffered an attack of palsy, several candidates were put in nomination as his successor, among whom were Dr. Home, Dr. Black, and Dr. Cullen. Lord Kaimes in the meantime exerted himself in canvassing on the behalf of Dr. Cullen; the Duke of Argyll employed the weight of his whole interest in his favour; and after the lapse of some months, Dr. Plummer still continuing unable to lecture, the town-council appointed Dr. Cullen joint-professor of chemistry during the life of his colleague, with the succession in the event of his death. Dr. Plummer, however, did not survive long; he died in the July following, and then Dr. Cullen was elected sole professor of chemistry in the university of Edinburgh.

The admission of Dr. Cullen into that university constitutes a memorable era in its history. Hitherto chemistry had been reckoned of little importance, and the chemical class was attended only by a very few students; but he soon rendered it a favourite study, and his class became more numerous every session. From the list of names kept by Dr. Cullen it appears that during his first course of lectures the number amounted only to seventeen; during the second course it rose to fifty-nine; and it went on gradually increasing so long as he continued to lecture. The greatest number that attended during any one session was 145; "and it is curious to observe," says Dr. Thomson, "that several of those pupils who afterwards distinguished themselves by their acquirements or writings had attended three, four, five, or even six courses of these lectures on chemistry." Dr. Cullen's fame rests so much on his exertions in the field of medical science that few are aware how much the progress of chemical science has been indebted to him. In the *History of Chemistry*, written by the late celebrated Dr. Thomson, professor of that science in Glasgow, we find the following just tribute to his memory:—"Dr. William Cullen, to whom medicine lies under deep obligations, and who afterwards raised the medical celebrity of the college of Edinburgh to so high a pitch, had the merit of first perceiving the importance of scientific chemistry, and the reputation which that man was likely to earn who should devote himself to the cultivation of it. Hitherto chemistry in Great Britain, and on the Continent also, was considered as a mere appendage to medicine, and useful

only so far as it contributed to the formation of new and useful remedies. This was the reason why it came to constitute an essential part of the education of every medical man, and why a physician was considered as unfit for practice unless he was also a chemist. But Dr. Cullen viewed the science as far more important; as capable of throwing light on the constitution of bodies, and of improving and amending those arts and manufactures that are most useful to man. He resolved to devote himself to its cultivation and improvement; and he would undoubtedly have derived celebrity from this science had not his fate led rather to the cultivation of medicine. But Dr. Cullen, as the true commencer of the study of scientific chemistry in Great Britain, claims a conspicuous place in this historical sketch."¹

Dr. Cullen's removal to Edinburgh was attended by a temporary pecuniary inconvenience; for no salary being attached to his chair in the university, his only means of supporting himself and family were derived from the fees of students, and such practice as he could command; under these circumstances he appears to have undertaken a translation of Van Swieten's commentaries on Boerhaave, in which he expected the assistance of his former pupils, Dr. William Hunter and Dr. Black. But we have already seen that his class became more numerous attended every session; besides which, his practice also began to increase, so that, his prospects having brightened, he relinquished this undertaking. In addition to lecturing on chemistry, he now began to deliver lectures on clinical medicine in the Royal Infirmary. This benevolent institution was opened in the December of 1741, and soon afterwards Dr. John Rutherford, who was then professor of the practice of physic, proposed to explain, in clinical lectures, the nature and treatment of the cases admitted—a measure highly approved of by the enlightened policy of the managers, who, besides permitting students, on paying a small gratuity, to attend the hospital at large, appropriated two of its wards for the reception of the more remarkable cases which were destined, under the selection and management of one or more of the medical professors, to afford materials for this new and valuable mode of tuition. The privilege of delivering a course of clinical lectures was granted by the managers of the Royal Infirmary to Dr. Rutherford in the year 1748, and in the following year extended to the other professors of medicine belonging to the university; none of whom, however, seem to have availed themselves of it, excepting Dr. Rutherford, until the year 1757, when Dr. Cullen undertook to deliver a course of such lectures, and was soon joined in the performance of that duty by Drs. White and Rutherford. Dr. Cullen soon obtained great reputation as a teacher of clinical medicine. "His lectures," observes Dr. Thomson, "were distinguished by that simplicity, ingenuity, and comprehensiveness of view which marked at all times the philosophical turn of his mind; and I have been informed by several eminent medical men who had an opportunity of attending them, and more particularly by one who acted as his clinical clerk in 1765, were delivered with that clearness and copiousness of illustration with which in his lectures he ever instructed and delighted his auditors."²

In the winter session of 1760 Dr. Alston, who was the professor of *materia medica*, died shortly after commencing his course of lectures for the season. It was well known that Dr. Cullen had already de-

¹ *The History of Chemistry*, by Thomas Thomson, M.D., F.R.S.E., Professor of Chemistry in the University of Glasgow. 1830.

² Thomson's *Life of Cullen*, vol. i.

voted considerable attention to this branch of medical science, and that he had lectured upon it in the university of Glasgow; and the students of medicine therefore presented a petition soliciting him to lecture in the place of Dr. Alston. Dr. Cullen accordingly commenced a course of lectures on materia medica in the beginning of January, 1761. Some years afterwards a volume was published entitled *Lectures on the Materia Medica, as delivered by William Cullen, M.D., Professor of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh*. The work being published without his consent, Dr. Cullen applied to the Court of Chancery for an injunction to prohibit its sale, which was immediately granted. The physician who supplied the booksellers with the notes is on all hands admitted to have been influenced by no pecuniary or unworthy motive; but the professor objected to the work, complaining "that it was by no means sufficiently perfect to do him honour; that it had been unexpectedly undertaken, and necessarily executed in a great hurry; that it was still more imperfect from the inaccuracy of the gentleman who had taken the notes," &c. When, however, it was represented that a great many copies were already in circulation, Dr. Cullen was persuaded to allow the sale of the remaining copies on condition "that he should receive a share of the profits, and that the grosser errors in the work should be corrected by the addition of a supplement." Accordingly on these terms it was published, nor is it doing more than an act of justice to state that it contains all the information on materia medica which was known at that period, and may yet be consulted with advantage by the student.

In consequence of his increasing infirmities and age, Dr. John Rutherford, the professor of the practice of physic, resigned his chair in February, 1766, in favour of Dr. John Gregory, who had held for several years the professorship of physic in the college of Aberdeen. When his intention of resigning became known, every effort was made by the friends of Dr. Cullen to procure for him this professorship, the duties of which he had, by his clinical labours in the infirmary, proved himself eminently qualified to discharge. The exertions of Dr. Cullen's friends, however, proved unavailing, and Dr. Gregory was duly appointed as the successor to Dr. Rutherford. In the April of the same year the chair of the theory of physic was vacated by the death of Dr. Whytt; but we are informed that Dr. Cullen was so much disgusted with the conduct of the patrons of the university, and with the treatment he had received in relation to the chair of the practice of physic, that he rather wished to retain the chair of chemistry than to be translated to that of the theory of medicine. His friends, however, earnestly urged him to take the chair vacated by the death of Dr. Whytt; and on this occasion he received the most flattering and gratifying testimony of the esteem entertained towards him, both by his fellow professors and the students of the university. The professors came forward with a public address to him, wherein, after expressing their conviction that he was the most competent person to teach the theory of medicine, they added, that they "thought it a duty they owed the town, the university, and the students of physic, and themselves, to request of him, in the most public and earnest manner, to resign the professorship of chemistry, and to offer himself to the honourable patrons of the university as a candidate for the profession of the theory of physic." The students also came forward and presented an address to the lord-provost, magistrates, and town-council, wherein they boldly stated, "We are humbly of opinion that the reputation of the university and magistrates, the good of the city, and our

improvement will all, in an eminent manner, be consulted by engaging Dr. Gregory to relinquish the professorship of the practice for that of the theory of medicine, by appointing Dr. Cullen, present professor of chemistry, to the practical chair, and by electing Dr. Black professor of chemistry."

At length Dr. Cullen consented to become a candidate for the chair of Dr. Whytt, and was elected professor of the institutes or theory of medicine, on the 1st of November, 1766; and on the same day, his friend and former pupil, Dr. Black, was elected in his place professor of chemistry. The proposal in the address of the students respecting Dr. Cullen's lecturing on the practice of medicine, being, both by the professors and succeeding students, urged on the consideration of the patrons of the university, it was agreed that Dr. Cullen should be permitted to lecture on that subject, and accordingly, with Dr. Gregory's permission, Dr. Cullen delivered a course of lectures in the summer of 1768; and during the remainder of Dr. Gregory's life, Drs. Cullen and Gregory continued to give alternate courses on the theory and practice of physic. The death of Dr. Gregory, however, took place on the 10th of February, 1773, and Dr. Cullen was immediately appointed sole professor of the practice of physic.

While Dr. Cullen held the professorship of the institutes of medicine, he published heads of lectures for the use of students in the university; which were translated into French, German, and Italian; but he went no further than physiology. After succeeding to the chair of the practice of physic, he published his nosology, entitled *Synopsis Nosologia Methodica*. It appeared in two 8vo volumes, which were afterwards, in 1780, much improved. In this valuable work he inserted in the first volume abstracts of the nosological systems of Sauvages, Linnæus, Vogel, and Sagar;—and in the second his own method of arrangement. His classification and definitions of disease have done much to systematize and facilitate the acquirement of medical knowledge;—not but that in some instances he may have placed a disease under an improper head, and in others given definitions that are very imperfect; for these are defects which considering the wide field he had to explore, might reasonably have been expected. Although it may be only an approximation to a perfect system, it is desirable to classify, as far as we are able, the facts which constitute the groundwork of every science; otherwise they must be scattered over a wide surface, or huddled together in a confused heap—the *rudis indigestaque moles* of the ancient poet. The definitions contained in this *Nosology* are not mere scholastic and unnecessary appendages to medical science;—so far from this, they express the leading and characteristic signs or features of certain diseases; and although it is true that a medical practitioner, without recollecting the definitions of Dr. Cullen, may recognize the very same symptoms he has described, and refer them to their proper disease, still this does not prove that the definitions of Cullen are the less useful to those who have not seen so much practice, and who, even if they had, might pass over without observing many symptoms to which, by those definitions, their attention is called. The professors and teachers of every science know the necessity of inducing their pupils to arrange and concentrate their thoughts on every subject, in a clear and distinct manner; and in effecting this, the study of the *Nosology* of Dr. Cullen has been found so useful, that it is still constantly used by the students of the university, who find that, even although their professors do not at present require them to repeat the definitions of disease

given by Dr. Cullen verbatim, still they cannot express themselves, nor find in any other nosological work, the method or manner of describing the characteristic symptoms of disease so concisely and correctly given as in his *Nosology*. Accordingly, notwithstanding the march of medical knowledge, and notwithstanding the *Nosology* of Dr. Cullen was published three quarters of a century ago, it is still the text-book of the most distinguished medical schools in Europe, and some years ago an improved edition of it was edited by the learned translator of *Magendie*, Dr. Milligan.

When Dr. Cullen succeeded to the chair of the practice of physic, the doctrines of Boerhaave were in full dominion; but these Dr. Cullen felt himself justified in relinquishing, although his doing so made him appear guilty of little less than heresy in the eyes of his professional contemporaries. The first edition of Dr. Cullen's *Practice of Physic* was published in 1775;—it spread rapidly through Europe, and is said to have produced the author about £3000 sterling—a very considerable sum in those days. Pinel and Bosquillon published several translations of it in Paris; and it also appeared translated into German, Italian, and Latin. The system of medicine explained and advocated by Dr. Cullen in his lectures and in his work, *The First Lines of the Practice of Physic*, is raised on the foundation which had previously been laid by Hoffman, who pointed out more clearly than any of his predecessors, the extensive and powerful influence of the nervous system in producing and modifying the diseases to which the human body is liable. Although the study of pathology does not appear to have been so zealously pursued at that period as it is at present, yet Dr. Cullen, in his course of clinical instruction, always dwelt on the importance of inspecting the bodies of those who died under his treatment, and connecting the *post-mortem* morbid appearances with the symptoms that had been exhibited during life. In addressing a letter to Dr. Balfour Russel, the author of the best work on the plague published in this country, he observes, "You will not find it impossible to separate practice from theory altogether; and therefore if you have a mind to begin with the theory, I have no objection. I think a systematic study of the pathology and *methodus medendi* will be necessary previous to the practice, and you may always have in view a system of the whole of physic." But notwithstanding this, it must be admitted that Dr. Cullen was too fond of theorizing, and like all other philosophers who are anxious to frame a particular system, he often commenced establishing his superstructure before having accumulated a sufficient number of facts to give it a secure foundation. Hence the works of Bonetus, Morgagni, and Lieutaud contain more pathological knowledge than those published at a later date by Dr. Cullen.

Dr. Cullen, in discharging his duties as a professor both in Glasgow and Edinburgh, took very great pains in the instruction of his students; perhaps he is entitled to the credit of having taken a deeper and more sincere interest in their progress than any professor with whose history we are acquainted. Dr. James Anderson, who was his pupil and friend, bears the most unequivocal testimony to his zeal as a public teacher. "For more than thirty years," says he, "that the writer of this article has been honoured with his acquaintance, he has had access to know that Dr. Cullen was in general employed from five to six hours every day in visiting his patients, and prescribing for those at a distance who consulted him in writing; and that, during the session of the college, which, in Edinburgh, lasts from five to six months,

he delivered two public lectures of an hour each, sometimes four lectures a day, during five days of the week; and towards the end of the session, that his students might lose no part of his course, he usually, for a month or six weeks together, delivered lectures six days every week; yet, during all that time, if you chanced to fall in with him in public or in private, you never perceived him either embarrassed or seemingly in a hurry; but at all times he was easy and cheerful, and sociably inclined; and in a private party of whist, for sixpence a game, he could be as keenly engaged for an hour before supper, as if he had no other employment to mind, and would be as much interested in it as if he had £1000 depending on the game."¹ Dr. Anderson further informs us that "the general conduct of Dr. Cullen to his students was this;—with all such as he observed to be attentive and diligent he formed an early acquaintance, by inviting them by twos, by threes, or by fours, at a time, to sup with him; conversing with them on these occasions with the most engaging ease, and freely entering with them on the subject of their studies, their amusements, their difficulties, their hopes, and future prospects. In this way he usually invited the whole of his numerous class, till he made himself acquainted with their abilities, their private characters, and their objects of pursuit. Those among them whom he found most assiduous, best disposed, or the most friendless, he invited most frequently, until an intimacy was gradually formed which proved highly beneficial to them. Their doubts with regard to their objects of study he listened to with attention, and solved with the most obliging condescension. His library, which consisted of an excellent assortment of the best books, especially on medical subjects, was at all times open for their accommodation, and his advice in every case of difficulty to them, they always had it in their power most readily to obtain. From his general acquaintance among the students, and the friendly habits he was on with many of them, he found no difficulty in discovering those among them who were rather in hampered circumstances, without being obliged to hurt their delicacy in any degree. He often found out some polite excuse for refusing to take payment for a first course, and never was at a loss for one to an after-course. Before they could have an opportunity of applying for a ticket, he would lead the conversation to some subject that occurred in the course of his lectures, and as his lectures were never put in writing by himself, he would sometimes beg the favour to see their notes, if he knew they had been taken with attention, under a pretext of assisting his memory. Sometimes he would express a wish to have their opinion on a particular part of his course, and presented them with a ticket for that purpose, and sometimes he refused to take payment under the pretext that they had not received his full course in the preceding year, some part of it having been necessarily omitted for want of time, which he meant to include in this course. These were the particular devices he adopted with individuals to whom economy was necessary, and it was a general rule with him never to take money from any student for more than two courses of the same set of lectures, permitting him to attend these lectures for as many years longer as he pleased, gratis. He introduced another generous principle into the university, which ought not to be passed over in silence. Before he came to Edinburgh, it was the custom for medical professors to accept of fees for medical assistance when wanted, even from medical students them-

¹ *The Bee, or Literary Intelligencer*, vol. i. p. 8.

selves, who were perhaps attending the professor's own lectures at the time; but Dr. Cullen would never take fees as a physician from any student at the university, although he attended them when called in with the same assiduity and care as if they had been persons of the first rank, who paid him most liberally. This gradually induced others to adopt a similar practice; so that it has now become a general rule at this university for medical professors to decline taking any fees when their assistance is necessary for a student.¹

Dr. Aiken, who was also a pupil of Dr. Cullen, bears similar testimony to the generous conduct manifested by him to his students. "He was cordially attentive," says he, "to their interests; admitted them freely to his house; conversed with them on the most familiar terms; solved their doubts and difficulties; gave them the use of his library; and, in every respect, treated them with the respect of a friend, and the regard of a parent."² Nor was the kind interest which Dr. Cullen took in the pursuits of young persons confined to his students alone. Mr. Dugald Stewart informed Dr. Thomson, that during a slight indisposition which confined him for some time to his room, when a boy of fourteen or fifteen years of age, he was attended by Dr. Cullen. In recommending to his patient a little relaxation from his studies, and suggesting some light reading, the doctor inquired whether he had ever read the *History of Don Quixote*. On being answered in the negative, he turned quickly round to Mr. Stewart's father, and desired that the book should be immediately procured. In his subsequent visits to his patient, Dr. Cullen never failed to examine him on the progress he had made in reading the humorous story of the great pattern of chivalry, and to talk over with him every successive incident, scene, and character in that history. In mentioning these particulars, Mr. Stewart remarked that he never could look back on that intercourse without feeling surprise at the minute accuracy with which Dr. Cullen remembered every passage in the life of Don Quixote, and the lively manner in which he sympathized with him in the pleasure he derived from the first perusal of that entertaining romance. In what degree of estimation Mr. Stewart continued to hold that work may be seen by the inimitable character which he has given of it in his dissertation on the progress of metaphysical, ethical, and political philosophy.³

Dr. Cullen, after having been elected professor of the practice of medicine, devoted his time entirely to his duties as a public lecturer, and to his profession; for his fame having extended, his private practice became very considerable. Already we have observed that he had a large family; and about this time, having become acquainted with the celebrated John Brown, a sketch of whose life we have already given in this *Biographical Dictionary*, he engaged him to live in his family as the preceptor of his children, and also as an assistant at his lectures, the substance of which Brown repeated and expounded in the evening to his students; for which purpose the manuscript notes of the morning lectures were generally intrusted to him. It is well known that the habits of John Brown were extremely irregular. After having been his most favourite pupil, he became the most intimate of Dr. Cullen's friends; but three or four years afterwards a quarrel took place between them, after which they ever regarded each other with feelings of the most determined hostility.

John Brown soon became the founder and champion of a system of medicine opposed to that of Dr. Cullen; and the palæstra where the opponents and advocates of both theories met, and where their disputations were carried on with the greatest vigour, was the hall of the medical society. The doctrines of Cullen had there, some years previously, triumphed over those of Boerhaave; but they in their turn were now destined to receive a shock from the zealous advocates of the new theory, which was warmly espoused by many, both at home and abroad.

Dr. Cullen continued to deliver his lectures until within a few months of his death, when, feeling himself subdued by the infirmities of age, he was induced to resign his professorship; "but for some years before his death," observes Dr. James Anderson, "his friends perceived a sensible decline of that ardour and energy of mind which characterized him at a former period. Strangers, who had never seen him before, could not be sensible of this change; nor did any marked decline in him strike them, for his natural vivacity still was such as might pass in general as the unabated vigour of one in the prime of life." He resigned his professorship in the end of December, 1789, and on this occasion received many honourable testimonies of regard from the different public societies in Edinburgh. The lord-provost, magistrates, and town-council presented him with an elegant piece of silver plate with a suitable inscription, in acknowledgment of the services he had rendered to the university and to the community. The senatus academicus of the university, the medical society, the physical society, and many other scientific and literary societies, voted addresses to him, expressive of the high sense entertained of his abilities and services. The physical society of America also forwarded to him a similar address, and concluded by expressing the same wish which had been likewise embodied in the other addresses. It thus concludes:—"And, finally, we express our most cordial wishes that the evening of your days may be crowned with as great an exemption from pain and langour as an advanced state of life admits of, and with all the tranquillity of mind which a consciousness of diffusive benevolence to men and active worth aspires." The several deputations from these public bodies were received by his son Henry, who replied to them by acknowledging the satisfaction which they gave to his father, and the regret he felt that, in consequence of his ill state of health, he was unable to meet them and express his sentiments in person to them.⁴

Dr. Cullen did not long survive his resignation of the professorship; he lingered a few weeks, and died on the 5th of February, 1790, in the eightieth year of his age. His funeral was a private one, and took place on the following Wednesday, the 10th of February; when his remains, attended by a select number of friends, were interred in his burial-place in the churchyard of Kirk Newton, near his house of Ormiston Hill, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.

Of the character of Dr. Cullen in the more retired circle of private life we know little, few anecdotes having been preserved illustrative of the peculiarities of his habits, disposition, or domestic manners. We have been informed, by one who remembers him well, that he had no sense of the value of money. He used to put large sums into an open drawer, to which he and his wife went whenever either of them wanted money. He and his wife lived happily, and many who recollect them have borne testimony to

¹ *The Bee, or Literary Intelligencer*, vol. i. pp. 48, 49.

² *General Biography*, vol. iii. p. 255.

³ *Thomson's Life of Dr. Cullen*, vol. i. p. 136.

⁴ *Evening Courant*, January and February, 1790.

the delightful evenings they always spent whenever they visited them. Dr. Cullen's external appearance, says his friend Dr. Anderson, though striking and not unpleasing, was not elegant. His countenance was expressive, and his eye, in particular, remarkably lively, and at times wonderfully expressive. In his person he was tall and thin, stooping very much about the shoulders. When he walked he had a contemplative look, and did not seem much to regard the objects around him.¹ It remains only for us to add, that the doctrines promulgated by Dr. Cullen, which have had so great an influence on medical science, are now keenly contested; but whether in after-years they stand or fall, all parties must unite in paying a just tribute of admiration to the genius and acquirements of a man who was certainly an ornament to the age in which he lived.

CUNNINGHAM, ALEXANDER, fifth Earl of Glencairn, was the son and successor of William, the fourth earl, and the seventeenth in descent from the founder of his family, Warneald de Cunningham, a Norman settler under Hugh de Moreville, Constable of Scotland, who died in 1162.

There is hardly any patriotic name in Scottish history entitled to more of the credit of a firm and zealous pursuit of liberty, than Alexander, Earl of Glencairn. His father, having been one of the Scottish nobles taken prisoner at Solway Moss, was gained over in England to the interest of the Reformation, which he undertook to advance in his own country. The subject of this memoir was therefore introduced, at an early period, into the political convulsions which took place on account of religion and the English alliance, during the minority of Queen Mary. He succeeded his father in 1547, and on the return of John Knox in 1554 was one of those who openly resorted to hear him preach. The reformer was afterwards received by the earl at his house of Finlayston, where the sacrament of the Lord's supper was dispensed, according to the forms of the Church of Geneva, to his lordship, his tenantry, and friends. When Knox was summoned to appear before a Romish tribunal, on a charge of preaching heretical doctrine, he was recommended by the earl and others to write a letter of remonstrance to the queen-regent, which Glencairn was so bold as to deliver into her own hands. It was of this letter that the queen said, in handing it afterwards to Archbishop Beaton, "Please you, my lord, to read a pasquil." The Earl of Glencairn was one of those eminent persons who, in 1557, associated themselves in a covenant, for the purpose of promoting the establishment of the reformed religion in Scotland. This body has received in history the well-known title of "Lords of the Congregation." In all the subsequent struggles with existing authority, Glencairn took an active and prominent part. Being deputed, in 1558, along with his relative, Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, to remonstrate with the queen against her intended prosecution of the preachers, she answered, that "in spite of all they could do, these men should be banished, although they preached as soundly as ever did St. Paul." The earl and Sir Hugh then reminded her of a former promise to a different effect; to which she answered, that "the promises of princes were no further to be urged upon them for performance than it stood to their convenience." The two deputies then informed her, that "if these were her sentiments, they would no longer be her subjects;" which staggered her so much

that she said she would advise. In May, 1559, when the reformers drawn together at Perth found it necessary to protect themselves by force of arms from the designs of this princess, letters were sent into Ayrshire, as into other parts of Scotland, desiring all the faithful to march to that town, in order to defend the good cause. The reformers of Ayrshire met at the kirk of Craigie, where, on some objections being started, the Earl of Glencairn "in zeal burst forth in these words, 'Let every man serve his conscience. I will, by God's grace, see my brethren in St. Johnston: yea, albeit never a man shall accompany me; I will go, if it were but with a pick [mattock] over my shoulder; for I had rather die with that company than live after them.'" Accordingly, although the queen-regent planted guards on all the rivers in Stirlingshire to prevent his approach, he came to Perth in an incredibly short space of time, with 1200 horse and 1300 foot, having marched night and day in order to arrive in time. The appearance of so determined a leader, with so large a force, subdued the regent to terms, and might be said to have saved the cause from utter destruction. Besides serving the reformers with his sword and feudal influence, he wielded the pen in the same cause. Knox has preserved, in his *History of the Reformation*, a clever pasquinade by the earl upon a shameless adherent of the old religion—the hermit of Loretto, near Musselburgh. After he had seen the triumph of the Protestant faith in 1559-60, he was nominated a member of Queen Mary's privy-council. Zeal for the same faith afterwards induced him to join in the insurrection raised against the queen's authority by the Earl of Murray. After her marriage to Bothwell, he was one of the most active of the associated lords by whom she was dethroned. At Carberry, where he had an important command, when the French ambassador came from the queen, promising them forgiveness if they would disperse, he answered, with his characteristic spirit, that "they came not to ask pardon for any offence they had done, but to grant pardon to those who had offended." After the queen had been consigned to Lochleven, he entered her chapel at Holyrood House with his domestics, and destroyed the whole of the images and other furniture. This he did from the impulse of his own mind, and without consulting any of his friends. In the whole of the subsequent proceedings for establishing the Protestant cause under a regency, he took a zealous part. His lordship died in 1574, and was succeeded by his son William, the sixth earl.

CUNNINGHAM, ALEXANDER. This learned scholar and critic, the exact date of whose birth is so uncertain that we can only suppose it to have been somewhere between 1650 and 1660, was the son of John Cunningham, minister of Cumnock in Ayrshire, and proprietor of the small estate of Block in the same county. At what place he was educated is equally uncertain, and the first situation we hear of him as holding, was that of tutor to Lord George Douglas, younger son of the first Duke of Queensberry. It was probably through the influence of this noble family that Alexander Cunningham was appointed professor of the civil law in the university of Edinburgh, near the end of the seventeenth century. His tenure of office, however, was not permanent, but through no fault of his own. The Duke of Queensberry, who had been commissioner of Queen Anne in the establishment of the union, died, and the chair which Cunningham occupied, being probably a royal professorship, was ignored by the Edinburgh magistrates, who considered themselves

¹ *The Bee, or Literary Intelligencer*, vol. i. p. 166.

as the only patrons of the university. It was also a period when every class in Scotland was especially susceptible about the national independence, and disposed to watch their own corporate privileges with a jealous eye. Without recognizing, therefore, the appointment of Cunningham, the magistrates appointed a professor of civil law chosen by themselves, in 1710, after the other had nominally at least held the office during the twelve previous years.

It is supposed by his talented biographer, Dr. Irving, that Cunningham, from his superior knowledge of philology and the civil law, must have completed his course of academical study, not in Scotland, where these departments of learning were not especially cultivated, but at Leyden or Utrecht, the chief schools of the Scottish juriconsults and classical scholars of that age. This supposition is made the more probable from Cunningham's choice of his future home. Devoted exclusively to the pursuit of learning, he adopted Holland for his country, and settled himself for life at the Hague; and as from his small patrimonial estate of Block, and a pension from the Queensberry family, he was in easy circumstances, he was enabled to pursue his peaceful occupations without interruption, and acquire high reputation as a classical scholar. The justice of this character was afterwards confirmed by his edition of *Horace*, which appeared in 1721. The notes of this edition are brief, and chiefly refer to the various readings of the text; but it appears to have been intended merely as the precursor of a larger work of the same kind, illustrated with fuller annotations, which, however, was never published. But accompanying his edition of *Horace*, was a volume, chiefly consisting of animadversions upon the notes and alterations which Bentley had made upon the Roman poet. That great English Aristarchus of classical literature had published an edition of *Horace* ten years earlier, in which his philological acuteness and want of poetical perception were equally conspicuous, so that in his emendations he too often sacrificed the beauty of the idea to the fancied incorrectness of a word, and by his proposed reading converted a beautifully-imaginative picture into dull commonplace prose. It was to redeem the great ornament of the Augustan period of Roman poetry from such unwarrantable liberties that Cunningham produced this separate volume, in which he successively rescued *Horace* from the strange readings with which the English critic had disfigured his verses. It was not, however, to be supposed that "slashing Bentley," who regarded his own emendations upon a Greek or Latin text as infallible, would brook such contradictions with patience, and he must have been still more highly incensed to find that the learned world were acknowledging the justice of Cunningham's corrections, and declaring that the English scholar had at last met with his match. The learned Scot was now recognized and proclaimed as the most able of Bentley's critical antagonists.

After passing the uneventful life of a student, in which his existence was chiefly known, and his worth recognized by his writings, Cunningham died in the year 1730. The publications that bear his name are the following:—

Alexandri Cunninghamii Animadversiones in Richardi Bentleyi Notas et Emendationes ad Q. Horatium Flaccum. Hagae Comitum, apud Thomam Johnsonium, 1721, 8vo.

Q. Horatii Flacci Poemata. Ex antiquis codd. et certis observationibus emendavit, variasque scriptorum et impressorum lectiones adjecit Alexander Cunninghamius. Hagae Comitum, apud Thomam Johnsonium, 1721, 8vo.

P. Virgillii Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis, ex recensione Alexandri Cunninghamii Scoti, cujus emendationes subjiciuntur. Edinburgi, apud G. Hamilton et J. Balfour, 1743, 8vo.

Phaedri Augusti Liberti Fabularum Aesopiarum libri quinque, ex emendatione Alexandri Cunninghamii Scoti. Accedunt Publici Syri, et aliorum veterum Sententiae. Edinburgi, apud G. Hamilton et J. Balfour, Academiae Typographos, 1757, 8vo.

Besides these works, Cunningham had contemplated several which he did not live to finish. Besides his larger edition of *Horace*, he had employed himself for many years upon a critical edition of the Pandects, of which large expectations were formed, and which, had it been finished, would have been the largest and most important of his publications. He had also made preparations for a work on the evidences of the Christian religion, which, however, he did not live to execute. His library, which was catalogued for sale after his death, was both curious and valuable, and especially abounded in the departments of philology and jurisprudence. To this scanty notice we can only add, that Cunningham appears to have been as famed for his skill in chess-playing as he was in scholarship and criticism. He was indeed reckoned, according to the testimony of the historian Wodrow, the best chess-player in Europe.

CUNNINGHAM, ALEXANDER. This learned scholar and historian has, from identity of name, been often confounded with the subject of the preceding notice. He was a son of Alexander Cunningham, minister of Ettrick in Selkirkshire, but at what date he was born we are unable to ascertain. At first he was educated at Selkirk school, but being destined for the church, his studies were continued in Holland, as was the custom with Scottish theological students during the latter part of the seventeenth century. He was also employed as a travelling tutor both in the Argyle and Newcastle families, and having studied the law of England, was distinguished as a chamber-counsel, but never pleaded at the bar. To these few particulars it may be added, that he travelled on the Continent as tutor with James, afterwards Earl of Hyndford, and the Hon. William Carmichael, afterwards solicitor-general for Scotland; that they passed two winters at Utrecht and Franeker between the years 1692 and 1695; and that he had visited Rome in 1699 or the beginning of 1700. In these professional tours he also collected a considerable number of books, and was learned and curious in their selection. It also appears that in such a life of travel and secular studies, he had abandoned his original purpose of devoting himself to the ministry, as no further mention is made of it.

After his engagements as a travelling tutor were ended, Alexander Cunningham, in 1701, was employed in a different capacity, being sent to France by King William, to conduct a negotiation concerning the trade between France and Scotland. But with this ostensible object of his mission certain secret duties of a different kind were connected, and he appears to have furnished his royal master with an exact account of the military preparations at that time made in France—intelligence which was more important to William, than the prosperity of the infant merchandise of Scotland. In 1703 he is also said to have visited Hanover, where he was graciously received by the elector (afterwards George I.) and the Princess Sophia. This is not unlikely, if we take into account the vital importance of the Hanoverian succession, the great political subject of the period, and the principles of Cunningham, which were those of a de-

cided Whig. During the reign of George I. he was appointed minister to the state of Venice, and held that office from 1715 to 1720. His residence during the latter part of his life appears to have been London, but at what period he died we are unable to discover. We only know that he was living in 1735, from an intimation that in that year the Earl of Hyndford visited him in London.

It is probable that, notwithstanding the learning and active life of Cunningham, and the important political events with which he was connected, he might have passed away without remembrance, had it not been for a large work in MS. written in Latin, which long after his death came into the possession of Dr. Hollingbery, archdeacon of Chichester, whose family was nearly connected with the deceased. This was *The History of Great Britain, from the Revolution of 1688 to the Accession of George I.* Finding that it contained "many curious anecdotes and facts which have escaped other historians, and threw new light on several important transactions in this kingdom," the archdeacon resolved to publish it; not, however, in the original Latin, which would have found very few readers, but translated into English. Being unable, however, from ill health to accomplish such a task, he delegated it to Dr. Thomson, author of the continuation of *Watson's History of Spain*, by whom a spirited translation of Cunningham's history was published in two volumes 4to in London in 1787. In the introduction to the publication Dr. Thomson stated, "It may be necessary, in announcing the work now offered to the public, to premise that it is neither a republication, nor a mere compilation of facts; that it is not addressed merely, though it certainly be in part, to a passion for anecdotes and antiquities; and that it is not dictated by a spirit of controversy. It is the production of a man who, having lived long on the stage, and conversed with the principal actors in public life, is animated by the recent scenes which he had seen, and in some of which he himself had acted a part. It contains facts that have passed unobserved by other historians; some, though not new when considered separately, are selected, disposed, and described with a skill which bestows on them all the grace of novelty; and the whole of them, whether new or old, are united by a principle of connection into one interesting view, which makes an impression on the mind of something that is uniform and entire." The readers of the end of the last century bore witness to the truth of this eulogium, by the relish with which they perused the work, and the popularity into which they raised it; and although, with those of the present day, Cunningham's *History of Great Britain, from the Revolution of 1688 to the Accession of George I.*, is now little known, this is the less to be regretted, as the information it conveys has been absorbed into the histories of more recent origin. It is much that such a work can so survive, and be useful even when its individuality is forgot.

CUNNINGHAM, ALLAN. This distinguished poet entered the world under those lowly circumstances, and was educated under those disadvantages, which have so signally characterized the history of the best of our Scottish bards. He was born at Blackwood, in Dumfriesshire, in 1785, and was the fourth son of his parents, who were persons in the humblest ranks of life. One circumstance, however, connected with his ancestry must have gratified the Tory and feudal predilections of Allan Cunningham; for his family had been of wealth and worship, until one of his forefathers lost the patrimonial estate by siding with Montrose during the wars of the Commonwealth. A more useful circumstance for his

future career was his father's love of Scottish anti-quarianism, which induced him to hoard up every tale, ballad, and legend connected with his native country—a love which Allan quickly acquired and successfully prosecuted. Like the children of the Scottish peasantry, he was sent to school at a very early age; but he does not seem to have been particularly fortunate in the two teachers under whom he was successively trained, for they were stern Cameronians; and it was probably under their scrupulous and over-strict discipline that he acquired that tendency to laugh at religious ascetism which so often breaks out in his writings. He was removed from this undesirable tuition at the tender age of eleven, and bound apprentice to a stone-mason; but he still could enjoy the benefit of his father's instructions, whom he describes as possessing "a warm heart, lively fancy, benevolent humour, and pleasant happy wit." Another source of training which the young apprentice enjoyed was the "trystes" and "rockings" so prevalent in his day—rural meetings, in which the mind of Burns himself was prepared for the high office of being the national poet of Scotland. The shadows of these delightful "ploys" still linger in Nithsdale and some of the more remote districts of Ayrshire; and it is pleasing to recall them to memory, for the sake of those great minds they nursed, before they have passed away for ever. They were complete trials of festivity and wit, where to sing a good song, tell a good story, or devise a happy impromptu, was the great aim of the lads and lasses assembled from miles around to the peat fire of a kitchen hearth, and where the corypheus of the joyful meeting was the "long-remembered beggar" of the district—one who possessed more songs and tales than all the rest of the country besides, and who, on account of the treasures of this nature which he freely imparted, was honoured as a public benefactor, and preferred to the best seat in the circle, instead of being regarded as a public burden. But the schoolmaster and the magistrate are now abroad; and while the rockings are fast disappearing, the Edie Ochiltree who inspired them is dying in the alms-house. May they be succeeded in this age of improving change by better schools and still more rational amusements!

While the youth of Allan Cunningham was trained under this tuition, he appears also to have been a careful reader of every book that came within his reach. This is evident from the multifarious knowledge which his earliest productions betokened. He had also commenced the writing of poetry at a very early period, having been inspired by the numerous songs and ballads with which the poetical district of Nithsdale is stored. When about the age of eighteen he seems to have been seized with an earnest desire to visit the Ettrick Shepherd, at that time famed as a poet, but whose early chances of such distinction had scarcely equalled his own; and forth accordingly he set off in this his first pilgrimage of hero-worship, accompanied by an elder brother. The meeting Hogg has fully described in his *Reminiscences of former Days*; and he particularizes Allan as "a dark ungainly youth of about eighteen, with a boardly frame for his age, and strongly marked manly features—the very model of Burns, and exactly such a man." The stripling poet, who stood at a bashful distance, was introduced to the Shepherd by his brother, who added, "You will be so kind as excuse this intrusion of ours on your solitude; for, in truth, I could get no peace either night or day with Allan till I consented to come and see you." "I then stepped down the hill," continues Hogg, "to where Allan Cunningham still stood, with his weather-beaten cheek toward me, and seizing his hard brawny hand,

I gave it a hearty shake, saying something as kind as I was able, and, at the same time, I am sure, as stupid as it possibly could be. From that moment we were friends, for Allan has none of the proverbial Scottish caution about him; he is all heart together, without reserve either of expression or manner: you at once see the unaffected benevolence, warmth of feeling, and firm independence of a man conscious of his own rectitude and mental energies. Young as he was, I had heard of his name, although slightly, and I think seen two or three of his juvenile pieces.

. . . . I had a small bothy upon the hill, in which I took my breakfast and dinner on wet days, and rested myself. It was so small that we had to walk in on all-fours, and when we were in we could not get up our heads any way but in a sitting posture. It was exactly my own length, and on the one side I had a bed of rushes, which served likewise as a seat. On this we all three sat down, and there we spent the whole afternoon; and, I am sure, a happier group of three never met on the hill of Queensberry. Allan brightened up prodigiously after he got into the dark bothy, repeating all his early pieces of poetry and part of his brother's to me. . . . From that day forward I failed not to improve my acquaintance with the Cunninghams. I visited them several times at Dalswinton, and never missed an opportunity of meeting with Allan when it was in my power to do so. I was astonished at the luxuriousness of his fancy. It was boundless; but it was the luxury of a rich garden overrun with rampant weeds. He was likewise then a great mannerist in expression, and no man could mistake his verses for those of any other man. I remember seeing some imitations of Ossian by him, which I thought exceedingly good; and it struck me that that style of composition was peculiarly fitted for his vast and fervent imagination."

Such is the interesting sketch which Hogg has given us of the early life and character of a brother poet and congenial spirit. The full season at length arrived when Allan Cunningham was to burst from his obscurity. Cromek, to the full as enthusiastic an admirer of Scottish poetry as himself, was collecting his well-known relics; and in the course of his quest young Cunningham was pointed out as one who could aid him in the work. Allan gladly assented to the task of gathering and preserving these old national treasures, and in due time presented to the zealous antiquary a choice collection of apparently old songs and ballads, which were inserted in the *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song*, published in 1810. But the best of these, and especially the "Mermaid of Galloway," were the production of Cunningham's own pen. This Hogg at once discovered as soon as the collection appeared, and he was zealous in proclaiming to all his literary friends that "Allan Cunningham was the author of all that was beautiful in the work." He communicated his convictions also to Sir Walter Scott, who was of the same opinion, and expressed his fervent wish that such a valuable and original young man were fairly out of Cromek's hands. Resolved that the world should know to whom it was really indebted for so much fine poetry, Hogg next wrote a critique upon Cromek's publication, which he sent to the *Edinburgh Review*; but although Jeffrey was aware of the *ruse* which Cunningham had practised, he did not think it worthy of exposure. In this strange literary escapade the poet scarcely appears to merit the title of "honest Allan," which Sir Walter Scott subsequently bestowed upon him, and rather to deserve the doubtful place held by such writers as Chatterton, Ireland, and Macpherson. It must, however, be observed in extenuation, that Cunningham, by passing off his own

productions as remains of ancient Scottish song, compromised no venerated names, as the others had done. He gave them only as anonymous verses, to which neither date nor author could be assigned.

In the same year that Cromek's *Remains* were published (1810), Allan Cunningham abandoned his humble and unhealthy occupation, and repaired to London, which was thenceforth to be his home. He had reached the age of twenty-five, was devoted heart and soul to intellectual labour, and felt within himself the capacity of achieving something higher than squaring stones and erecting country cottages. On settling in London he addressed himself to the duties of a literary adventurer with energy and success, so that his pen was seldom idle; and among the journals to which he was a contributor may be mentioned the *Literary Gazette*, the *London Magazine*, and the *Athenaeum*. Even this, at the best, was precarious, and will often desert the most devoted industry; but Cunningham, fortunately, had learned a craft upon which he was not too proud to fall back should higher resources forsake him. Chantrey, the eminent statuary, was in want of a foreman who combined artistic imagination and taste with mechanical skill and experience; and what man could be better fitted for the office than the mason, poet, and journalist, who had now established for himself a considerable literary reputation? A union was formed between the pair that continued till death; and the appearance of these inseparables, as they continued from year to year to grow in celebrity, the one as a sculptor and the other as an author, seldom failed to arrest the attention of the good folks of Pimlico as they took their daily walk from the studio in Ecclestone Street to the foundry in the Mews. Although the distance was considerable, as well as a public thoroughfare, they usually walked bareheaded, while the short figure, small round face, and bald head of the artist were strikingly contrasted with the tall stalwart form, dark bright eyes, and large sentimental countenance of the poet. The duties of Cunningham in the capacity of "friend and assistant," as Chantrey was wont to term him, were sufficiently multifarious; and of these the superintendence of the artist's extensive workshop was not the least. The latter, although so distinguished as a statuary, had obtuse feelings and a limited imagination, while those of Cunningham were of the highest order: the artist's reading had been very limited, but that of the poet was extensive and multifarious. Cunningham was, therefore, as able in suggesting graceful attitudes in figures, picturesque folds in draperies, and new proportions for pedestals, as Chantrey was in executing them; and in this way the former was a very Mentor and muse to the latter. Besides all this, Cunningham recommended his employer's productions through the medium of the press, illustrated their excellencies, and defended them against maligners; fought his battles against rival committees, and established his claims when they would have been sacrificed in favour of some inferior artist. Among the other methods by which Chantrey's artistic reputation was thus established and diffused abroad, may be mentioned a sketch of his life and an account of his works, published in *Blackwood's Magazine* for April, 1820, and a critique in the *Quarterly Review* for 1826, both of these articles being from the pen of Allan Cunningham. The poet was also the life of the artist's studio by his rich enlivening conversation, and his power of illustrating the various busts and statues which the building contained; so that it was sometimes difficult to tell whether the living man or the high delineations of art possessed most attraction for many among its thousands of visitors. In this way also the highest in rank and the most distinguished

in talent were brought into daily intercourse with him, from among whom he could select the characters he most preferred for friendship or acquaintance.

Among the illustrious personages with whom his connection with Chantrey brought him into contact, the most gratifying of all to the mind of Cunningham must have been the acquaintance to which it introduced him with Sir Walter Scott. We have already seen how devout a hero-worshipper he was by the visit he paid to the Ettrick Shepherd. Under the same inspiration, while still working as a stonemason in Nithsdale, he once walked to Edinburgh for the privilege of catching a glimpse of the author of *Marmion* as he passed along the public street. In 1820, when Cunningham had himself become a distinguished poet and miscellaneous writer, he came in personal contact with the great object of his veneration in consequence of being the bearer of a request from Chantrey that he would allow a bust to be taken of him. The meeting was highly characteristic of both parties. Sir Walter met his visitor with both hands extended, for the purpose of a cordial double shake, and gave a hearty "Allan Cunningham, I am glad to see you." The other stammered out something about the pleasure he felt in touching the hand that had charmed him so much. "Ay," said Scott, moving the member, with one of his pawky smiles, "and a big brown hand it is." He then complimented the bard of Nithsdale upon his ballads, and entreated him to try something of still higher consequence "for dear auld Scotland's sake," quoting these words of Burns. The result of Cunningham's immediate mission was the celebrated bust of Sir Walter Scott by Chantrey—a bust which not only gives the external semblance, but expresses the very character and soul of the mighty magician, and that will continue through late generations to present his likeness as distinctly as if he still moved among them.

The acquaintanceship thus auspiciously commenced was not allowed to lie idle; and while it materially benefited the family of Cunningham, it also served at once to elicit and gratify the warm-hearted benevolence of Sir Walter. The event is best given in the words of Lockhart, Sir Walter Scott's son-in-law and biographer. "Breakfasting one morning (this was in the summer of 1828) with Allan Cunningham, and commending one of his publications, he looked round the table and said, 'What are you going to make of all these boys, Allan?' 'I ask that question often at my own heart,' said Allan, 'and I cannot answer it.' 'What does the eldest point to?' 'The callant would fain be a soldier, Sir Walter—and I have half a promise of a commission in the king's army for him; but I wish rather he would go to India, for there the pay is a maintenance, and one does not need interest at every step to get on.' Scott dropped the subject, but went an hour afterwards to Lord Melville, who was now president of the Board of Control, and begged a cadetship for young Cunningham. Lord Melville promised to inquire if he had one at his disposal, in which case he would gladly serve the son of honest Allan; but the point being thus left doubtful, Scott, meeting Mr. John Loch, one of the East India directors, at dinner the same evening, at Lord Stafford's, applied to him and received an immediate assent. On reaching home at night he found a note from Lord Melville intimating that he had inquired, and was happy in complying with his request. Next morning Sir Walter appeared at Sir F. Chantrey's breakfast-table, and greeted the sculptor (who is a brother of the angle) with, 'I suppose it has sometimes happened to you to catch one trout (which was all you thought

of) with the fly, and another with the bobber. I have done so, and I think I shall land them both. Don't you think Cunningham would like very well to have cadetships for two of those fine lads?' 'To be sure he would,' said Chantrey, 'and if you'll secure the commissions I'll make the outfit easy.' Great was the joy in Allan's household on this double good news; but I should add that, before the thing was done, he had to thank another benefactor. Lord Melville, after all, went out of the Board of Control before he had been able to fulfil his promise; but his successor, Lord Ellenborough, on hearing the circumstances of the case, desired Cunningham to set his mind at rest; and both his young men are now prospering in the India service."

By being thus established in Chantrey's employ, and having a salary sufficient for his wants, Allan Cunningham was released from the necessity of an entire dependence on authorship, as well as from the extreme precariousness with which it is generally accompanied, especially in London. He did not, however, on that account relapse into the free and easy life of a mere dilettanti writer. On the contrary, these advantages seem only to have stimulated him to further exertion; so that, to the very end of his days, he was not only a diligent, laborious student, but a continually improving author. Mention has already been made of the wild exuberance that characterized his earliest efforts in poetry. Hogg, whose sentiments on this head we have already seen, with equal justice characterizes its after-progress. "Mr. Cunningham's style of poetry is greatly changed of late for the better. I have never seen any style improved so much. It is free of that all crudeness and mannerism that once marked it so decidedly. He is now uniformly lively, serious, descriptive, or pathetic, as he changes his subject; but formerly he jumbled all these together, as in a boiling cauldron, and when once he began, it was impossible to calculate where or when he was going to end." Scott, who will be reckoned a higher authority, is still louder in praise of Cunningham, and declared that some of his songs, especially that of *It's hame and it's hame*, were equal to Burns. But although his fame commenced with his poetry, and will ultimately rest mainly upon it, he was a still more voluminous prose writer, and in a variety of departments, as the following list of his chief works will sufficiently show:—

Sir Marmaduke Maxwell, a drama. This production Cunningham designed for the stage, and sent it in M.S., in 1820, to Sir Walter Scott for his perusal and approbation. But the judgment formed of it was, that it was a beautiful dramatic poem rather than a play, and therefore better fitted for the closet than the stage. In this opinion every reader of *Sir Marmaduke Maxwell* will coincide, more especially when he takes into account the complexity of the plot, and the capricious manner in which the interest is shifted.

Paul Jones, a novel; *Sir Michael Scott*, a novel. Although Cunningham had repressed the wildness of his imagination in poetry, it still worked madly within him, and evidently required a safety-valve after being denied its legitimate outlet. No one can be doubtful of the fact who peruses these novels; for not only do they drive truth into utter fiction, but fiction itself into the all but unimaginable. This is especially the case with the last of these works, in which the extravagant dreams of the Pythagorean or the Brahmin are utterly out-heroded. Hence, notwithstanding the beautiful ideas and profusion of stirring events with which they are stored—enough, indeed, to have furnished a whole stock of novels

and romances—they never became favourites with the public, and have now ceased to be remembered.

Songs of Scotland, Ancient and Modern, with Introduction and Notes, Historical and Critical, and Characters of the Lyric Poets. Four vols. 8vo, 1825. Some of the best poems in this collection are by Cunningham himself; not introduced surreptitiously, however, as in the case of Cromek, but as his own productions; and of these *De Bruce* contains such a stirring account of the battle of Bannockburn as Scott's *Lord of the Isles* has not surpassed.

Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects, published in Murray's "Family Library." Six vols. 12mo. 1829-33. This work, although defective in philosophical and critical analysis, and chargeable, in many instances, with partiality, continues to be highly popular, in consequence of the poetical spirit with which it is pervaded, and the vivacious, attractive style in which it is written. This was what the author probably aimed at, instead of producing a work that might serve as a standard for artists and connoisseurs; and in this he has fully succeeded.

Literary Illustrations to Major's "Cabinet Gallery of Pictures." 1833-34.

The Maid of Elvar, a poem.

Lord Roldan, a romance.

Life of Burns.

Life of Sir David Wilkie. Three vols. 8vo. 1843. Cunningham, who knew the painter well, and loved him dearly as a congenial Scottish spirit, found in this production the last of his literary efforts, as he finished its final corrections only two days before he died. At the same time, he had made considerable progress in an extended edition of Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*; and a *Life of Chantrey* was also expected from his pen; but before these could be accomplished, both poet and sculptor, after a close union of twenty-nine years, had ended their labours, and bequeathed their memorial to other hands. The last days of Chantrey were spent in drawing the tomb in which he wished to be buried, in the churchyard of Norton, in Derbyshire, the place of his nativity; and while showing the plans to his assistant, he observed, with a look of anxiety, "But there will be no room for you." "Room for me!" cried Allan Cunningham, "I would not lie like a toad in a stone, or in a place strong enough for another to covet. O, no! let me lie where the green grass and the daisies grow, waving under the winds of the blue heaven." The wish of both was satisfied; for Chantrey reposes under his mausoleum of granite, and Cunningham in the picturesque cemetery of Harrow. The artist by his will left the poet a legacy of £2000, but the constitution of the latter was so prematurely exhausted that he lived only a year after his employer. His death, which was occasioned by paralysis, occurred at Lower Belgrave Place, Pimlico, on the 29th October, 1842, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

CUNNINGHAM, THOMAS MOUNSEY. This excellent poet and song-writer belonged to a family that has been prolific of genius during two generations, being the second son of a family of ten children, and elder brother of Allan Cunningham. His father, John Cunningham, who had been previously a land-steward, first in the county of Durham and afterwards in Dumfriesshire, ultimately leased the farm of Culfaud, in the stewardry of Kirkcudbright, and there Thomas was born on the 25th of June, 1776; but his father having been unsuccessful as a farmer, the family migrated to several abodes successively, so that Thomas was educated, first at the village school of Kellieston, and afterwards at the

schools and academy of Dumfries, where he completed his education by acquiring the knowledge of book-keeping, mathematics, the French tongue, and a little Latin. At the age of sixteen he became clerk to Mr. John Maxwell of Terraughty, but soon after, having been offered a clerkship in South Carolina, he was preparing to set out for that quarter, but was dissuaded by the advice of Mr. Patrick Miller of Dalswinton, to whom his father at that time was factor. It was necessary, however, on account of home poverty and a numerous family, that Thomas should learn some trade or manual profession, and, accordingly, by his own choice, he was apprenticed to the laborious occupation of a mill-wright. It was while he was thus employed, that during the leisure hours of this toilsome apprenticeship he recreated himself with the cultivation of poetry; and his productions, which were in his native tongue, found acceptance with the neighbouring peasantry, for whom they were chiefly written. His father also, who appears to have been a man of taste and judgment, approved of these juvenile productions, and encouraged him to persevere. But the best stamp of their merit in the eyes of a young poet was the fact, that one of his pieces was actually put in print. This was the poem of the *Har' st Kirn*, written in 1797, descriptive of the fun and frolic of a harvest-home in a farmhouse in Scotland, and which was published by Messrs. Brash and Reid, booksellers in Glasgow, in their series of *Poetry, Original and Selected*.

Having finished his apprenticeship during the same year, Thomas Mounsey Cunningham went to England to exercise his craft, and found employment in the workshop of a mill-wright in Rotherham. His employer having become bankrupt, he went to London, and was seriously thinking of trying his fortune in the West Indies, when his former employer, who had recommenced business at Lynn in Norfolk, invited him to return. He complied, and remained at Lynn until 1800, when he removed to Wiltshire, and soon after to the neighbourhood of Cambridge. Still prosecuting his employment and endeavouring to better his condition, he proceeded to Dover, and while there witnessed, in 1805, a sea engagement between our cruisers and the French flotilla. From Dover he subsequently went to London, where he occupied a situation in the establishment of Mr. Rennie, the celebrated engineer and his countryman, which he afterwards exchanged for that of foreman to Mr. Dickson, also an engineer, and superintendent of Fowler's chain-cable manufactory. In 1812, a clerkship in Rennie's establishment having become vacant, Thomas Cunningham was invited to occupy it, in consequence of which he went back to his former quarters, and there, latterly, became principal clerk, with a liberal salary, and permission to admit his eldest son as his assistant. This ended his manifold peregrinations and changes, which however had always been conducted prudently, and had led to advancement, until they finally located him in respectability and comfort, and where he had for his fellow-citizen his brother Allan, already beginning to be known in the literary world. Such a termination seldom falls to the lot of poet adventurers, especially if poetry is their sole dependence.

When he went to the south to "pouse his fortune," in 1797, Thomas Cunningham had been earnestly advised by his counsellor, Mr. Miller of Dalswinton, to abjure his indulgences in poetry—and with this difficult restriction he had so far complied, as to let his harp lie mute for nine long years. But after this penance he again ventured to touch the strings, and in 1806 he sent to the *Scots Magazine* several poetical

productions, which arrested attention, and were declared to be the best that had adorned its pages. Such was the opinion of Hogg himself, already a contributor to the magazine, who having discovered the author, addressed him in a highly complimentary epistle, to which the other replied in verse in the same journal. When the Ettrick Shepherd also planned the *Forest Minstrel* in 1809, and applied to his poetical friend for contributions, Cunningham permitted him to republish such of his productions as pleased him from the magazine, and these are the best poems in the *Forest Minstrel*, unless we except those of Hogg himself. But while Cunningham's fame as a poet was thus rising to a height that might have proved dangerous to his worldly advancement, a check occurred which induced him suddenly to pause. Some critical allusions to his style occurred in the *Scots Magazine*, and with these he was so highly offended that he again relapsed into poetical silence, which was continued for another nine years. It was only a still worse injury that made him at last speak out. One of his songs was published without his permission in the *Nithsdale Minstrel*, and incensed at this unhandsome act of *lifting*, he snatched up his pen to write a severe castigation of the publishers of the *Minstrel*, which appeared in the *Scots Magazine* of 1815. The flood-gates of his inspiration being thus opened anew, he continued to write, and in the *Edinburgh Magazine*, which was started in 1817 he contributed, under the title of the *Literary Legacy*, a miscellany or medley of things old and new, in prose and in verse, which were of popular interest, and highly advantageous to the periodical. Thus matters continued, until a slight difference with the editor reduced him once more to a moody silence, which this time was to be perpetual. It will be seen from these events, that he was not only touchy in taking offence, but obstinate in nursing the feud. During the latter period of his life he was so careful of the literary reputation he had won, that he held an annual "*auto de fe*" upon his productions both in prose and poetry written during the elapsed year, and those which did not satisfy him he consigned to the flames. But such deeds of arbitrary destruction are apt at times to be too hasty, and on one such occasion he destroyed the *Braken Fell*, one of the best of his compositions in verse, which contained a diverting description of the droll characters he had known and the scenes he had witnessed in his early days. The loss was irretrievable, and his brother Allan, who valued the poem very highly, deplored its hasty doom.

Although Cunningham was so capricious in literature, he was very different in the affairs of business: in these his industry, steadiness, and perseverance were so conspicuous, as to secure the confidence of his employers, and work his way from the rank of a mere workman to a position of respectability and comfort. He had indeed a double portion of that prudence which distinguished his brother Allan, so that instead of using literature as a crutch, or even a staff, he handled it as a switch, and could throw it lightly aside when there was work for both hands to do. It was this toying with poetry, and indifference to authorship as an occupation, which his friends, and especially the Ettrick Shepherd, so deeply regretted; but Thomas Cunningham persevered to the end in preferring the honourable substantialities of life to uncertain fame and the risk of starvation. He died of Asiatic cholera on the 28th of October, 1834, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. His larger poems are distinguished by drollery and grave Scottish humour, while his songs, which are the best specimens of his poetical powers, abound in forcible cor-

rect description, with deep feeling and tenderness. Among these was his *Hills of Galloway*, which was attributed successively to Robert Burns and James Hogg, before its real author was ascertained.

CUNNINGHAM, REV. WILLIAM, D. D., LL. D. This profound theologian and distinguished controversialist, whose name is so closely connected with the origin of the Free Church, was born in the town of Hamilton in 1805. His father, who was a merchant, a word in the provincial towns of Scotland indicating a storekeeper or dealer in miscellaneous articles, dealt in drapery and hardware goods in Castle Wynd, Hamilton. He died, however, when William, the eldest of three sons, was only five years of age, leaving the family very scantily provided, in consequence of which the widow with her children was obliged to return to her father's house in Lesmahago. Here William was sent to school, the teacher of which was a sister's son of the poet Burns, and who still is teacher of the parochial school of Kinross. But the residence of the fatherless boy at Lesmahago was brief, for when he was only ten years of age his grandfather died, and Mrs. Cunningham was obliged to seek a new home. Her choice was naturally decided for Dunse, of which her brother was parish minister, and there William was educated for five more years at the school taught by a Mr. Maule. Having in this way acquired a knowledge of the branches of an ordinary education, and a sufficient acquaintanceship with classical learning to fit him for entrance into college, he went to Edinburgh in 1820, and at the age of fifteen became a student of the university.

From the foregoing account it can easily be surmised that the college career of William Cunningham was not to be an easy one. Unpatronized and unaided, he had encountered in mere boyhood the task of a man, and while making himself a scholar, must labour for his own support. But no one who saw him in after-life—who noted his resolute features and bold straightforward bearing, that made way through every difficulty, like a ship in its course—could believe him likely to fail either through indolence or faint-heartedness. While at college he maintained himself by working as a tutor and private teacher, and while thus labouring to make others good scholars, he perfected his own classical attainments; thus also he trained himself to encounter those difficulties which, in future years, he saw, faced, and overcame. The champion of the disruption, which was like the rending of the pillars of Hercules, was not to be nursed upon a bed of down and a silken pillow. We need not follow his course of education from class to class at college; his was a silent unostentatious character, that did not parade its intellectual attainments; but his early diligence, and the proficiency that rewarded it, were strikingly indicated in the full equipment with which, when still young, he entered the field, and distanced every rival. Having finished the *curriculum* prescribed by the rules of the Church of Scotland, he was licensed to preach by the presbytery of Dunse in 1828. He was now a probationer; but like many others of unrecognized talent and unfulfilled renown, he might have remained a probationer for years, had it not been for a circumstance which the world would call fortunate, and the more reflective providential. Early in 1829 the Rev. Dr. Scott, minister of the West Church, Greenock, having been disabled from his clerical duties by paralysis, engaged Mr. Cunningham as an assistant, and in this capacity he became so popular with the congregation, that they soon after wished the temporary tie to be made permanent. This was done,

and, as colleague and successor to Dr. Scott, Mr. Cunningham became one of the ministers of Greenock.

It was thus as a popular preacher, and owing to no other advantage, that at the age of twenty-four he secured that suffrage in his favour which forms the great mark of pulpit ambition, and passed almost at a single step from an unnoticed student into an eloquent and popular divine. And yet he was no mere pulpit declaimer, but a cool investigator and stubborn reasoner—a theologian who went to the root of the matter, and presented it to his hearers as he found it; and when his preaching rose into vehement fervour, which it often did, it was a logician's rather than an orator's earnestness and wrath. That such a kind of preaching should be so captivating, was owing to the peculiar character and circumstances of those who sat under his ministry. The people of Greenock are a cool, calculating, matter-of-fact generation, unaccustomed to the blandishments of oratory, and not likely to care for it though it should address them with the voice of the charmer. They had also been indoctrinated in a stern demonstrative theology first by Dr. Love, and afterwards by Dr. Scott, who had been their favourite clerical teachers, and whose substantial preaching was suited to their characters and wants. Thus the place and people had been prepared for Mr. Cunningham, whose "deep preaching" had found its proper sphere. After this explanation, it will not be wondered at that he who had been the most popular of preachers in Greenock, should have been afterwards one of the least popular in Edinburgh. There every circumstance was reversed. In modern as in ancient Athens, the citizens were employed in hearing or telling some new thing, and with them the theology of their fathers had become somewhat effete. They must have—not a *new* theology, for as yet they were too orthodox for that, but the old dressed up so as to look as good as new, and be accommodated to the prevalent fashion. But to such a dainty transmutation Cunningham could not, and would not succumb; and was therefore obliged to content himself in Edinburgh with a choice but diminished audience.

Irrespective of mere popular dislike or indifference, such merit as Mr. Cunningham's could not long be hid, and the time was at hand when its worth was to be recognized and called into full exercise. An attempt was made to have him as one of the ministers of Glasgow, by the town-council of that city, to which the patronage of its churches belongs, but this he respectfully declined. But in 1833, when he was elected a member of the General Assembly, the young minister of Greenock seemed to find himself in his proper sphere; and his talents in ecclesiastical debate were so remarkable, as to arrest general attention, and secure the favour of the church party to which he belonged. It was well, too, that such recognition occurred, as the conflict had already commenced in the Church of Scotland which was to deepen with every year, and only to terminate with the disruption. The general desire was to secure his services for Edinburgh, and in 1834 he was translated to the capital as minister of Trinity College Church.

Being now at the head-quarters of the great ecclesiastical controversy, Dr. Cunningham was a power that was speedily felt both by his own party, called the evangelical, and the opposite, termed the moderate; and his opposition to patronage, and advocacy of the rights of the people in choosing their own ministers, were conducted with a clearness and force of argument, and a knowledge of church history, which his opponents felt to be irresistible; so that few could sustain a stand-up combat with this

logical Titan. Into the particulars, however, of the ten years that followed we do not enter, as this would be to give a detail of the history of the disruption, and the erection of the separate Free Church of Scotland. It is enough to state, that in every stage of that protracted contest he was an influential leader, and in every debate a matchless disputant. To the charms of oratory or the graces of elocution he made no pretence whatever; and as for the poetry or sentimentality of the subject, one might as soon have expected a sprinkling of rose-water from the trunk of an elephant. He dealt in hard facts and naked ideas, and every word beyond these was in his eyes a superfluity or a gewgaw. His forte lay in the skill with which he stripped the question of every redundant or perplexing adjunct; the firmness with which he grasped the leading idea, let it twist or lubricate as it might; and the clear, concise, and forcible language with which he described it or settled it, according as the occasion might require. And that his definitions were exact, and his demonstrations sound, was shown by the audience that listened and the effects of his pleading. In the General Assembly were usually comprised the most learned, the most accomplished and talented men of the kingdom; their national circumspection was sharpened by the importance of the topics and the consequences that depended on them; and any attempts in sophistry would have been certain of detection and exposure, and a ground of jubilant triumph. But through this terrible ordeal Dr. Cunningham passed, not only unscathed, but victorious.

When the tedious conflict ended in the retirement of the dissentients, and the establishment of the Free Church with all the apparatus of a national institution, Dr. Cunningham was appropriately appointed professor of church history in the new college which was forthwith instituted for the education of a Free Church ministry. It was a situation every way congenial to the occupant and the fame he had already acquired in that department of knowledge; and his efficiency as a teacher of church history was displayed by the new impulse he gave to the study of that long-neglected department of knowledge, and the enthusiasm with which his lectures were received by his pupils. Among other institutions of a literary character set on foot by the Free Church at its commencement, was the establishment of the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*—a magazine which almost instantly occupied a high place among the quarterlies of the day, and of this important publication Dr. Cunningham was editor for several years. After he retired from that office, he still continued to contribute articles to it, chiefly on the history of theological controversy. On the death of Dr. Chalmers, in 1847, Dr. Cunningham was appointed principal of the Free Church College; and in 1859 he was elected moderator of the Free Church General Assembly. After this, although little more than the noon of life had passed, while his strong Herculean frame and vigorous step gave promise that a long career lay still before him, his friends were alarmed by the symptoms of a rapid decay that suddenly commenced, and defect in his eyesight gave notice that life and its toil would soon be closed. These indications were but too certain, and he died in Edinburgh on the 14th of December, 1861.

The life of Dr. Cunningham, although so unostentatious and so little marked by events and changes, was too important in its consequences for a brief record; and we rejoice to learn that the task of writing a full memoir of the man we so greatly admired, has been undertaken by a friend and kinsman, to whose kindness we have chiefly been in-

debted for the preceding notices. As an author, Dr. C. will be chiefly distinguished by his posthumous works. His lectures on church history were left in excellent order for publication, and of these, three volumes have already issued from the press, under the supervision of two of his learned coadjutors in the Free Church College.

CURRIE, JAMES, M.D., an eminent physician of Liverpool, was born May 31, 1756, in the parish of Kirkpatrick-Fleming, Dumfriesshire. His father was the minister of that parish, but obtained, soon after the birth of his son, the living of Middlebie. His mother was Jane Boyd, a woman of superior understanding, but who unfortunately died of consumption shortly after their removal to Middlebie. Young Currie was the only son in a family of seven children. Having been at an early age deprived of his mother, his aunt, Miss Duncan, kindly undertook the management of the family. To the anxious care which Miss Duncan took of his early education, Currie owed many of those virtues which adorned his after-life. He commenced his education at the parochial school of Middlebie, and at the age of thirteen was removed to Dumfries and placed in the seminary of the learned Dr. Chapman, where he remained for upwards of two years. He was originally intended for the profession of medicine, but having accompanied his father in a visit to Glasgow, he was so much delighted with the bustle and commercial activity displayed in that city, that he obtained his father's consent to betake himself to a mercantile life; and accordingly he entered the service of a company of American merchants. This, as frequently happens, where the wishes of an inexperienced young man are too readily yielded to, proved a very unfortunate change. He sailed for Virginia just at the commencement of those disputes with the American colonies which terminated in their independence, and the commercial embarrassment and losses which were occasioned by the consequent interruption of trade have been offered as an apology for the harsh and ungenerous manner in which Currie was treated by his employers. To add to his distress, he fell sick of a dangerous illness, and before he was completely restored to health he had the misfortune to lose his father, who left his family in very narrow circumstances. Young Currie, with that generosity and sanguine disregard of the difficulties of his situation which formed so remarkable a feature in his character, immediately on learning of the death of his father, and of the scanty provision made for his sisters, divided among them the small portion which fell to his share. And, disgusted with the hardships he had encountered in the commencement of his mercantile education, he determined to renounce the pursuits of commerce. For a time he seems to have turned his attention to politics, writing several papers on the then all-engrossing subject of the quarrel between Great Britain and America. At length, however, he saw the necessity of making choice of some profession; and, led by the advice of his near relation Dr. Currie, of Richmond, New Carolina, with whom he was then living, he determined to resume his original intention of studying medicine. In pursuance of this plan he proceeded to Britain, returning home by the West Indies; being prevented by the war from taking a more direct route. After encountering many difficulties, he reached London in 1776, having been absent from his native country for five years. From London he proceeded to Edinburgh, where he prosecuted his studies with unremitting assiduity until the year 1780. He early became conspicuous among his fellow-students by

his talents. As a member of the medical society he greatly distinguished himself, and the papers which he read before that body not only give evidence of his superior abilities, but afford an interesting proof that, even at that early period, he had given his attention to those subjects in his profession which he afterwards so fully and ably illustrated.

Although the rapid progress he was making in his studies, and the high station he held among his contemporaries, rendered a continuance at college very desirable, still Currie was too deeply impressed with the necessity of attaining independence and of freeing his sisters and aunt of the burden of his support, not to make every exertion to push himself into employment. Accordingly, having procured an introduction to General Sir William Erskine, he obtained from that officer an ensigncy in his regiment, with the situation of surgeon's mate attached to it. He does not appear, however, to have availed himself of these appointments; for, learning that a medical staff was about to be formed in Jamaica, he hurried to Glasgow, where he obtained a degree as a physician; his attendance at college having been insufficient to enable him to graduate at the university of Edinburgh. Having got his degree, and having furnished himself with numerous introductions, he proceeded to London, in the hope of obtaining an appointment in the West India establishment. But, on reaching the capital, he found that all the appointments were already filled up. Although disappointed in obtaining an official situation, he still determined to sail to Jamaica, with the intention of establishing himself there in private practice; or, failing that, to proceed to Richmond, and join his kinsman Dr. Currie. He was induced, however, by the persuasion of his friends in London, to abandon this plan, even after his passage to Jamaica had been taken out. They strongly urged him to establish himself in one of the large provincial towns of England; for, from the high estimate which they had formed of his abilities and professional acquirements, they were convinced that he would speedily raise himself to eminence in his profession. In accordance with this view he proceeded to Liverpool in October, 1780. He was induced to select that town in consequence of a vacancy having occurred there by the removal of Dr. Dobson to Bath. But, even without such an opening, it is evident that, to a young physician of talent and enterprise, a wealthy and rapidly increasing commercial town like Liverpool holds out peculiar advantages, and great facilities for getting into practice, where the continual fluctuation of society presents an open field for professional abilities, widely different from that of more stationary communities. Hence, as had been anticipated, Dr. Currie's talents and gentlemanly manners brought him rapidly into practice; although on his first arrival he was an utter stranger in Liverpool, and only found access to society there by the introductions he brought with him. His success was early confirmed by being elected one of the physicians to the Infirmary, and strengthened by his marriage, in the year 1783, to Miss Lucy Wallace, the daughter of a respectable merchant of Liverpool.

Although busily engaged in the arduous duties of his profession, Dr. Currie yet found time to cultivate literature. A similarity of tastes having led to an intimacy with the well-known Mr. Roscoe, Dr. Currie and Mr. Roscoe, along with Mr. William Rathbone, formed a literary club, which deserves to be remembered as being the first of those numerous literary institutions by which Liverpool is now so creditably distinguished.

The pulmonary affection under which Dr. Currie

began to suffer about this time has been ascribed to the fatigue and the night journeys to which he was exposed in his attendance on the sick-bed of his friend Dr. Bell, of Manchester. His first attack was so violent as completely to incapacitate him for business; and finding no mitigation of the paroxysms of the hectic fever, except in travelling, he undertook a journey to Bristol; but unfortunately the good effects which the change might otherwise have produced were neutralized by the distressing circumstance of his arriving just in time to witness the death of his sister; the second who had, within the year, fallen a victim to the same disease under which he was himself labouring. Deriving no benefit from his residence in Bristol, he removed to Matlock, in the hope that the drier air and the hot baths of that inland town would prove more beneficial. Disappointed in this expectation, he resolved to try the effect of his native air; and in the hope of again seeing a third sister who was sinking under the disease so fatal to his family, he made a hurried journey to Scotland. As regarded his health, his expectations were wonderfully gratified: for when he reached Dumfriesshire he was so much recruited, that he was able to ride on horseback for an hour at a time; but he was too late to see his sister, who was conveyed to the grave on the very day of his arrival. Notwithstanding this distressing event, his native air and exercise on horseback proved so beneficial, that, after remaining a few weeks at Moffat, he returned to Liverpool on horseback, varying his journey by visiting the lakes of Cumberland. In this journey he was able to ride forty miles on the day on which he reached Liverpool. A very interesting account of Dr. Currie's illness and recovery will be found in the second volume of Darwin's *Zoonomia*.

The first work which, after his recovery, Dr. Currie undertook, was a translation of his friend Dr. Bell's inaugural dissertation. This he did at the request of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, and it was published in the society's *Transactions*. The translation was accompanied by several valuable notes, and a short biographical sketch of the author; in which Dr. Currie appears to have given a very correct and impartial delineation of his friend's character. The elegance of the style and execution of this work gained for Dr. Currie very considerable reputation as an author.

On being elected member of the Medical Society of London, he communicated an essay (published in the society's *Transactions*) on *Tetanus and Convulsive Disorders*. In the year following he presented to the Royal Society a paper giving *An Account of the Remarkable Effect of Shipwreck on Mariners, with Experiments and Observations on the Influence of Immersion in Fresh and Salt Water, Hot and Cold, on the Powers of the Body*, which appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions* of that year, and which may be regarded as introductory to a more mature production which appeared in 1792, under the title of *Medical Reports on the Effects of Water, Cold and Warm, as a Remedy for Fever and other Diseases, whether applied to the Surface of the Body or used Internally*; a work on which Dr. Currie's fame as a medical author principally rests. Immediately on its publication it attracted the attention not only of the profession, but of the public in general. But the practice which it recommended not having been found uniformly successful, and being repugnant to the preconceived notions on the subject, it fell gradually into disrepute. Still, however, cold ablutions

in fever is unquestionably a remedy of great power, and has been found very salutary when used with judgment, particularly in the violent fevers of tropical climates. That the practice has hitherto been less successful than it should be, arises from its having been often resorted to by the patients themselves, and from its being prescribed by the ignorant too late in the hot stage of the fever. The profession, therefore, is deeply indebted to Dr. Currie for the introduction of this practice; which, in skilful hands, has proved most efficacious, and has been the means of saving many lives.

Dr. Currie on several occasions indulged himself in writing on political topics; but by some remarkable fatality, although by no means a consistent adherent to one side, he invariably took the unpopular side of the question. While in America, he had defended the mother country against the colonies. He afterwards joined in the *no Popery* enthusiasm during the disgraceful riots raised by Lord George Gordon, bringing himself into disrepute by the ill-chosen time he took to indulge in a cry which was otherwise popular with the best classes of society. And the principles which he advocated in his *Letter, Commercial and Political, addressed to the Right Hon. William Pitt*, under the assumed name of Jasper Wilson, raised him a host of enemies, by whom he was attacked in the most violent and scurrilous manner.

While on an excursion to Dumfriesshire on account of his health, Dr. Currie made the acquaintance of Robert Burns, the Scottish poet; and, like all who had the good fortune to meet that extraordinary man, he became one of his enthusiastic admirers. On the death of Burns, when the friends of the poet were exerting themselves to raise his family from the state of abject poverty in which it had been left, they strongly urged Dr. Currie to become his editor and biographer, to which he at length consented; and, in the year 1800 he published, for the behoof of the poet's family, *The Works of Robert Burns, with an Account of his Life, and Criticisms on his Writings; to which are Prefixed some Observations on the Character and Condition of the Scottish Peasantry*. It is by this work that Dr. Currie has established his fame in the republic of letters. He has, at the same time, by the manner in which he has accomplished his task, conferred a lasting favour on all who can appreciate the language and beauties of our national poet.

Although Dr. Currie had been restored to comparative good health after his first attack of illness in 1784, still from that period he continued to be subject to pulmonary threatenings; but it was not until the year 1804 that his constitution gave way so as to force him to retire from his professional duties in Liverpool. In the hope that his native air might again restore him to health, he made a journey to Scotland; but deriving no benefit from the change, he returned to England, and spent the ensuing winter alternately at Clifton and Bath. For a time his health seemed to recruit, and he was even enabled to resume his professional avocations in the latter city; but on his complaints returning with increased violence, he, with that restlessness incident to consumption, removed to Sidmouth, where he died, 31st August, 1805, in the fiftieth year of his age.

Dr. Currie was of a kind and affectionate disposition, and he was active and judicious in his benevolence. To his strenuous exertions Liverpool owes many of the charitable and literary institutions of which it can now boast.

D.

DALE, DAVID. This eminent philanthropist was born in Stewarton, Ayrshire, on the 6th of January, 1739. His ancestors are said to have been farmers in that district for several hundred years; but his father, Mr. William Dale,¹ was a grocer and general dealer in the town. David received the education which was usually given at that period in the small towns of Scotland. His first employment was the herding of cattle. He was afterwards apprenticed in Paisley to the weaving business, at this time the most lucrative trade in the country; but it appears that he disliked the sedentary occupation, and on one occasion left his employment abruptly. He afterwards, however, wrought at the weaving trade in Hamilton and the neighbourhood of Cambuslang. He subsequently removed to Glasgow, and became clerk to a silk-mercer. With the assistance of friends he commenced business on his own account in the linen yarn trade, which he carried on for many years, importing large quantities of French yarns from Flanders, which brought him large profits, and laid the foundation of his fortune.² Mr. Dale had been about twenty years in business in Glasgow when Sir Richard Arkwright's patent inventions for the improvement of cotton-spinning were introduced into England. Sir Richard visited Glasgow in 1783, and was entertained by the bankers, merchants, and manufacturers at a public dinner, and next day started with Mr. Dale for the purpose of inspecting the waterfalls on the Clyde, with a view to erect works adapted to his improvements. A site was fixed on, and the buildings of the New Lanark cotton-mills were immediately commenced. Arrangements were at the same time made betwixt Sir Richard and Mr. Dale for the use of the patent of the former. Mechanics were sent to England to be instructed in the nature of the machinery and the process of the manufactures; but, in the meanwhile, Arkwright's patent having been challenged, and the courts of law having decided against its validity, Mr. Dale was thus relieved of all claim for patent right, and the connection betwixt him and Arkwright was consequently dissolved, the business being now entirely his own. Considerable opposition to the erection of these works was offered by the landed proprietors in the neighbourhood, from an unfounded apprehension that the privacy of their demesnes would be invaded by the introduction of a multitude of work-people into that rural district; and, more especially, that fresh burdens would be entailed upon them for the support of the poor. Their forebodings, however, were not realized when the mills were put in operation. The works gave employment to great numbers of peaceable and industrious operatives, who, instead of burdening the land, contributed to enhance its value by consuming its produce. Finding, likewise, that the mills were yielding large returns to

the proprietor, many landlords soon evinced a desire to have similar establishments on their own estates. The capabilities of the steam-engine for impelling cotton machinery were not yet known; spinning-mills, therefore, could only be erected profitably where there were powerful waterfalls. Many of the landed proprietors in Scotland availed themselves of Mr. Dale's practical knowledge and advice as to establishing mills on properties where such facilities existed. He was instrumental in this way in the erection, amongst others, of the extensive mills at Catrine, on the banks of the river Ayr, and at Spinningdale, on the firth of Dornoch, in Sutherlandshire. In several of the new works he had a pecuniary interest as co-partner. Besides the spinning of cotton yarn at New Lanark, Mr. Dale was largely concerned in the manufacture of cotton-cloth in Glasgow.³ In connection with Mr. George M'Intosh, and Monsieur Papillon, a Frenchman, he established, in 1783, the first works in Scotland for the dyeing of cotton turkey-red. He was a partner in an inkle-factory; also in the Blantyre cotton-mills, and at a later period of his life held a large share in the Stanley cotton-mills.

He continued, meanwhile, his original business of importing Flanders yarn; and, in addition to all these sources of income, when the Royal Bank of Scotland established a branch of its business in Glasgow in 1783, he was appointed its sole agent, an office which he held till within a few years of his death, when, upon its business becoming much extended, an additional agent was named to act jointly with him. The individual who, some thirty or forty years before, was a little herd-boy at Stewarton was now sole proprietor of, or connected as a managing partner with, several of the most extensive mercantile, manufacturing, and banking concerns of the country, the proper conducting of any one of which would have absorbed the entire powers of most other men. Not so, however, with the subject of our memoir; for we find him successfully conducting, with strict commercial integrity, all the important enterprises in which he was embarked, together with others not included in this enumeration; besides devoting time and money to various benevolent schemes, and discharging the onerous duties of a magistrate of the city of Glasgow, to which he was elected, first in 1791, and again in 1794: moreover, every Lord's-day, and sometimes on other days, preaching the gospel to a Congregational church, of which he was one of the elders.⁴ Mr. Dale was eminently qualified to sustain the numerous and varied offices which he had thus undertaken; every duty being attended to in its own place and at the proper time, he was never overburdened with work, nor did he ever appear to be in a hurry.

The first erected, and at that time the only mill at New Lanark, was accidentally burned to the ground a few weeks after it had begun to produce spun

¹ Mr. William Dale was twice married; by his first marriage he had two sons, David and Hugh; and by his second, one son, the late James Dale, Esq., whose son is now an eminent merchant in Glasgow.

² Mr. Dale's shop was then in the High Street, five doors north of the corner at the Cross. He paid £5 of rent, but thinking this an extravagant rent, he sub-let the one half of it to a watchmaker for fifty shillings. But in 1783, when he was appointed agent for the Royal Bank of Scotland, the watchmaker's part was turned into the bank office, where the business of that establishment was conducted till about 1790, when it was removed to large premises, south-east corner of St. Andrew's Square.

³ Under the firm of Dale, Campbell, Reid, and Dale, viz. Mr. Dale himself, Mr. Campbell, his brother-in-law, Mr. Andrew Reid, and Mr. David Dale, junr., his nephew.

⁴ The Congregational church here referred to, and the other churches in Scotland and England in connection with it, give the Scripture name of "elder" to that office which most other denominations designate by the title of "minister" or "pastor." In every such church, where circumstances are favourable, there is a plurality of elders, most of whom continue to follow the occupations in which they were engaged previously to being called to office.

yarn, for which there was a great demand. When intelligence of this event reached Glasgow, many thought that a stop would be put to all further operations in that quarter. Mr. Dale heard the intelligence with calmness, formed his resolutions, proceeded to the ground to inspect the ruins, and instantly issued orders to re-erect the premises which had been consumed. The new mill was speedily reconstructed, and the manufacture proceeded with fresh energy.

Although comfortable dwellings were erected at the village of New Lanark for the workers, and good wages and constant employment insured, great difficulty was felt in getting the spinning-mill filled with operatives. There was, indeed, no want of unemployed work-people; for the change of commercial relations caused by the first American war, then raging, very much limited the labour demand, and many, especially from the Highland districts, were in consequence emigrating. It arose from prejudice on the part of the people, more particularly in the Lowlands, against all factory labour. Parents would neither work themselves nor allow their children to enter the mills. In this dilemma Mr. Dale offered employment to a number of Highland families who were emigrating from the Hebrides to America, but had been driven by stress of weather into Greenock, and most of them availed themselves of the opening for securing a comfortable livelihood in their native land. The Celts appearing to have less repugnance to factory labour than their countrymen in the south, agents were sent to the Highlands, who engaged many other families to become workers at New Lanark; but as the mills were at last increased to four, there was still a deficient supply of labour, especially in the department best served by youths, and recourse was had to the poor-houses of Glasgow and Edinburgh, from which orphan and other pauper children were obtained, and whose moral and religious education was combined with their industrial training. From these sources were the workers in the mill and the villagers of New Lanark chiefly drawn, forming a population which at all periods of its history, has commended itself for decent and orderly behaviour.

After Mr. Dale had been in business several years, but before he had engaged in any of the large concerns now described, he, in September, 1777, married Miss Ann Caroline Campbell, daughter of John Campbell, Esq., W.S., Edinburgh. It is not known whether this lady brought him any fortune, but there is reason to suppose that her father's connection with the Royal Bank of Scotland, as a director, led to Mr. Dale's appointment as agent of that establishment in Glasgow, and thus increased his commercial credit and command of capital. Miss Campbell, who had been brought up in the same religious connection with her husband, was also of one heart and mind with him in all his schemes of benevolence. She was the mother of seven children, whom she trained up in the fear of the Lord. Mrs. Dale died in January, 1791. Mr. Dale did not again marry.

It was, of course, not to be expected that all the undertakings in which Mr. Dale was embarked should prove equally successful. One at least was a total failure. It was generally understood that he lost about £20,000 in sinking a coal-pit in the lands of Barrowfield, the coal never having been reached, owing to the soil being a running quicksand, which could not be overcome, although the shaft was laid with iron cylinders. Messrs. Robert Tennant and David Tod were his copartners in this unfortunate project; but they together held a comparatively small share. Mr. Dale was, however, eminently success-

ful on the whole, and had acquired a large fortune. In 1799, being then in his sixty-first year, and nearly his fortieth in business, he resolved on freeing himself of at least a portion of his commercial responsibilities. The mills at Lanark had been uniformly prosperous, yielding returns larger perhaps than any other of his concerns; yet, possibly from his being sole proprietor, and in circumstances to relinquish them without delay, he at once disposed of these extensive and valuable works. Mr. Robert Owen, then a young man residing in Lancashire, was in Glasgow on a visit, and being previously known to Mr. Dale as having, by his talent and persevering industry, raised himself from humble circumstances to be manager of an extensive spinning-mill at Chorlton, he consulted with him as to the propriety of selling the works. The information thus obtained by Mr. Owen convinced him of the profitable nature of the trade, and led him to form a company of English capitalists, who purchased the property at £66,000, and carried on the business for several years, under the firm of the Chorlton Spinning Company, of which Mr. Owen was appointed manager. This situation he held from 1799 to 1827, but not all the time in the same partnership. During the twenty-eight years the mills were under Mr. Owen's management, they cleared of nett profit about £360,000, after having laid aside a sum nearly equal to five per cent. on the paid-up capital. Mr. Owen, some time after his settlement at New Lanark, married Mr. Dale's eldest daughter, with whom he received a large portion.

The above-named company continued to work with profit the Lanark mills from 1799 to 1813, when the property again changed ownership. During the copartnership, most of the English partners sold their interest to Glasgow merchants, who consequently held the largest share at the close of the contract. It appears that by this time (1814) the partners and the manager had each resolved to get rid of the other; and both parties were bent on retaining, if possible, possession of the mills. Mr. Owen had now begun to promulgate some of his peculiar theories; and, for the purpose of carrying them into practice, had constructed the spacious and substantial building at New Lanark, without, it is said, receiving the formal consent of the partners, some of whom disapproved of his schemes. It was resolved to dispose of the property by public roup; and Mr. Owen meanwhile succeeded in forming a new company, which, when the day of sale arrived, became the purchasers, after considerable competition, at the cost of £112,000. When security was required for this large sum, the names of William Allen, Joseph Fox, Robert Owen, Jeremy Bentham, John Walker, and Michael Gibbs, Esquires, were handed in as the partners of the New Lanark Cotton-mill Company.

The education of the common people was at this period occupying much attention. Joseph Lancaster had introduced his method of instructing large numbers at little expense. His Quaker brethren warmly espoused the cause, which speedily excited universal interest, from the highest to the humblest. Mr. Owen entered heartily into the movement, which he advocated on the platform in Glasgow, and towards which he contributed £1000 to the Glasgow subscription alone out of his private funds. His zeal in the cause no doubt recommended him to the benevolent individuals who became his partners; and it is also to be observed, that he had not yet avowed the infidel principles which were destined to give him such unenviable notoriety in future years. The new copartnership laid down, as the basis of its

union, an article rarely to be found in commercial contracts, namely, "That all profits made in the concern beyond five per cent. per annum on the capital invested, shall be laid aside for the religious, educational, and moral improvement of the workers, and of the community at large." And, as appears from the *Memoir of William Allen*, provision was made "for the religious education of all the children of the labourers employed in the works, and that nothing should be introduced tending to disparage the Christian religion, or undervalue the authority of the Holy Scriptures; that no books should be introduced into the library until they had first been approved of at a general meeting of the partners; that schools should be established on the best models of the British, or other approved systems, to which the partners might agree; but no religious instruction, or lessons on religion, should be used, except the Scriptures, according to the authorized version, or extracts therefrom, without note or comment; and that the children should not be employed in the mills belonging to the partnership until they were of such an age as not to be prejudicial to their health." The pious and benevolent founder of the establishment had, in like manner, provided schools and schoolmasters for the education of the workers and their children, and had maintained these throughout the successive changes in the copartnery.

Mr. Owen, being thus vested with great powers and ample means for the most enlarged benevolence, started, under the auspices of the newly-formed company, on an extensive educational plan, embracing, in addition to the ordinary school instruction, the higher branches of science. He gave lessons in military tactics, and caused the workmen to march in order to and from school and workshop in rank and file to the sound of drum and fife—a sort of training rather alien to the anti-warlike predilections of his Quaker copartners. He attempted also to introduce Socialist principles, and became himself a prominent leader of that party, which had hitherto been scarcely heard of in the country. He contributed largely in money for the purchase of an estate in the neighbouring parish of Motherwell, and to erect on it a huge building distinguished by the name of New Harmony. In this institution, which soon went to pieces, society was to be reconstituted on Socialist principles, with a community of goods. The partners of Owen were grieved at his folly, and the public shared in their disappointment and regret. He nevertheless pursued his own course, and the consequence was the retirement from the company of those members who had joined it from philanthropic motives, and the abandonment of their admirably-conceived plan of raising up an intelligent, right-principled, and well-conditioned factory population at New Lanark. Mr. Owen continued in connection with the mills till 1827; but during the greater part of his latter years he was occupied in propagating his visionary schemes of infidelity in England and America, in which he spent a princely fortune derived from the profits of the business. Mr. Owen of late years resided chiefly in London, and his children in the United States of America. Mrs. Owen did not adopt the infidel principles of her husband; on the contrary, soon after she had ascertained the nature of his sentiment, she openly avowed her faith in the Lord Jesus, connected herself with the church of which her father had been an elder, and adorned her Christian profession till her death in 1832.

As a retreat from the bustle of a city life, about the year 1800, when his advancing years required repose, Mr. Dale purchased Rosebank—a small

landed property and dwelling-house on the banks of Clyde, about four miles east of Glasgow. He was in his sixty-first year when his connection with the Lanark mills ceased. Having acquired a handsome competency, he resolved on winding up his other business affairs; but the nature of his contracts and copartneries rendered it impossible to free his estate from responsibility till some years after his death. But whilst gradually withdrawing from other business engagements, he most unaccountably, through the influence of Mr. Owen, became a partner in the Stanley Cotton Mill Company—a connection which caused him much uneasiness during the latter years of his life, and is said to have involved him in a loss of £60,000.

Having seceded from the Established church, and joined the Independent communion, Mr. Dale, in 1769, undertook among them the office of minister, in which he continued until his death, thirty-seven years afterwards. When we turn from the survey of Mr. Dale's multifarious duties as the pastor of a pretty numerous church, to his active charities as a philanthropist, we are left to wonder how he could find time and strength to go through with the many duties he took in hand. We find him at an early period regularly visiting Bridewell, for the purpose of preaching the gospel to the convicts; and his example in this respect was long followed by his colleagues in the church. He every year made excursions to distant parts of the country, visiting and comforting the churches with which he stood connected.

Although Mr. Dale shunned the ostentatious display of benevolence, yet his liberality could not always be hid. The present generation have at times had to pay very high prices for the necessaries of life, yet no dread of famine, or even partial scarcity, at least in Scotland, has been entertained for at least half a century. Not so, however, during Mr. Dale's time; for at that period the poor had occasionally to pay ransom prices for food, and even at these prices it sometimes could not be obtained. In the dearth of 1782, 1791-93, and in 1799, Mr. Dale imported, at his own risk, large quantities of food from Ireland, America, and the continent of Europe. To effect this, he chartered ships for the special purpose. The food thus brought in he retailed to the poor at prime cost, thereby in great measure averting the threatened famine, and preventing a still greater advance in prices.

In addition to the benefits, spiritual and temporal, conferred on his countrymen at home, he engaged with the same ardour in most of the schemes then in operation for extending a knowledge of the gospel of peace in foreign countries, especially those which had for their object the translation and circulation of the Word of God. The proposal to translate the Scriptures into the various languages of our eastern empire, as projected and accomplished by the Baptist Missionary Society, had his hearty support from the outset. Mr. Andrew Fuller, of Kettering, who travelled for the purpose of collecting funds for this object, was kindly received by Mr. Dale, and from him received large contributions for the cause. In Mr. Fuller's sermon on covetousness, preached some time after Mr. Dale's death, and printed in the fourth volume of his works, when enjoining on his hearers *who have*, to give of their abundance, and to do so liberally, he says, "The poor people of Glasgow used to say of a late great and good man of that city—'David Dale gives his money by sho'elsful, but God Almighty sho'els it back again.'"

After the sale of the Lanark mills, till his death six years thereafter, Mr. Dale in great measure retired

from business pursuits. During this time he gave an hour or two daily to attendance at the bank, and the winding up of his own private concerns occupied an equal share of his attention; but at no period of his life were his public and private acts of benevolence, or his duties in the pastoral office, more attended to than at this time. For some months before February, 1806, it was seen that his health and strength were failing. About the 1st of March of that year he was confined to bed, and died in peace on the 17th day of the same month, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, in his house, Charlotte Street, Glasgow. In his last illness he frequently expressed his confidence as resting on the fulness, freeness, and simplicity of the gospel truth which he had for so long a period preached to others. His remains were interred in St. David's Church burying-ground. No sculptured marble marks the place where all that is mortal of this good man reposes. The spot is indicated by a hewn stone built into the east boundary-wall, inclosed by an iron railing, about midway betwixt the south and north corner of the ground, having on it the following plain inscription:—"The burying-ground of David Dale, merchant, Glasgow, 1780." The establishment of the branch of the Royal Bank in Glasgow in 1783 proved to be of great service in promoting the trade of the city, especially in the manufacture of cotton goods, which made rapid progress from that date. Mr. Dale's management of the bank business was never objected to; he was discriminating and liberal in granting loans to the industrious prudent trader, while he had the firmness to resist the advances of the mere speculator. An anecdote has been preserved illustrative of his feelings and humanity towards an unfortunate individual who had committed forgery. A young man presented a draft for discount, which Mr. Dale considered to be a forged document; he sent for the young man, and in private informed him of his suspicions; the fact was acknowledged. Mr. Dale then pointed out to him the risk he put his life in by such an act, destroyed the bill, that no proof of his guilt should remain, and finding that he had been led to it by pecuniary difficulties, gave him some money, and dismissed him with a suitable admonition. In regard to his usefulness as a preacher of the gospel, the late Dr. Wardlaw used to say of Mr. Dale, that he was a most scriptural and instructive teacher of a Christian church. He had not acquired in early life a knowledge of the languages in which the Scriptures were originally written, but this lack was amply supplied by application in after-life. He could read with understanding the Hebrew and Greek; the Old and New Testaments were frequently, perhaps daily, studied by him in these languages. His public discourses were sententious. For several years before his death his pulpit services were listened to by many who came on purpose to hear his preaching.

Various estimates of the fortune which Mr. Dale had realized were made about the period of his death; the probability is, that one and all were far wide of the truth. A vast amount of his effects consisted in mill buildings and machinery, which are of a very fluctuating value. A considerable part too was locked up in business concerns in operation, of which he was copartner, some of which were not closed for many years; and some of these proved to be very unprofitable. The exact, or even estimated amount, was never made known to the public; but it must, at the period referred to, have been very considerable. From the losses sustained in winding up, however, it is generally understood that a large portion was swept away, and that but a comparatively small part came ultimately to his family.

DALGARNO, GEORGE,¹ an almost forgotten, but most meritorious and original writer, was born in Old Aberdeen about the year 1626. He appears to have studied at Marischal College, New Aberdeen, but for what length of time, or with what objects, is wholly unknown. In 1657 he went to Oxford, where, according to Anthony Wood, he taught a private grammar-school with good success for about thirty years. He died of a fever on the 28th of August, 1687, and was buried, says the same author, "in the north body of the church of St. Mary Magdalen." Such is the scanty biography that has been preserved of a man who lived in friendship with the most eminent philosophers of his day, and who, besides other original speculations, had the singular merit of anticipating, more than a hundred and thirty years ago, some of the most profound conclusions of the present age respecting the education of the deaf and dumb. His work upon this subject is entitled *Didascalocophus, or the Deaf and Dumb Man's Tutor*, and was printed in a very small volume at Oxford in 1680. He states the design of it to be to bring the way of teaching a deaf man to read and write, as near as possible to that of teaching young ones to speak and understand their mother tongue. "In prosecution of this general idea," says an eminent philosopher of the present day, who has, on more than one occasion, done his endeavour to rescue the name of Dalgarno from oblivion, "he has treated in one short chapter of a *deaf man's dictionary*; and, in another, of a *grammar for deaf persons*; both of them containing a variety of precious hints, from which useful practical lights might be derived by all who have any concern in the tuition of children during the first stage of their education" (*Mr. Dugald Stewart's Account of a Boy Born Blind and Deaf*). Twenty years before the publication of his *Didascalocophus*, Dalgarno had given to the world a very ingenious piece, entitled *Ars Signorum*, from which, says Mr. Stewart, it appears indisputable that he was the precursor of Bishop Wilkins in his speculations respecting "a real character and a philosophical language." Leibnitz has on various occasions alluded to the *Ars Signorum* in commendatory terms. The collected works of Dalgarno were republished in one volume, 4to, by the Maitland Club, in 1834.

DALHOUSIE, JAMES ANDREW BROWN-RAMSAY, first MARQUIS OF. This eminent statesman was born at Dalhousie Castle, county of Edinburgh, on the 22d of April, 1812. In point of antiquity, the family of Ramsay was conspicuous so early as the reign of David I., when Sir Alexander Ramsay, the knight of Dalwolsie, having signalized himself in the liberation of his country from England, was appointed warden of the middle marches of Scotland, and sheriff of Teviotdale. The envy of his great rival, Sir William Douglas, at this last appointment, and his attack upon the knight of Dalwolsie, while holding open court, and consigning him to a dungeon, where he died of hunger, is one of those terrible tales of ancient Scottish revenge with which our national history is only too abundant. Another distinguished member of the family was Sir John Ramsay, who saved the life of James VI., by stabbing the Earl of Gowrie, when the latter rushed into the king's apartment with a drawn sword, and at the head of his armed attendants, during the confused affray of what is called the Gowrie conspiracy. For this deed he was ennobled by the titles of Lord Barns and Vis-

¹ I am indebted for this article to the *Supplement to the Sixth Edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica*; the only source from which I am aware that the information contained in it could have been derived.

count Haddington, and afterwards created an English peer by the title of Earl of Holderness. As he died without issue, his honours expired with him; but his elder brother George, who had been ennobled as Lord Ramsay of Melrose, obtained the king's permission to change his title into that of Lord Ramsay of Dalhousie. William, the second baron, was created Earl of Dalhousie in 1633. The subject of this memoir was the third son of George, ninth Earl of Dalhousie, but more commonly termed "The Laird of Cockpen" from enjoying the possessions, if not also a descent, from that memorable laird whose unlucky courtship is commemorated in the old Scotch song. His mother, who died in 1839, was Christian, only child and heiress of Charles Brown, Esq., of Colstoun, in East Lothian. By the death of his two brothers successively, he became, in 1832, the recognized heir of the family titles and estates. He was first educated at Harrow, and afterwards at Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his degree with honours in 1833; and during his attendance at the university he had for his fellow-students several who were afterwards to be distinguished leaders in the political world. Of these, it is enough to name Earl Stanhope, Sir George Lewis, Mr. Gladstone, the Earl of Elgin, and Earl Canning.

On finishing his education the future governor-general of India, but at this time known as Lord Ramsay, threw himself into the congenial career of politics, and had not long to wait for an opportunity of action. In the elections for the parliament of 1835 he contested, along with the late Mr. Learmonth of Dean, the representation of the city of Edinburgh, against the Hon. James Abercromby, the speaker-elect of the House of Commons, and Sir John Campbell, Whig solicitor-general, and afterwards lord-chancellor of England. With such influence arrayed against him, although it was a keen and closely-contested election, the result could scarcely be otherwise than unfavourable to Lord Ramsay, more especially as he was the open advocate of conservative principles, which were not in general favour with the citizens of Edinburgh. He was soon, however, consoled for his defeat, by being returned in 1837 as their representative to parliament by the important agricultural county of East Lothian, with which he was maternally connected. As a member of the Lower House he had only sat for about a year, when the death of his father, in 1838, called him to the House of Lords; but neither among the lords nor the commons did he distinguish himself as a master in the art of debating. It was soon perceived, however, that he had a peculiar aptitude for the hard laborious duties and substantial work of politics, and that he had only to bide his time in order to secure his advancement. Even already his own party recognized him as one likely to succeed to the premiership. In the meantime, the ebb and flow of politics could neither strand him on shore nor drift him out to sea. In 1843, when Mr. Gladstone rose to the presidency of the board of trade, Lord Dalhousie was appointed vice-president, and, on the retirement of Mr. Gladstone from the office in February, 1845, his lordship was called to the presidency. In this he continued during the rest of Sir Robert Peel's term of government, until Lord John Russell succeeded to the premiership, and although the latter wished that the earl should continue to preside at the board of trade, his lordship thought it a more honourable course to retire with his retiring patron. This desire on the part of a new administration to retain an opponent in such an important charge, was as unusual as it was complimentary; but the cause of this is to be found in

the zeal and efficiency with which the Earl of Dalhousie had presided at the board. It was a transition period in our commercial history which the sudden development of the railway power had introduced, and when new plans, claims, emergencies, and expedients were enough to overwhelm or bewilder the strongest head. Amidst this subversion of an old world for the creation of a new, the diligence of the earl as vice-president, and afterwards as president, was so conspicuous, that his activity in work and power of endurance seemed to be unlimited. He was the first to enter the office of the board, and the last to retire, while he often continued all day at his labours until two or three o'clock on the following morning. It was a stern apprenticeship to that difficult and complex government which now awaited him, and for which none was judged so well fitted. This was nothing less than the office of governor-general of India, as successor to Lord Hardinge; and Lord Dalhousie, having accepted it, arrived at Calcutta on the 12th of January, 1848.

The history of his lordship's administration in India cannot as yet be dispassionately written, as its effects both for good and for evil have not as yet been fully developed. As ruler of our eastern empire, he entered it when its difficulties were of more than ordinary complication; and for the discharge of its duties he brought to it a perseverance that could not be tired, and a resolution that would not yield. Difficulties that would have daunted any other governor-general he fearlessly encountered, and the result of his rule during eight years was manifested in the general confidence it had inspired, the augmentation of our Indian empire, and the greater stability imparted to its government. But, on the other hand, all terminated in a bloody and widely-spread rebellion, by which our eastern possessions were all but lost. Had he gone onward in his innovations too boldly and too rapidly; and was this the inevitable reaction? The question is still one of doubt and discussion. In the meantime, to set himself right with the world, he drew up a minute of his administration in India from January, 1848, to March, 1856, a voluminous detail, occupying forty folio pages, and altogether composing one of the most remarkable state papers ever written. It is of course a justification of his proceedings, and as such is considered partial and one-sided; but even thus, it gives a distinct view both of the difficulties he surmounted and the improvements he carried out in India.

After stating his principles of foreign policy while governor-general, and the wars into which he was compelled to enter, he enumerates the kingdoms he had won to our eastern empire by conquest and annexation. In this way he had added four great kingdoms to the dominions of her majesty Queen Victoria; of which Pegu and the Punjab had been conquered, and Nagpore and Oude annexed; and besides these, were the smaller acquisitions of Satara, Jhansi, and Berar. But still more important than their acquisition, were the improvements he had introduced for developing their resources, and securing to them the blessings of a just and stable government. He pointed with honest pride to the 4000 miles of electric telegraph he had extended over India; to 2000 miles of road he had caused to be constructed from Calcutta to Peshawur; to the opening of the Ganges canal, one of the largest undertakings of the kind in existence; to the progress of the Punjab canal; to the many works of irrigation he had established over our eastern empire, and the reorganization of an official department of public

works. Nor were these either the whole or the most important of his improvements. He had introduced a postal system similar to that of Rowland Hill, by which letters were conveyed at merely one-sixteenth of their former charge; he had improved the training appointed for holders of civil offices; and he had introduced improvements into education and prison discipline, and into the organization of the legislative council. To these and other innovations of a similar character, he alluded as proofs of the wisdom and beneficial character of his government—as the highest benefits bestowed by conquerors upon conquered provinces, in lieu of that liberty which they knew not how to use. This incessant working of an iron will within a naturally delicate constitution had impaired his health, for the recovery of which he went to the mountains; but in vain. While in this enfeebled state he had sent his wife, also an invalid, to Britain, in 1853; but she died on the voyage, and the first intimation he received of her death was from hearing the news-boys shouting the notice in the streets of Calcutta. It was a heavy blow added to sickness; and although he continued to hold on to his duties, it was in doubt whether he should be able to endure a voyage homeward, or even survive in India until a successor had arrived.

While Lord Dalhousie was in this pitiable condition, he was unexpectedly summoned to the most difficult and obnoxious task that had ever yet occurred in his administration. A ravenous appetite for the acquisition of empire in India had been increased by late gratifications, until it had become a sort of disease, and the home authorities had resolved that the King of Oude should be deposed, and his territory annexed to our Anglo-Indian empire. It was a determination as impolitic as it was unjust. The kingdom of Oude was still free; its king and court were recognized as lawful authorities; and the country was strong in castles and a brave population, who, like the ancient Highlanders of Scotland, were ruled by their chiefs embattled among their mountain fortresses. It was from the natives of Oude, also, that the army of our Bengal presidency was chiefly recruited, and whom the deed might transform into dangerous and irreconcilable enemies. Even the native princes were astounded at the iniquity and danger of such a barefaced purpose. It was a peculiarly trying difficulty to Lord Dalhousie, and he knew the disgrace which it would entail upon his character and the history of his rule. He might also transfer upon his successor the performance of the deed, with all its obloquy and danger. But strong in the sense of duty to his own country and the office he held, he would not shrink from such a trying responsibility; and feeling that the task would be too great for a successor still new to office and the country, he offered to remain in India until it was completed. It was a joyful intimation to the home government, who knew none so fit for the task as the Earl of Dalhousie; and from his energy, abilities, and experience of India and its politics, they had no apprehension of failure. How the annexation of Oude was accomplished, and at what a price, the mutiny of India is a terrible memorial.

Lord Canning arrived at Calcutta as governor-general in February, 1856, when his predecessor was all but exhausted by his exertions; and on the 10th of March Dalhousie left Calcutta, after bidding a sad farewell to a deputation of the principal inhabitants. On arriving in Britain, the situation of prime minister was supposed by many of his friends to be awaiting him; but, instead of indulging in such dreams of ambition, he retired to his native home, in quest of the repose which he so greatly needed,

even though it should be in the grave. Nor had his distinguished services the while been forgot. In 1849, when the Punjab had been annexed to our Indian empire, he was raised to an English peerage by the title of Marquis of Dalhousie, of Dalhousie Castle and of the Punjab; and in 1852 he was appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, on the death of the Duke of Wellington, who held that office. The marquis was married in 1836 to Lady Susan Georgina, eldest daughter of the Marquis of Tweeddale, by whom he had two daughters, but no sons; and in default of male issue, his earldom devolved on Lord Panmure, who also inherits the ancestral estate of Dalhousie. It was at Dalhousie Castle, the place of his birth, that the Marquis of Dalhousie died, on the 19th December, 1860, at the premature age of forty-eight years.

DALRYMPLE, ALEXANDER. This hydrographer and voluminous writer was the son of Sir James Dalrymple, Bart., of Thirles, and was the seventh son of sixteen children by one mother. He was born at New Thirles, near Edinburgh, the seat of his father, on the 24th of July, 1736. His eldest brother was Sir David Dalrymple, better known by his judicial title of Lord Hailes, and his admirable writings in Scottish history and antiquities. At an early age Alexander was taught geography by his father—not, however, according to the dry routine of learning the names of kingdoms, capitals, and cities by rote, but by showing him their places on the maps, and teaching him whatever was worthy of notice in their form and situation; and to this was probably owing the direction of Alexander's studies by which he was subsequently distinguished. Otherwise, his education, owing chiefly to the political troubles of the period, was very limited, and finished before he was fourteen years of age; so that, beyond a competent knowledge of Latin, all he afterwards learned was owing to his own application. Before he had attained his sixteenth year he went out to India as a writer in the company's service, his choice of the East Indies being decided by reading *Nieuhoff's Voyages*, and a novel of the period called *Joe Thomson*. As the chief qualifications of such an Indian appointment at that time were writing and book-keeping, in which Alexander Dalrymple was deficient, he was first put under the instructions of the store-keeper, from whom he learned little or nothing; but having soon been removed into the secretary's office, he there fell under the notice of Lord Pigot, the new governor of Madras, who, perceiving that he wrote a very bad hand, kindly gave him instructions in penmanship, in which the youth made such proficiency, that his lordship often mistook his pupil's writing for his own. "To this instruction," adds the pupil in his autobiography, "the public are in some measure indebted for whatever excellence there is in the writing to the maps and charts published by Alexander Dalrymple." Another excellent teacher whom he had at this time, was Mr. Orme, the distinguished historian, who was at this period a member of council and its accountant. From an official note written to him by Mr. Dalrymple, he had conceived such a favourable opinion of his talents, that he proposed to have him appointed his sub-accountant, and put him through a course of training to qualify him for this important office. The application in Dalrymple's behalf having proved a failure, Mr. Orme gave him the free use of his valuable library, and among its rare and choice collection of books the disappointed candidate found ample consolation for his disappointment. In his boyhood Dalrymple had entertained such a hatred of France,

that he refused to study its language; but having now become wiser, and finding *Bouvet's Voyage* in Mr. Orme's library, he applied himself to the book without a master, and with the aid of a dictionary persevered in his task until he had translated the whole work.

While he was employed in the secretary's office, Dalrymple had occasion to examine the old records, and among these he found papers illustrative of the great importance of the commerce of the islands in the Eastern Archipelago to the wealth and prosperity of our Anglo-Indian empire. To recover those islands and establish that commerce, was now the great object of his enterprise; and notwithstanding his prospect of succeeding to the secretaryship, and the dissuasions of his patron Lord Pigot, he embarked on a voyage to these islands on the 22d of April, 1759. As proofs of his energy in the pursuit, and his characteristic perseverance, Dalrymple during this voyage received his first nautical tuition from the Hon. Thomas Howe, an able navigator, and captain of the *Winchelsea*, whose ship accompanied, during a part of the voyage, the *Cuddalore*, in which Dalrymple had embarked. Finding also a collection of Spanish histories of the Philippine Islands, he acquired Spanish without a teacher, as he had done the French language, that he might master their contents. Furnished with secret instructions, and a document insuring him of a share in the profits of this adventure, Mr. Dalrymple first visited Sooloo, with the sultan of which he established a commercial treaty highly advantageous to the East India Company. Soon afterwards, however, the political affairs of that place underwent such alterations, that no benefit resulted from the enterprise. In the meantime, Dalrymple, in January, 1762, returned from his eastern voyage. In May, the same year, he returned to Sooloo in the *London*, a packet newly arrived from England, as its captain, with a proper cargo, and a guard of fifteen sepoy; but although he re-established the friendly understanding between the country and the India Company, unfortunate circumstances again interposed to render it ineffectual. Having obtained a grant of the island of Balambang for the East India Company, he took possession of it in their name on the 23d of January, 1763, on his homeward voyage to Madras. As it appeared both to him and his friends that the success of the Anglo-Indian government, in their intercourse with the eastern islands, would depend on the court of directors in London receiving full information on the subject, Dalrymple resolved to proceed to England for the purpose. In consequence of this decision it was resolved by the president and council of Madras that he should go by the way of China, taking Sooloo in his voyage, and endeavour to open up in it communications anew; and there accordingly he landed, but only for twelve days, during which nothing important for the purposes of commerce could be effected. He obtained, however, for the East India Company a grant of the north end of Borneo, and south end of Palawan, with the intermediate islands. Sailing thence to Manilla, he there found the old Sultan of Sooloo, who had escaped from the Spaniards, and placed himself under British protection. Dalrymple was easily induced to carry back the dethroned sovereign, and reinstate him in his dominions, and obtained in return a grant to the East India Company of the northern part of Borneo. Having thus secured depots for the commerce with the East India Islands, Dalrymple proceeded to London, and submitted his plans to the board of directors; but the administration of the company's affairs having passed into other

hands, he was deprived of the co-operation of those influential friends by whom he hoped his measures would have been carried out. The advantages which would have been derived not only by the East Company, but by Britain at large, from such an establishment in the eastern islands, were fully detailed in a pamphlet which he published, entitled, *A Plan for extending the Commerce of this Kingdom, and of the East India Company, by an Establishment at Balambang*. This pamphlet, although printed in 1769, was not published till 1771.

Disappointments, which, like misfortunes, seldom come singly, now crowded upon the bold and talented projector. After his commercial speculation, in which so much labour and energy were expended, had been set aside, a movement was made by the friends of Dalrymple for the establishment of a hydrographical office in this country, to the superintendence of which he should be appointed, with a salary of £500 per annum. But although the negotiation went on so prosperously that the situation was promised to him, the appointment did not follow. Afterwards, having communicated his collection of papers on discoveries in the south seas, which had been a favourite subject of Dalrymple's study, the secretary of state to whom they were presented expressed his regret that he had not seen them sooner, as the appointment was already filled up. Some time after, when the Royal Society proposed to send persons to observe the transit of Venus in 1769, Dalrymple was thought of as fit for such a task, and he was commissioned by the admiralty to examine two vessels that were to be purchased for that especial service. But, by a change of the plan, a naval officer was appointed to command the vessel, with joint authority in the expedition; and Dalrymple, who was aware of the danger of divided councils in such an enterprise, declined to set out on that footing. One appointment, however, which gave him the highest satisfaction of any, was destined, by its failure, to be the worst affliction of all. The court of India directors had appointed him chief of Balambang, and commander of the ship *Britannia*; and thus employed in his favourite commercial scheme, he might have been consoled in his eastern island for the failure of his hopes in England. But his commission was superseded, and an incompetent person was placed in his room. In consequence of the dissatisfaction of the directors with that functionary, they resolved to send a supervisor to Balambang, and in this case Dalrymple offered his services, to redeem the expedition from destruction. He also offered his services free of any present remuneration, except defraying his expenses, and that a small portion of the clear profits of the establishment should be granted to him and his heirs. This liberal offer, instead of being at once accepted, was referred by the directors to a committee of correspondence to examine and report. Whatever report they made, if any, is unknown; but the capture of Balambang soon afterwards, by some Sooloo freebooters, made the services of the committee superfluous.

From the time of his return to England in 1765, Dalrymple had been almost constantly engaged in collecting and arranging materials for a full exposition of the importance of the eastern islands and south seas, and was encouraged by the court of directors to publish various charts, &c. He also took every occasion to keep up his claim on the Madras establishment, and on the appointment of his patron, Lord Pigot, to be governor of Fort St. George, in 1775, he was reinstated in the service of the East India Company, and was nominated to be one of the committee of circuit. He accordingly

went out to Madras, and entered upon the duties of his office, until 1777, when he was recalled, with others, under a resolution of the general court to have their conduct inquired into; but nothing appears to have resulted from the inquiry. Two years afterwards he was appointed hydrographer to the East India Company, and in 1795, when the Admiralty established a similar office, Alexander Dalrymple was judged the fittest person to hold it. Of his talent, indeed, as a hydrographer, the following valuable testimony was given by the distinguished Admiral Kempenfelt, in a letter which he wrote to Dalrymple:—"I have received your very valuable charts for particular parts of the East Indies: what an infinite deal of pains and time you must have bestowed to form such a numerous collection! It seems an Herculean labour; but it is a proof what genius joined with industry is capable of. However, you have the pleasing reflection that you have successfully laboured for the public good, the good of navigation, and that your memory will live for ever." Although he was already hydrographer to the East India Company, the court of directors made no objection to his holding the same office for the Admiralty, judging rightly that the two offices were not incompatible, but rather parts of each other; and accordingly, Alexander Dalrymple accepted the government appointment. The appointment, indeed, was only a tardy act of justice, as when the office of hydrographer to the Admiralty had been proposed nineteen years earlier, it had been promised to Dalrymple.

In this arduous and responsible situation he continued till 1808, when the Admiralty called for his resignation on the ground that he was superannuated. He was now in the seventy-first year of his age, and might be supposed too old for the duties of his office; but Dalrymple, with that habitual energy of purpose which in old age often hardens into obstinacy, refused to give in his resignation. He probably thought, like the Bishop of Grenada, that he had never been so active, so fit for his duties, and efficient as at present, although he had already finished the usual date assigned to the life of man. In consequence of his refusal to resign, he was dismissed, and his death, which occurred only a month after (June 19, 1808), may be supposed to have been hastened by vexation at his dismissal. He left a large library, which was especially rich in works on navigation and geography; and of these the Admiralty purchased the most select, while the others were disposed of by auction. His own works were numerous, amounting to fifty-nine volumes and tracts; but many of them were of a personal and political character, and therefore were soon forgot. Of those that were more important, and connected with his own scientific pursuits, we can merely select the titles of the following:—*Account of Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean before 1764*, 8vo, 1764. *Plan for extending the Commerce of this Kingdom, and of the East India Company, by an Establishment at Balambangan*, 1771. *Historical Collection of South Sea Voyages*, 2 vols. 4to, 1770-1. *Proposition of a Benevolent Voyage to introduce Corn, &c., into New Zealand*, 4to, 1771. *Proposition for Printing, by Subscription, the MS. Voyages and Travels in the British Museum*, 4to, 1773. *An Historical Relation of the several Expeditions from Fort Marlbro' to the Islands off the West Coast of Sumatra*, 4to, 1775. *Collection of Voyages*, chiefly in the South Atlantic Ocean, from the original MS., by Dr. Halley, M. Bouvet, &c.; with a Preface concerning a Voyage of Discovery proposed to be undertaken by Alexander Dalrymple at his own expense; Letters

to Lord North on the subject, and *Plan of a Republican Colony*, 4to, 1775. *Plan for Promoting the Fur Trade*, and securing it to this Country, by uniting the Operations of the East India and Hudson's Bay Companies, 4to, 1789. *An Historical Journal of the Expedition, by Sea and Land, to the North of California in 1768, 1769, and 1770*, when Spanish Establishments were first made at San Diego and Monterey; translated from the Spanish MS., by William Revely, Esq.; to which is added, Translation of Cabrera Bueno's Description of the Coast of California, and an Extract from the MS. Journal of M. Sauvagne le Muet, 1714, folio, 1790. *A Treatise of Practical Navigation*. (Of this work only three chapters were printed.)

DALRYMPLE, SIR DAVID, a celebrated Scottish judge and antiquary, was born at Edinburgh, on the 28th of October, 1726. His father was Sir James Dalrymple, of Hailes, Bart., and his mother, Lady Christian Hamilton, a daughter of the Earl of Haddington. His grandfather, who was lord-advocate for Scotland during the reign of George I., was the youngest son of the first Lord Stair, and distinguished for ability even among the members of his own able family; and his father, Sir James, had the auditorship of the exchequer bestowed upon him for life. Sir David Dalrymple was sent to be educated at Eton, where he was eminently distinguished for ability and general good conduct. At this seminary he acquired, with a competent share of classical learning, a fine classical taste and a partiality for English manners and customs, which marked through life both his public and private conduct. From Eton he returned to Edinburgh, where he went through the usual course at the university; and afterwards went to Utrecht, where he prosecuted the study of the civil law, till the suppression of the rebellion in the year 1746, when he returned to his native country. From the sobriety of his character, with his arduous and diligence in prosecuting whatever subject arrested his attention, the highest hopes of his future eminence were now entertained by his friends. Nor were these hopes disappointed; although circumstances led him into studies not altogether such as he would have pursued, had he been left to the bent of his own genius. The study of antiquities and the belles-lettres was the most congenial to his own mind, and in both he was eminently fitted to excel; but from the state of his affairs on the death of his father, who left a large family and an estate deeply encumbered, he found it necessary to adopt the law as a profession, that he might be able to meet the demands which lay against the family inheritance, and make suitable provision for those dependent on him. He accordingly made his appearance as an advocate, or, as it is technically expressed, was called to the Scottish bar, in the year 1748. Here, however, though he had considerable practice, his success was not equal to the sanguine expectations of his friends. In the science of law few men were more expert than Sir David Dalrymple, and in point of industry he was surpassed by no one of his contemporaries; but he had certain peculiarities, probably inherent in his nature, strengthened by study, and confirmed by habit, that impeded his progress, and rendered his efforts less effective than those of men who were far his inferiors in natural and acquired abilities. From natural modesty and good taste he had a sovereign contempt for verbal antitheses, rounded periods, and everything that had the semblance of declamation, for excelling in which he was totally unqualified—his voice being ill-toned, and his manner ungraceful. In consequence of these defects, his

pleadings, which were always addressed to the judgment, never to the passions, often fell short of those of his opponents, who, possessing less enlarged views of their subject, but having higher rhetorical powers, and being less fastidious in the choice of words, captivated their auditors by the breadth of their irony and the sweeping rotundity of their periods. Nor did his memorials, though classically written, and replete with valuable matter, at all times meet with the approbation of the court, which was disposed at times to find fault with their brevity, and sometimes with the extreme attention they manifested to the minutæ of forms, in which it was alleged he concealed the merits of the case. On points, however, which interested his feelings, or which involved the interests of truth and virtue, he lost sight of the intricacies of form; his language became glowing, and his arguments unanswerable. No advocate of his own standing was at the time more truly respectable; and he was often employed as advocate-depute, which gave him frequent opportunities of manifesting that candour of heart and tenderness of disposition, which were at all times striking features of his character, and which so well become the prosecutor in a criminal court. Going the western circuit on one occasion, in this capacity, he came to the town of Stirling, where, the first day of the court, he was in no haste to bring on the business; and being met by a brother of the bar, was accosted with the question, why there was no trial this forenoon. "There are," said Sir David, "some unhappy culprits to be tried for their lives, and therefore it is proper they have time to confer for a little with their men of law." "That is of very little consequence," said the other. "Last year I came to visit Lord Kaimes when he was here on the circuit, and he appointed me counsel for a man accused of a rape. Though I had very little time to prepare, yet I made a decent speech." "Pray, sir," said Sir David, "was your client acquitted or condemned?" "O," replied the other, "most unjustly condemned." "That, sir," said the depute-advocate, "is no good argument for hurrying on trials."

Having practised at the bar with increasing reputation for eighteen years, Sir David Dalrymple was, with the warmest approbation of the public, appointed one of the judges of the Court of Session, in the year 1766. He took his seat on the bench with the usual formalities, by the title of Lord Hailes, the designation by which he is generally known among the learned throughout Europe. This was a situation which it was admitted on all hands that Sir David Dalrymple was admirably calculated to fill. His unwearied assiduity in sifting dark and intricate matters to the bottom was well known, and his manner of expression, elegant and concise, was admirably suited to the chair of authority. That his legal opinions had always been found to be sound, was also generally believed; yet it has been candidly admitted, that he was, as a judge, neither so useful nor so highly venerated as the extent of his knowledge and his unquestioned integrity led his friends to expect. The same minute attention to forms, which had in some degree impeded his progress at the bar, accompanied him to the bench, and excited sometimes the merriment of lighter minds. It is to be noticed, however, that too little regard has been, on some occasions, in the very venerable Court of Session, paid to forms; and that forms, apparently trifling, have seldom, in legal proceedings, been disregarded, without in some degree affecting the interests of truth and justice. It has also been remarked, that such was the opinion which the other judges entertained of the accuracy, diligence, and dignified

character of Lord Hailes, that, in the absence of the lord-president, he was almost always placed in the chair. After having acted as a lord of session for ten years, Lord Hailes was, in the year 1776, nominated one of the lords of justiciary, in which capacity he commanded the respect of all men. Fully impressed with a sense of the importance of his office in the criminal court, all his singularities seemed to forsake him. Before the time of Hailes, it had been too much the case in the Scottish criminal courts for the judge to throw all the weight of his influence into the scale of the crown. Lord Hailes, imitating the judges of England, threw his into the scale of the prisoner, especially when the king's counsel seemed to be overpowering, or when there was any particular intricacy in the case. It is to be regretted that, in almost all of our courts of justice, oaths are administered in a manner highly indecorous, tending rather to derogate from the importance of that most solemn act. In this respect Lord Hailes was the very model of perfection. Rising slowly from his seat, with a gravity peculiarly his own, he pronounced the words in a manner so serious as to impress the most profligate mind with the conviction that he was himself awed with the immediate presence of that awful Majesty to whom the appeal was made. When the witness was young, or appeared to be ignorant, his lordship was careful, before putting the oath, to point out its nature and obligations in a manner the most perspicuous and affecting. It is perhaps impossible for human vigilance or sagacity altogether to prevent perjury in courts of justice; but he was a villain of no common order that could perjure himself in the presence of Lord Hailes. In all doubtful cases it was his lordship's invariable practice to lean to the side of mercy; and when it became his painful duty to pass sentence of death upon convicted criminals, he did so in a strain so pious and so pathetic, as often to overwhelm in a flood of tears the promiscuous multitudes that are wont to be assembled on such occasions. In the discharge of this painful part of his duty, Lord Hailes may have been equalled, but he was certainly, in this country at least, never surpassed.

While Lord Hailes was thus diligent in the discharge of the public duties of his high place, he was, in those hours which most men find it necessary to devote to rest and recreation, producing works upon all manner of subjects, exceeding in number, and surpassing in value, those of many men whose lives have been wholly devoted to literature. Of these, as they are in few hands, though some of them at least are exceedingly curious and highly interesting, we shall present the reader with such notices as our limits will permit, in the order in which they were published. His first work seems to have been *Sacred Poems, a Collection of Translations and Paraphrases from the Holy Scriptures by various Authors*, Edinburgh, 1751, 12mo, dedicated to Charles Lord Hope, with a preface of ten pages. The next was *The Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach or Ecclesiasticus, from the Apocrypha*, 12mo, Edinburgh, 1755, without preface or commentary. In the year following, 1756, he published, in 12mo, "*Select Discourses*, by John Smith, late fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, with a preface, many quotations from the learned languages translated, and notes added, containing allusions to ancient mythology, and to the erroneous philosophy which prevailed in the days of the author," &c. &c. Next year, 1757, he republished, with notes, "*A Discourse of the Unnatural and Vile Conspiracy attempted by John Earl of Gowrie, and his Brother, against his Majesty's Sacred Person, at St. Johnstown*, 5th of

August, 1600," 12mo. Two vessels, the *Betsy Cunningham*, and the Leith packet *Pilcairn*, from London to Leith, being wrecked on the shore between Dunbar and North Berwick, in the month of October, 1761, and pillaged by the country people, as was too often done on all the coasts of Britain, and is sometimes done to this day, Sir David published a sermon, which might have been preached in East Lothian on the 25th day of October, 1761: Ac. xxvii. 1, 2, "The barbarous people showed us no little kindness." This is an admirable discourse, deeply affecting, and calculated in a particular manner to carry conviction to the offenders. In 1762 he published from the press of the Foulises, Glasgow, "*Memorials and Letters relating to the History of Britain in the Reign of James I. of England*, from a Collection in the Advocates' Library, by Balfour of Denmyln, with a Preface and a few Notes." This is an exceedingly curious little volume, throwing much light on the character of the British Solomon and his sapient courtiers. In 1765 he published, from the same press, the works of the ever memorable Mr. John Hailes of Eaton, now first collected together, in three volumes, with a short preface, and a dedication to Bishop Warburton, the edition said to be undertaken with his approbation. The same year he published a specimen of a book entitled "*Ane Compendious Booke of Godly and Spiritual Sangs*, collectit out of sundrie parts of Scripture, with sundrie of other Ballots changed out of Prophane Sangs for avoyding of Sin and Harlotrie," &c. This was printed at Edinburgh, in 12mo, and was the first introduction of that singular performance to the notice of modern readers. In 1766 he published at Glasgow, "*Memorials and Letters Relating to the History of Britain in the Reign of Charles I.*, published from the originals, collected by Mr. Robert Wodrow, the historian of the sufferings of the Church of Scotland." This is a very curious performance; and it was followed, the same year, by one perhaps still more so—an account of the preservation of King Charles II. after the battle of Worcester, drawn up by himself; to which are added his letters to several persons. The same year he published the secret correspondence between Sir Robert Cecil and James VI.; and the year following, "*A Catalogue of the Lords of Session*, from the institution of the College of Justice, in the year 1532, with historical notes. The private correspondence of Dr. Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, and his friends in 1725, was published by Lord Hailes in 1768-69. An examination of some of the arguments for the high antiquity of *Regiam Majestatem*, and an inquiry into the authenticity of the *Leges Malcolmi*. Also, *Historical Memoirs concerning the Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy, from the Earliest Accounts to the Era of the Reformation*. At the same time he published, *Canons of the Church of Scotland, drawn up in the Provincial Councils held at Perth A.D. 1242 and 1269*. In 1770 he published *Ancient Scottish Poems*, published from MS. of George Bannatyne, 1568, with a number of curious notes and a glossary. His lordship's next performance was "*The Additional Case of Elizabeth, Claiming the Title and Dignity of Countess of Sutherland, by her Guardian*;" wherein the facts and arguments in support of her claim are more fully stated, and the errors in the additional cases for the other claimants are detected." This most singularly learned and able case was subscribed by Alexander Wedderburn, afterwards lord-chancellor of England, and Sir Adam Ferguson, but is the well-known work of Lord Hailes. This performance is not to be regarded merely as a law-paper of great ability, but as a

treatise of profound research into the history and antiquity of many important and general points of succession and family history. In 1773 he published *Remarks on the History of Scotland*, inscribed to George, Lord Lyttleton. In 1776 he published, *Huberti Langueti Epistola ad Philippum Sydneium, Equitem Anglum, &c.*, inscribed to Lord-chief baron Smythe. The same year was published his *Annals of Scotland, from the Accession of Malcolm III., surnamed Canmore, to the Accession of Robert I.* This was followed, three years after, by *Annals of Scotland, from the Accession of Robert I., surnamed the Bruce, to the Accession of the House of Stuart*. This is a most admirable work, but as it enjoys universal celebrity, and is in the hands of every one who is studious of Scottish history, we do not think it necessary to give any particular remarks upon it. In 1776 he published the first volume of the *Remains of Christian Antiquity*, a work of great erudition, containing accounts of the martyrs of Smyrna and Lyons in the second century, with explanatory notes; dedicated to Bishop Hurd. This is a new and correct version of two most ancient epistles, the one from the church at Smyrna to the church at Philadelphia; the other from the Christians at Vienne and Lyons to those in Asia and Phrygia; their antiquity and authenticity are undoubted. Great part of both is extracted from Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*. The former was first completely edited by Archbishop Usher. Lord Hailes, with that singular modesty which characterized him, says of his notes to this work, that they will afford little new or interesting to men of erudition, though they may prove of some benefit to the unlearned reader. The erudition Lord Hailes possessed on these topics was of a kind so singular, and is so little studied, that he might have spared any apology on the subject, the learned being, in fact, for the most part, on these subjects more ignorant than the unlearned. With much useful learning, however, these notes display what is still better, true piety and ardent zeal, connected with an exemplary knowledge of Christianity. In 1778 his lordship published the second volume of this work, dedicated to Dr. Newton, Bishop of Bristol. This volume contains the trial of Justin Martyr and his companions; the epistle of Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, to Fabius, Bishop of Antioch; the trial and execution of Fructuosus, Bishop of Torrocena in Spain, and of his two deacons Augurius and Eulogius; the maiden of Antioch, &c. These are all newly translated by Lord Hailes from Ruinart, Eusebius, Ambrose, &c. The notes of this volume display a most intimate acquaintance with antiquity, great critical acumen, both in elucidating the sense and detecting interpolations, and, above all, a fervent and enlightened zeal in vindicating such sentiments and conduct as are conformable to the word of God, against the malicious sarcasms of Mr. Gibbon. The third volume appeared in 1780, dedicated to Thomas Balgray, D.D. It contains the history of the martyrs of Palestine in the third century, translated from Eusebius. In the notes and illustrations to this volume Gibbon comes again under review, and his partiality and misrepresentations are most satisfactorily exposed. In 1781 he published *Octavius, a Dialogue by Marcus Minucius Felix*, with notes and illustrations. The speakers are Coecilius, a heathen, and Octavius, a Christian, whose arguments prevail with his friend to become a Christian proselyte. In 1782 he published a treatise, by L. C. F. Lactantius, of the manner in which the persecutors died. This was dedicated to Dr. Porteous, Bishop of Chester, afterwards Bishop of London, and largely illustrated by critical notes. In 1783 he published *Disquisi-*

tions concerning the Antiquity of the Christian Church, inscribed to Dr. Halifax, Bishop of Gloucester. This small but highly original work consists of six chapters: 1st, of the conduct and character of Gallio; 2d, of the time at which the Christian religion became known at Rome; 3d, of the cause of the persecution of the Christians under Nero, in which the hypothesis of Gibbon is examined; 4th, of the eminent heathens who are said by Gibbon to have contemned Christianity, viz. Seneca, the Plinys elder and younger, Tacitus, Galen, Epictetus, Plutarch, and Marcus Antoninus (this chapter is particularly interesting to the admirer of heathen philosophers and heathen philosophy); 5th is an illustration of a conjecture of Gibbon respecting the silence of Dion Cassius concerning the Christians; and the 6th treats of the circumstances respecting Christianity that are to be found in the Augustan history. There can scarcely be a doubt, that all these works treating of the early ages of Christianity, were suggested by the misrepresentations of Gibbon, and were they circulated as widely as Gibbon's work, would be found a complete antidote. His lordship, however, was not satisfied with this indirect mode of defence, and, in 1786, published *An Inquiry into the Secondary Causes which Mr. Gibbon has Assigned for the Rapid Growth of Christianity*; in which he has most triumphantly set aside his conclusions. This performance he gratefully and affectionately inscribed to Richard Hurd, Bishop of Worcester. The same year his lordship published sketches of the lives of John Barclay; of John Hamilton, a secular priest; of Sir James Ramsay, a general officer in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden; of George Leslie, a Capuchin friar; and of Mark Alexander Boyd. These lives were written and published as a specimen of the manner in which a *Biographica Scotica* might be executed, and we do not know that he proceeded any further with the design. In 1788 he published, from her original MSS., the *Opinions of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*, with notes, corrective of her ladyship's splenetic humour; and, in 1790, he translated and published, with notes and illustrations, *The Address of Q. Sept. Tertullian to Scapula Tertullus, Pro-consul of Africa*. This address contains many particulars relating to the church after the third century, and in the notes some strange inaccuracies of Mr. Gibbon are detected.

This was the last work which Lord Hailes lived to publish. His constitution had been long in an enfeebled state, which so much diligence in study must have tended to increase. He continued, however, to prosecute his studies, and to attend his duty on the bench till within three days of his death, which happened on the 29th of November, 1792, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. His lordship was twice married. By his first wife, Anne Brown, only daughter of Lord Coalston, one of the judges of the Court of Session, he left issue one daughter, who inherited his estate. By his second wife, Helen Ferguson, youngest daughter of Lord Kilkerran, he left also issue, one daughter. Having no male issue, his baronetcy descended to his nephew. Of the character of Lord Hailes, there can be but one opinion. As an able lawyer and an upright judge, he stands eminently conspicuous in an age and a country where such characters were not rare; and when the exercise of such qualities, from their superabundance, scarcely could merit praise. As a man of general erudition he stands, if we except Warburton, almost without a rival in the age he lived in. His skill in classical learning, the belles-lettres, and historical antiquities, especially those of his own country, have been universally admitted; and had

popularity been his intention, as it was of too many of his contemporaries, there cannot be a doubt but that he could have made himself the most shining meteor among them. Instead, however, of fixing upon subjects that might interest the frivolous, or draw upon him the smiles of the fashionable and the gay, he sedulously devoted his studies to such subjects as he thought particularly called for by the circumstances of the times, and with which all would be benefited by becoming acquainted. A shallow spirit of scepticism was abroad, which, aided by ignorance and misrepresentation, was threatening to become universal, and to change the sober and meditative character of Britons into frothy petulance and flippant vanity. This he attempted to meet by sober investigations into the truth of the facts that had been so confidently assumed respecting the early history of Christianity, by which he certainly left his opponents without the shadow of an excuse for persisting in their conclusions, having proved to a demonstration that their premises were false. Whether he might not have done this in a more popular form we cannot now stay to inquire into. We certainly think the mode he adopted that which was best calculated to cut off the cavilling of adversaries, and to carry conviction to the mind of the reader; and to those who wish to treat the subject in a more popular form, his lordship has furnished abundant materials. His various republications of the ancient poetry of Scotland, and the publication of original letters regarding her history and manners, while they throw much light upon the history of the country and the domestic economy of the times to which they relate, present his lordship in a most amiable point of view; and, while we admire the scholar and the philosopher, we cannot cease to venerate and to love the man. Of his *Annals* we have already spoken. Though necessarily written in a close and severe style, they have long ago risen to a pitch of popularity far beyond many works that took a more immediate hold of the public mind; and we have no doubt that ages will only add to their value. Indeed, he has left nothing to be done for the periods that came under his review. His inquiry into the secondary causes which Gibbon has assigned for the rapid progress of Christianity, is also a masterpiece of its kind, displaying great critical acumen, close reasoning, and great zeal for truth, without the smallest particle of that rancour which too often runs through theological controversy. With all his virtues and all his acquirements, joined to the finest natural abilities, Lord Hailes was not one of those who could boast of the large sums he received for the copyright of his works. He was most commonly his own publisher; and, as is generally the case in such circumstances, the circulation of his writings was, with a few exceptions, confined to the particular friends and acquaintances whom he had drawn around him. The consequence is, that there are many of them no longer to be met with, being wholly confined to the cabinets of the curious. It would be a meritorious work in these days of literary enterprise, and we cannot doubt that an intelligent and spirited publisher might find it a profitable speculation, to publish a neat, cheap, and uniform edition of his multifarious publications. Lord Hailes possessed a natural taste for retirement. The state of his affairs, at a most important period of his life, rendered it necessary for him, and the habit grew upon him as he advanced in years. His constitution, of which he was careful, as well as his principles and habits, rendered him averse to every kind of dissipation. After he was constituted a judge, he considered it unbecoming his character to mingle much with

the fashionable and the gay world. When he chose to unbend his mind, therefore, it was in the society of a few easy friends, whom he had selected as much on account of their moral and religious worth, as for their genius or learning. With that constellation of men of genius and science which illuminated Edinburgh at that period, Lord Hailes had much agreeable and profitable conversation; but it was impossible for friendship or close intimacy to subsist between men who thought so differently as he and the most of them did upon the most important of all subjects. Though a Whig, and strongly attached to the best principles of the Revolution, he took no part in the broils, civil or ecclesiastical, which agitated the country in the first period of the reign of George III. Some of these he regarded as frivolous, and others as mischievous, and from conscience could not allow himself to sympathize with them. Conscious at all times of the dignity and importance of the high office which he held, he never departed from the decorum becoming that reverend character. This decorum it cost him no effort to support, because he acted from principle improved into a daily sentiment of the heart. Affectionate to his family and relations, simple and mild in his manners, pure in his morals, enlightened and entertaining in his conversation, he left society only to regret, that devoted as he was to more important employments, he had so little time to spare for intercourse with them.

DALRYMPLE, JAMES, Viscount Stair, an eminent lawyer and statesman, and the progenitor of many distinguished persons, was born at Drum-murchie, in the parish of Barr, Ayrshire, in the month of May, 1619. His father, who bore the same name, was proprietor of the small estate of Stair in that county, which on his death in 1624 fell to his son. James Dalrymple received his education at the parish school of Mauchline and the university of Glasgow, and at an early age entered the army raised in Scotland to repel the religious innovations of Charles I. In 1641, when he had attained a captaincy in the Earl of Glencairn's regiment, he became a competitor for the chair of philosophy at Glasgow, and gained it against several rivals. Former writers have made a wonder of his appearing at this competition in his military dress of buff and scarlet, and also at his retaining his commission as captain for some time after assuming the philosophy chair. The truth is, he and his brethren in arms could hardly be considered as soldiers, but rather as civilians taking up arms for a temporary purpose; and, by the same enthusiasm, even clergymen appeared occasionally with sword and pistol. Dalrymple held this chair for six years, during which he employed much of his time in the study of civil law, which was not then taught publicly in Scotland. His mind being thus turned to the law as a profession, he resigned his chair in 1647, and in the ensuing year became an advocate at the Scottish bar. His abilities soon procured him both legal and political distinction. In 1649 he was appointed secretary to the commissioners who were sent by the Scottish parliament to treat with Charles II., then an exile in Holland, for his return to his native dominions. He held the same office in the more successful mission of 1650; and we are told that, on this occasion, he recommended himself to the king by his "abilities, sincerity, and moderation."¹ After a short residence in Holland, during which he saw a number of the learned men of that country, he returned to Scotland, and was one of two persons sent by the

parliament to attend the king at his landing. In the Cromwellian modification of the Court of Session, he was, in 1657, appointed one of the "commissioners for administration of justice," chiefly upon the recommendation of General Monk, who thus characterized him in a letter to the protector—"a very honest man, a good lawier, and one of a considerable estate." It was not, however, without great difficulty that he was prevailed upon to accept office under the government of Cromwell. He took the earliest opportunity, after the Restoration, of paying his respects to the king, who knighted him, and nominated him one of the new judges. From this office, however, he retired in 1663, in order to avoid taking "the declaration"—an oath abjuring the right to take up arms against the king. Next year, on the personal solicitation of the king, he resumed his duties, with only a general declaration of his aversion to any measures hostile to his majesty's just rights and prerogatives, the king granting him a sanction in writing for this evasion of the law. On this occasion Charles conferred upon him the title of a baronet. In 1671 he succeeded Gilmour of Craig-miller as lord-president, and immediately availed himself of the situation to effect some important improvements in the system of judicature. He also, at this time, employed his leisure hours in recording the decisions of the court. As a member of the privy council he was invariably the advocate, though not always successfully, of moderate measures, and he remonstrated as warmly as he durst against all who were of an opposite character. When the celebrated test-oath was under consideration, in 1681, Dalrymple, for the purpose of confounding it altogether, suggested that John Knox's confession of faith should be sworn to as part of it. As this inculcated resistance to tyranny as a duty, he thought it would counterbalance the abjuration of that maxim contained in another part of the oath. The discrepancy passed unobserved, for not a bishop in parliament was so far acquainted with ecclesiastical history as to know the contents of that confession. However, inconsistent as it was, it was forced by the government down the throats of all persons in office, and thus became the occasion of much mischief. Lord Stair himself refused to take it, and accordingly had to retire from his offices. Before this period he had prepared his celebrated work, *The Institutions of the Law of Scotland*, which was now published. This work still continues to be the grand text-book of the Scottish lawyer. "It is not without cause," says Mr. Brodie, in a late edition, "that the profound and luminous disquisitions of Lord Stair have commanded the general admiration of Scottish lawyers. Having brought to the study of jurisprudence a powerful and highly cultivated intellect, he was qualified to trace every rule to principle. Yet such was his sterling practical good sense, that he rarely allowed himself to be carried away by theory—too frequently the failing of philosophic minds less endowed with this cardinal virtue. His philosophy and learning have enabled him to enrich jurisprudence with a work which, in embodying the rules of law, clearly develops the ground on which they are founded."

Lord Stair lived for about a year at his country seat in Wigtonshire, but experiencing much persecution from the government, found it necessary, in October, 1682, to take refuge in Holland. In his absence he was accused of high treason, on the grounds that some of his tenants had been concerned in the insurrection at Bothwell Bridge. An attempt, however, which was made to obtain a surrender of his person from Holland, proved abortive. From

¹ Forbes' *Journal of the Session*.

his retirement at Leyden he sent forth his *Decisions*, through the medium of the press at Edinburgh, the first volume appearing in 1684, and the second in 1687. In 1686 he published at Leyden a Latin treatise of much originality, under the title of *Physiologia Nova Experimentalis*. He also busied himself at this time in a work respecting the mutual obligations of the sovereign and his people, on which subject he entertained more liberal opinions than what were generally received in that age. This work, however, was never published. When the Prince of Orange was about to sail for Britain, Lord Stair requested to know what was the object of his expedition. The prince replied that it was not personal aggrandizement, but "the glory of God, and the security of the Protestant religion, then in imminent danger." The reply of Lord Stair was a strange mixture of the sublime and ludicrous. Taking off his wig, and exhibiting his bald head, he said, "Though I be now in the seventieth year of my age, I am willing to venture that (pointing to his head), my own and my children's fortune, in such an undertaking." He accordingly accompanied the prince, and was rewarded, after the settlement of affairs under William and Mary, with a reappointment to the presidency of the Court of Session, and a peerage under the title of Viscount Stair. Though thus restored to his country, and to more than his former honours, the latter years of this great man were not happy. He had never been the friend of the high-church party, and therefore he could expect no favour from that class of malcontents under the Revolution settlement. But the Presbyterian party, also, for which he had done and suffered so much, treated him with little respect, considering him too deeply concerned in the late oppressive and cruel system to be worthy of their confidence. Under these circumstances he breathed his last on the 25th of November, 1695, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and was buried in the High Church of Edinburgh.

Lord Stair had been married, in 1643, to Margaret Ross, co-heiress of the estate of Balneil, in Wigtonshire, by whom he had five sons and four daughters. The eldest son, John, having held office under James II., was, like his father, held in suspicion by the Presbyterian party; but, nevertheless, attained high office under the Revolution government. He was secretary of state for Scotland, and elevated to the rank of Earl of Stair in 1703. On his death, in 1707, he was succeeded in his title by the celebrated commander and diplomatist, John, second Earl of Stair. The junior branches of the family have produced fruit almost equally distinguished. Sir James Dalrymple, the second son, was himself the author of *Collections concerning Scottish History preceding the Death of David I.*, which appeared in 1705, and the grandfather of Sir John Dalrymple, of Cranston, author of that excellent work, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Dissolution of the Last Parliament of Charles II., until the Sea Battle off La Hogue*, in two volumes 4to. The youngest son, Sir David, was the grandfather of Lord Hailes and Alexander Dalrymple, two persons already commemorated in this work. Through these channels, and by the alliances of his daughters, the blood of Lord Stair now flows in most of the noble families in Scotland. The historical eminence of the family is only to be paralleled by the immense influence which it possessed for many years in this country—an influence hardly matched by that of the Dundasses in later times.¹

¹ We preserve, for drollery's sake, the following easy rhymes which Lord Auchinleck, father of James Boswell, used to

DALRYMPLE, JOHN, second Earl of Stair, was the second son of the first earl, and the grandson of subject of the preceding memoir. He was born at Edinburgh, July 20, 1673, and, while yet a mere boy, had the misfortune to kill his elder brother by the accidental discharge of a pistol. Although a royal remission was procured for this offence, his parents found it necessary for their own comfort to banish him from their sight, as his presence awakened the most painful associations. He was therefore placed for some years under the charge of a clergyman in Ayrshire—a humane and sensible man, who soon perceived the excellent qualities of his pupil's character. Under the charge of this person he became a proficient scholar, and in the course of time, through a series of favourable reports to his parents, he had the satisfaction of seeing the young exile restored to the bosom of his family, of which he was destined to be the principal ornament. The more advanced parts of his education he received at Leyden, where he was reputed one of the best scholars in the university, and subsequently at the college of his native city. His first appearance in life was as a volunteer under the Earl of Angus, commander of the Cameronian regiment at the battle of Steinkirk, in August, 1692, being then nineteen years of age. For some years afterwards he devoted himself at Leyden to the study of that profession in which two preceding generations of his family had already gained so much distinction. But on returning in 1701 from his Continental travels, he accepted a commission as lieutenant-colonel of the Scottish regiment of foot-guards. In the succeeding year he served as aide-de-camp to the Duke of Marlborough at the taking of Venlo and Liege, and the attack on Peer. In the course of 1706 he successively obtained the command of the Cameronian regiment and the Scots Greys. His father dying suddenly, January 8, 1707, he succeeded to the family titles, and was next month chosen one of the Scottish representative peers in the first British parliament. In the subsequent victories of Marlborough, Oudenarde, Malplaquet, and Ramilies, the Earl of Stair held high command, and gained great distinction. But the accession of the Tory ministry in 1711, while it stopped the glorious career of Marlborough, also put a check upon his services. He found it necessary to sell his command of the Scots Greys and retire from the army.

As one who had thus suffered in the behalf of the Protestant succession, the earl was entitled to some consideration, when that was secured by the accession of George I. He was, on that occasion, appointed to be a lord of the bed-chamber, and a privy councillor, and constituted commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, in the absence of the Duke of Argyle. Next year he was sent as ambassador to France, with the difficult task of conciliating the government of the Duke of Orleans to the new dynasty of Britain. It is allowed on all hands that his lordship conducted this business with unexampled address and dignity, his diplomatic skill being only equalled by the external splendours of his cortège. Unfortunately his usefulness was destroyed in 1719, by the Mississippi enthusiasm. His lordship could not stoop to flatter his countryman Mr. Law, then comptroller-general of the French finances, but whom

repeat, as descriptive of the succession of predominating influences in Scotland during the last century:—

"First cam the men o' mony wimpls,
In common language ca'd Da'rumples,
And after them cam the Dundasses,
Wha raide our lords and lairds like asses."

A quatrain, it must be confessed, more true than respectful, although, in both cases alike, the predominance was grounded on inherent family talent.

he probably recollected as a somewhat disreputable adventurer on the streets of Edinburgh. The British government, finding that the hostility of this powerful person injured their interests, found it necessary—if a mean action can ever be necessary—to recal the Earl of Stair, notwithstanding their high sense of his meritorious services. He returned to his native country in 1720, and for the next twenty-two years lived in retirement at his beautiful seat of Newliston, near Edinburgh, where he is said to have planted several groups of trees in a manner designed to represent the arrangement of the British troops at one of Marlborough's victories. He also turned his mind to agriculture, a science then just beginning to be a little understood in Scotland, and it is a well-attested fact that he was the first in this country to plant turnips and cabbages in the open fields. On the dissolution of the Walpole administration in 1742, his lordship was called by the king from his retirement, appointed field-marshal, and sent as ambassador and plenipotentiary to Holland. He was almost at the same time nominated to the government of Minorca. In the same year he was sent to take the supreme command of the army in Flanders, which he held till the king himself arrived to put himself at the head of the troops. His lordship served under the king at the battle of Dettingen, June 16, 1743; but, to use the indignant language of Lord Westmoreland, in alluding to the case in parliament, he was reduced to the condition of a statue with a truncheon in its hand, in consequence of the preference shown by his majesty for the Hanoverian officers. Finding himself at once in a highly responsible situation, and yet disabled to act as a free agent, he resigned his command. France, taking advantage of the distraction of the British councils respecting the partiality of his majesty for Hanoverian councils, next year threatened an invasion; and the Earl of Stair came spontaneously forward, and, on mere grounds of patriotism, offered to serve in any station. He was now appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Great Britain. In the succeeding year his brother-in-law, Sir James Campbell, being killed at the battle of Fontenoy, the earl was appointed his successor in the colonelcy of the Scots Greys, a command he had been deprived of thirty-one years before by Queen Anne. His last appointment was to the command of the marine forces, in May, 1746. His lordship died at Queensberry House, Edinburgh, on the 9th of May, 1747, and was buried with public honours in the church at Kirkliston. It is matter of just surprise that no monument has ever been erected to this most accomplished and patriotic nobleman—neither by the public, which was so much indebted to him, nor by his own family, which derives such lustre from his common name. His lordship left a widow without children; namely, Lady Eleanor Campbell, grand-daughter of the Lord-chancellor Loudoun, and who had previously been married to the Viscount Primrose.

DALYELL, SIR JOHN GRAHAM, Bart. This accomplished student and expositor of Scottish antiquarianism, like many who are devoted to that science, was the descendant of an ancient family of historical note, being the second son of Sir Robert, the fourth baronet of Binns, Linlithgowshire, while his mother, Elizabeth Graham, was of the family of Gartmore, and consequently a descendant of the "great marquis." He was born in 1777. Being devoted to more peaceful pursuits than his renowned ancestors, he studied for the Scottish bar, and was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates in 1797. His favourite occupation, however, instead of

inclining to that of a barrister on the boards of the Parliament House, was to keep aloof from the din of wordy war, and take refuge among the crypts of the Advocates' Library, absorbed in the study of that valuable collection of MSS. connected with Scottish history and antiquities for which the library is so distinguished. The fruit of this was soon apparent; for two years had not elapsed after his enrolment as an advocate when he produced his first work in quarto, entitled *Fragments of Scottish History*, containing, among other valuable matter, the "Diary of Robert Birrell, Burgess of Edinburgh, from 1532 to 1608." Little more than two years afterwards (in 1801), he published, in two volumes octavo, a *Collection of Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century*. Of the labour he underwent in the task, and the diligence with which he discharged it, an estimate may be formed from the fact, that in preparing this collection he had examined about 700 volumes of manuscripts. None, however, but those who are conversant with this kind of literature can be fully aware of its difficulties, owing to the loose manner in which the Scottish poems of this period were transcribed, and the variety of readings, as well as amount of interpolated nonsense with which they are disfigured. For these two works he found a fitting publisher in Mr. Archibald Constable, at that time an antiquarian, and the friend of antiquarians, whose old-book shop at the Cross was the favourite haunt of those distinguished men by whose publications he afterwards became a prince in the realms of literature.

The next work of Mr. Graham Dalzell was a *Tract chiefly relative to Monastic Antiquities, with some Account of a Recent Search for the Remains of the Scottish Kings interred in the Abbey of Dunfermline*. This work, which appeared in 1809, was the first of a series of four or five thin octavos, illustrative of our Scottish ecclesiastical records, which he issued at various intervals; and the chartularies which he severally illustrated were those of the bishoprics of Aberdeen and Murray, the abbey of Cambuskenneth, the chapel-royal of Stirling, and the preceptory of St. Anthony at Leith—the series having been carried on till 1828. But this was not his only occupation, as during the long interval he published an edition of the *Journal of Richard Bannatyne*, the secretary and amanuensis of John Knox; and another, of the *Scottish Chronicle of Lindsay of Pittscottie*. By way of literary diversion amidst these labours in our national antiquities, Mr. Dalzell also published, in 1811, *Some Account of an Ancient Manuscript of Martial's Epigrams*, which was illustrated by an engraving, and anecdotes explanatory of the manners and customs of the Romans. Of these only thirty copies were printed, six of them being on vellum.

A more important work than any of the preceding, and requiring a larger amount of original thought as well as wider research, was published by Mr. Dalzell in 1834, under the title of *An Essay on the Darker Superstitions of Scotland*. Such a title sufficiently intimates not only the extent of reading it required among books the most trying to the patience of a diligent investigator, but also into those depths of time where he was compelled to grope, in the midst of darkness and doubt, while he traced our national superstitions to their primitive homes in the forests of Germany, upon the shores of Norway, or even the more dismal and unknown wilds of Scythia. The last work which he published was the *Musical Memoirs of Scotland*. This appeared in 1850, when he was now in his seventy-third year; but the vivacity of style in which it is written, and the sprightly character of the anecdotes with which the subject is illustrated, give no indications either of the feebleness or the apathy of

old age. The work possesses also the additional recommendation of a splendid quarto form and many excellent engravings, for he was not only an ardent lover of music, but a thorough judge of it as a science, and through life he had always affectionately turned to it as a relief from his more severe occupations.

Besides those literary productions we have mentioned, comprising an authorship of fifty years' duration, Mr. Graham Dalzell published *Observations on some Interesting Phenomena in Animal Physiology, exhibited by Several Species of Planaria*, 8vo, 1814. Another work, which he published in 1847, in two splendid quartos, enriched with more than a hundred coloured plates drawn from the living subjects, was entitled, *Rare and Remarkable Animals of Scotland, represented from Living Subjects, with Practical Observations on their Nature*. He was also the author of several articles in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

From the foregoing brief notice some estimate may be formed of the literary character of Mr. Dalzell. An antiquary at a time when Scottish antiquarianism was little cultivated, his labours as well as his example gave a powerful impulse to that study, which soon became so widely diffused, and has been productive of such happy results. It is owing, indeed, to this spirit of inquiry that few histories of nations have been more effectually cleared from darkness, and purified from error, than that of Scotland, although few have undergone such a cruel process as that which was devised to annihilate it. But Mr. Dalzell was something more than an antiquary, although he stood in the front rank of the order; he was also an accomplished classical scholar, and well acquainted with mechanical science and natural history, of which his writings are an abundant proof. Although as an author he was so prolific, his diligence and perseverance are the more to be admired when we remember that such was his fastidiousness in composition, that he would seldom commit his manuscript to the press until it had been re-written four or five times over.

Sir John Graham Dalzell received the honour of knighthood by patent in 1836, and succeeded to the baronetcy of Binns by the death of his elder brother in 1841. His own death occurred on the 7th of June, 1851. As he was never married, he was succeeded in his title and estates by his brother, Sir William Cunningham Cavendish Dalzell, commander in the royal navy.

DALYELL, THOMAS, an eminent cavalier officer, was the son of Thomas Dalzell, of Binns, in West Lothian, whom he succeeded in that property. The lairds of Binns are understood to have been descended from the family afterwards ennobled under the title of Earl of Carnwath. The mother of the subject of this memoir was the Honourable Janet Bruce, daughter of the first Lord Bruce of Kinloss, a distinguished minister of James VI., and who, with the Earl of Marr, was chiefly instrumental in securing the succession of that monarch to the English crown. Thomas Dalzell, who is said to have been born about the year 1599, entered the service of Charles I., and had at one time the command of the town and garrison of Carrickfergus, where he was taken prisoner by the rebels. He was so much attached to his master that, to testify his grief for his death, he never afterwards shaved his beard. In the army which Charles II. led from Scotland, in 1651, he had the rank of major-general, in which capacity he fought at the battle of Worcester. Being there taken prisoner, he was committed to the Tower, and his estates were forfeited, and he was himself exempted from the general act of indemnity. However, he made

his escape, and seems to have gone abroad, whence he returned, and landed with some royalists in the north of Scotland, in March, 1654. Supported by a small party, he took possession of the castle of Skelko, and assisted in the exertions then made for the restoration of Charles, who soon afterwards transmitted the following testimony of his approbation:—

“TOM DALYELL,

Though I need say nothing to you by this honest bearer, Captain Mewes, who can well tell you all I would have said, yett I am willing to give it you under my own hand, that I am very much pleased to hear how constant you are in your affection to me, and in your endeavours to advance my service. We have all a harde work to do: yett I doubt not God will carry us through it: and you can never doubt [fear] that I will forgett the good part you have acted; which, trust me, shall be rewarded whenever it shall be in the power of your affectionat frind,

CHARLES R.

“Colen, 30th Dec. 1654.”

All hope of an immediate restoration being soon after abandoned, Dalzell obtained recommendations from his majesty for eminent courage and fidelity, and proceeded to Russia, then an almost barbarous country, where he offered his services to the reigning czar, Alexis Michaelowitch. He seems to have entered the Muscovite service as a lieutenant-general, but soon was elevated to the rank of general. In these high commands he fought bravely against the Turks and Tartars. After active employment for several years, General Dalzell requested permission to return to Scotland, whereupon the czar ordered a strong testimony of his services to pass under the great seal of Russia. Part of this document was conceived in the following terms:

“That he formerly came hither to serve our great czarian majesty: whilst he was with us he stood against our enemies and fought valiantly. The military men that were under his command he regulated and disciplined, and himself led them to battle; and he did and performed everything faithfully, as a noble commander. And for his trusty services we were pleased to order the said lieutenant-general to be a general. And now having petitioned us to give him leave to return to his own country, we, the great sovereign and czarian majesty, were pleased to order that the said noble general, who is worthy of all honour, Thomas, the son of Thomas Dalzell, should have leave to go into his own country. And by this patent of our czarian majesty we do testify of him that he is a man of virtue and honour, and of great experience in military affairs. And in case he should be willing again to serve our czarian majesty, he is to let us know of it beforehand, and he shall come into the dominions of our czarian majesty with our safe passports, &c. Given at our court, in the metropolitan city of Muscov, in the year from the creation of the world, 7173, January 6.”

On his return to Scotland Charles II. manifested a better sense of his promises towards him than was customary with that monarch. “Tom Dalzell” was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces and a privy-councillor, in 1666; subsequently, he represented the county of Linlithgow in parliament, his estates being now restored. In the year just mentioned, General Dalzell suppressed the ill-starred insurrection of the Covenanters. By a bold march across the Pentland Hills, he came upon the insurgents by surprise, and, on the evening of the 28th of November, gained a complete victory over them. In this year, also, he raised a regiment of foot; but its place in the military lists is not now known. It

is known, however, with historic certainty, that some years afterwards he raised the distinguished horse regiment called the Scots Greys, which was at first composed exclusively of the sons of the cavalier gentry, and was intended to keep down the sturdy children of the covenant. The letters of service for raising the Greys are dated the 25th of November, 1681. The commission of General Dalyell was intermitted for a fortnight in June, 1679, when the Duke of Monmouth was intrusted with his office, in order to put down the Bothwell Bridge insurrection. It was generally believed that, if he had commanded at Bothwell instead of Monmouth, there would have been sharper execution upon the insurgents. Being offended at the promotion of Monmouth, the old man resigned all his employments, but was quickly restored to them, and an ample pension besides. Some years before this period he had received a gift of the forfeited estate of Muir of Caldwell, who was concerned in the insurrection suppressed by him in 1666; but his family complain that they were deprived of this by the reversal of Muir's attainder after the Revolution, and that they never received any other compensation for an immense sum expended by their ancestor in the public service.

An individual who rode in Dalyell's army, has left the following graphic account of him:—

"He was bred up very hardy from his youth, both in diet and clothing. He never wore boots, nor above one coat, which was close to his body, with close sleeves, like those we call jockey coats. He never wore a peruke, nor did he shave his beard since the murder of King Charles the First. In my time his head was bald, which he covered only with a beaver hat, the brim of which was not above three inches broad. His beard was white and bushy, and yet reached down almost to his girdle.¹ He usually went to London once or twice in a year, and then only to kiss the king's hand, who had a great esteem for his worth and valour. His unusual dress and figure when he was in London, never failed to draw after him a great crowd of boys and other young people, who constantly attended at his lodgings, and followed him with huzzas as he went to court or returned from it. As he was a man of humour, he would always thank them for their civilities, when he left them at the door to go in to the king, and would let them know exactly at what hour he intended to come out again and return to his lodgings. When the king walked in the park, attended by some of his courtiers, and Dalyell in his company, the same crowds would always be after him, showing their admiration at his beard and dress, so that the king could hardly pass on for the crowd; upon which his majesty bid the devil take Dalyell, for bringing such a rabble of boys together, to have their guts squeezed out, whilst they gaped at his long beard and antic habit; requesting him at the same time (as Dalyell used to express it) to shave and dress like other Christians, to keep the poor bairns out of danger. All this could never prevail upon him to part with his beard; but yet, in compliance to his majesty, he went once to court in the very height of fashion; but as soon as the king and those about him had laughed sufficiently at the strange figure he made, he reassumed his usual habit, to the great joy of the boys, who had not discovered him in his fashionable dress" (*Memoirs of Captain Creighton*, by Swift).

¹ The comb with which he used to dress this ornament of his person is still preserved at Binns. It gives a vast idea of the extent of the beard, and of the majestic character of Dalyell in general—being no less than twelve inches broad, while the teeth are at least six inches deep.

On the accession of James VII. in 1685, Dalyell received a new and enlarged commission to be commander-in-chief; but the tendency of the court to Popery offended his conscience so grievously, that it is not probable he could have long retained the situation. Death, however, stepped in, and "rescued him," to use Creighton's language, "from the difficulties he was likely to be under, between the notions he had of duty to his prince on one side, and true zeal for his religion on the other." He died about Michaelmas, 1685. A contemporary historian informs us that, "after he had procured himself a lasting name in the wars, he fixed his old age at Binns, his paternal inheritance, adorned by his excellence with avenues, large parks, and fine gardens, and pleased himself with the culture of curious flowers and plants." His estate was inherited by a son of the same name, who was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, and was succeeded by a daughter Magdalene, who, marrying James Menteith of Auldscathie, transmitted the property and title to her son, Sir James Menteith Dalyell, ancestor of the present representative. Through this alliance the family now claims to represent the old line of the Earls of Menteith.

General Dalyell, as might be expected, is represented by the Presbyterian historians as "a man naturally rude and fierce, who had this heightened by his breeding and service in Muscovy, where he had seen little but the utmost tyranny and slavery." There are two ways, however, of contemplating the character of even so blood-stained a persecutor as Dalyell. He had, it must be remarked, served royalty upon principle in its worst days; had seen a monarch beheaded by a small party of his rebellious subjects, and a great part of the community, including himself, deprived of their property, and obliged to flee for their lives to foreign lands; and all this was on account of one particular way of viewing politics and religion. When the usual authorities of the land regained their ascendancy, Dalyell must naturally have been disposed to justify and support very severe measures, in order to prevent the recurrence of such a period as the civil war and usurpation. Thus all his cruelties are resolved into an abstract principle, to the relief of his personal character, which otherwise, we do not doubt, might comparatively be good. How often do we see, even in modern times, actions justified upon general views, which would be shuddered at if they stood upon their naked merits, and were to be performed upon the sole responsibility of the individual!

DALZELL, ANDREW, A.M. and F.R.S., was born in the year 1750, at a farmhouse in the parish of Ratho, near Edinburgh, the son of an industrious husbandman. He acquired the principles of his classical education at the parochial school of the parish; from thence he went to the university of Edinburgh. There, by his assiduity and the gentleness and purity of his manners and conduct, he acquired the esteem of the professors, and, in consequence of their high recommendation, was appointed tutor to Lord Maitland, afterwards Earl of Lauderdale. He attended Lord Maitland to the university of Glasgow, where he assisted him in his studies, and with him heard the celebrated Professor Miller deliver a course of his juridical lectures. Having accompanied his pupil to Paris, he was on his return home recommended, and through the interest of the Lauderdale family, appointed to succeed Mr. Hunter as professor of Greek in the university of Edinburgh. Classical learning had fallen into great neglect in Edinburgh when Mr. Dalzell assumed his chair; for

while Professor Moore, one of the most profound and accurate scholars of the age, was raising the celebrity of the Glasgow university by his teaching of the Greek language, and while the Foulises were printing in their press at that city their beautiful editions of the Greek classics, the literati of the Scottish capital were dedicating their whole attention to the cultivation of English and French literature. It became therefore the anxious desire of Professor Dalzell to revive the taste for ancient learning. To promote this object he delivered a course of lectures on the language, history, eloquence, philosophy, poetry, literature, antiquities, and fine arts of the Greeks. Possessed of a perfect knowledge of the subject, these lectures were admirable for their systematic arrangement and the elegance of the language in which they were clothed; and being delivered in a distinct tone, with much suavity of manner, they caused a general and enthusiastic study of the language. Indeed, it became a sort of fashion of the students of the university to attend his lectures, and the celebrity he acquired had the effect of drawing many students to Edinburgh from England and from distant parts of the kingdom. In order still farther to increase that enthusiastic love of Grecian literature which he wished to instil into the minds of his pupils, he published several volumes of collections of select passages from the Greek writers. These he accompanied with short Latin notes, which are remarkable for their perspicuity and judgment, and for the classical purity of their language. The unremitting care which he bestowed on the improvement of his students was repaid by them with the most affectionate respect; nor did the interest he felt in them terminate with the discharge of his academical duties, for he exerted himself to the utmost in promoting their future welfare, and to him hundreds owed their establishment in life. But although he was thus eminently successful in reviving the love of ancient literature in Edinburgh, it was often a subject of deep regret to him that his influence over the minds of his pupils was only transitory, and that when he happened to meet them in after-life he almost invariably found that they had neglected their classical studies. Such, it is much to be feared, must ever be the case, the prosecution of ancient learning being, generally speaking, incompatible with the struggle and bustle of the world. The only satisfaction which remains is, that the deficiency is daily becoming less important in the increasing beauty and copiousness of modern, more especially of English, literature.

On the death of Dr. James Robertson, professor of oriental languages, Mr. Dalzell was appointed to succeed him as keeper of the library of the university. He was afterwards chosen to succeed the Rev. Dr. John Drysdale as principal clerk to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, being the first layman who had ever held that honourable appointment. For some time before his death the delicate state of his health prevented him from performing his public duties, when his place was ably supplied by Dr. Thomas Macknight, one of the city clergymen of Edinburgh. He died on the 8th December, 1806, having for upwards of thirty years shed a lustre on the university by his many virtues, his high talents, and great classical attainments. Remarkable for many amiable qualities, and endowed with rich intellectual qualities, it may easily be supposed that his society was the delight of his friends; and as he had the good fortune to live during one of the brightest periods of Scottish literary history, when a galaxy of great men adorned the society of Edinburgh, he included in the circle of his acquaintance many of the greatest men this country ever produced. Of

the number of his intimate friends were Dr. Gilbert Stewart, Dr. Russel the historian, Sir Robert Liston, Dr. Robertson the historian, Lord Monboddo, Dugald Stewart, and Professor Christison. Mr. Dalzell in stature was about the middle height; his features were full, but not heavy, with a fair complexion and a mild and serene expression of countenance. His address was pleasing and unpretending, and his conversation and manner singularly graceful. He was frequently to be met in his solitary walks in the King's Park, which was one of his favourite lounges. He was married to the daughter of the well-known Dr. John Drysdale of the Tron Church, and left several children.

His works consist of the collections from Greek authors, which he published in several volumes, under the title of *Collectanea Minora*, and *Collectanea Majora*, a translation of Chevalier's description of the Plain of Troy, and many valuable papers of biography, and on other subjects, which he contributed to the Edinburgh Royal Society's *Transactions*. He also edited Dr. Drysdale's sermons.

DAVID I., a celebrated Scottish monarch, was the youngest of the six sons of Malcolm III., who reigned between 1057 and 1093, and who must be familiar to every reader as the overthrower of Macbeth, and also the first king of the Scots that was entitled to be considered as a civilized prince. The mother of King David was Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling, heir to the Saxon line of English princes, but displaced by William the Conqueror. The year of David's birth is not known; but it is conjectured to have been not long antecedent to the death of his father, as all his elder brothers were then under age. It is conjectured that he must have received the name of David from having been born at a time when his mother had no hope of more children, in reference to the youngest son of Jesse. Owing to the usurpations of Donald Bane and Duncan, he spent his early years at the English court, under the protection of Henry I., who had married his sister Matilda or Maud, the celebrated founder of London Bridge. There, according to an English historian, "his manners were polished from the rust of Scottish barbarity." Here also he took to wife Matilda, the daughter of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, and widow of Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Northampton. After the Scottish throne had been occupied successively by his elder brothers Edgar and Alexander, he acceded to it on the 27th of April, 1124, when he must have been in the very prime of life. Soon before this time, namely, in 1113, he had manifested that zeal for the church which distinguished him throughout his reign, by bringing a colony of Benedictine monks from Tyron, in France, whom he settled at Selkirk. These he subsequently translated to Roxburgh, and finally, 1128, to Kelso. In the latter year, besides founding the magnificent monastery of Kelso, he erected that of Holyrood at Edinburgh, which he endowed in the most liberal manner.

During the reign of Henry I. David maintained a good understanding with England, and seems to have spent a considerable part of his time in the court of his brother-in-law and sister. The following curious anecdote of one of his visits is related in a volume entitled *Remaines concerning Britain*, published in 1614. "Queen Maud was so devoutly religious that she would go to church barefooted, and always exercised herself in works of charity, inasmuch that, when King David, her brother, came out of Scotland to visit her, he found her in her privy chamber with a towell about her middle, washing, wiping, and kissing poore people's feet; which he disliking, said,

‘Verily, if the king your husband knew this, you should never kisse his lippes!’ She replied, ‘that the feete of the King of heaven were to be preferred before the lippes of a king in earth!’” On the death of Henry, in 1135, his daughter Maud was displaced by the usurper Stephen, and to enforce her right David made a formidable incursion into England, taking possession of the country as far as Durham. Not being supported, however, by the barons, who had sworn to maintain his niece in her right, he was obliged, by the superior force of Stephen, to give up the country he had acquired, his son Henry accepting, at the same time, from the usurper, the honour of Huntingdon, with Doncaster and the castle of Carlisle, for which he rendered homage. Next year David made a new incursion, with better success. He is found in 1138 in full possession of the northern provinces, while Stephen was unable, from his engagements elsewhere, to present any force against him. The Scots ravaged the country with much cruelty, and particularly the domains of the church; nor was their pious monarch able to restrain them. The local clergy, under these circumstances, employed all their influence, temporal and spiritual, to collect an army, and they at length succeeded. On the 22d of August, 1138, the two parties met on Cutton Moor, near Northallerton, and to increase the enthusiasm of the English, their clerical leaders had erected a standard upon a high carriage, mounted on wheels, exhibiting three consecrated banners, with a little casket at the top containing a consecrated host. The ill-assorted army of the Scottish monarch gave way before the impetuosity of these men, who were literally defending their altars and hearths. This rencounter is known in history as the battle of the Standard. Prince Henry escaped with great difficulty. Next year David seems to have renounced all hopes of establishing his niece. He entered into a solemn treaty with Stephen, in virtue of which the earldom of Northumberland was conceded to his son Henry. In 1140, when Stephen was overpowered by his subjects, and Maud experienced a temporary triumph, David repaired to London to give her the benefit of his counsel. But a counter insurrection surprised Maud; and David had great difficulty in escaping along with his niece. He was only saved by the kindness of a young Scotsman named Oliphant, who served as a soldier under Stephen, and to whom David had been godfather. This person concealed the monarch from a very strict search, and conveyed him in safety to Scotland. David was so much offended at the manner in which he had been treated by Maud, that he never again interfered with her affairs in England, for which he had already sacrificed so much. He was even struck with remorse for having endeavoured, by the use of so barbarous a people as the Scots, to control the destinies of the civilized English, to whom, it would thus appear, he bore more affection than he did to his own native subjects. At one time he intended to abdicate the crown and go into perpetual exile in the Holy Land, in order to expiate this imaginary guilt; but he afterwards contented himself with attempting to introduce civilization into his country. For this purpose he encouraged many English gentlemen and barons to settle in Scotland by giving them grants of land. In like manner he brought many different kinds of foreign monks into the country, settling them in the various abbeys of Melrose, Newbottle, Cambuskenneth, Kinloss, Dryburgh, and Jedburgh, as well as the priory of Lesmahago and the Cistercian convent of Berwick, all of which were founded and endowed by him. The effects which these comparatively enlightened bodies of men must have produced

upon the country ought to save David from all modern sneers as to his apparently extreme piety. Sanctimoniousness does not appear to have had any concern in the matter: he seems to have been governed alone by a desire of civilizing his kingdom, the rudeness of which must have been strikingly apparent to him in consequence of his education and long residence in England. The progress made by the country in the time of David was accordingly very great. Public buildings were erected, towns established, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce promoted. Laws, moreover, appear to have been now promulgated for the first time. David was himself a truly just and benevolent man. He used to sit on certain days at the gate of his palace to hear and decide the causes of the poor. When justice required a decision against the poor man, he took pains to explain the reason, so that he might not go away unsatisfied. Gardening was one of his amusements, and hunting his chief exercise; but, says a contemporary historian, I have seen him quit his horse and dismiss his hunting equipage, when any, even the meanest of his subjects, required an audience. He commenced business at daybreak, and at sunset dismissed his attendants and retired to meditate on his duty to God and the people. By his wife Matilda David had a son, Henry, who died before him, leaving Malcolm and William, who were successively kings of Scotland; David, Earl of Huntingdon, from whom Bruce and Baliol are descended, and several daughters. David I. is said, by a monkish historian, to have had a son older than Henry, but who perished in childhood after a remarkable manner. A person in holy orders had murdered a priest at the altar, and was protected by ecclesiastical immunity from the punishment due to his offence. His eyes, however, were put out, and his hands and feet cut off. He procured crooked irons or hooks to supply the use of hands. Thus maimed, destitute, and abhorred, he attracted the attention of David, then residing in England as a private man. From him this outcast of society obtained food and raiment. David’s eldest child was then two years old; the ungrateful monster, under pretence of fondling the infant, crushed it to death in his iron fangs. For this crime, almost exceeding belief, he was torn to pieces by wild horses. On losing his son Henry, in 1152, King David sent his son Malcolm on a solemn progress through the kingdom, in order that he might be acknowledged by the people as their future sovereign. He in like manner recommended his grandson William to the barons of Northumberland as his successor in that part of his dominions. Having ultimately fixed his residence at Carlisle, the pious monarch breathed his last, May 24th, 1153; being found dead in a posture of devotion. David I., by the acknowledgment of Buchanan himself, was “a more perfect exemplar of a *good king* than is to be found in all the theories of the learned and ingenious.”¹

DAVIDSON, JOHN, an eminent divine, was born, we may suppose, some time about the year

¹ James I. is recorded by Mair to have pronounced this sentence over the grave of his illustrious ancestor—“Rest there, thou most pious monarch, but who didst no good to the commonwealth, nor to kings in general:” which Bellenden has rendered—“he was an aour sanct for the crown.” This only shows that the utility of monasteries was less in the time of James I. than in the days of David I., and that King James regarded nothing as useful but what was conducive to his grand object, the increase of the royal authority. The death of James I. is a sufficient answer to his apophthegm: he was assassinated in consequence of his attempts to render himself *useful to kings in general*—that is to say, his attempts to rise upon the ruins of the nobility.

1550, as he was enrolled a student of St. Leonard's College, in the university of St. Andrews, in the year 1567; where he continued until 1570. Being educated for the ministry, he early displayed much fervour in his piety, and a fearless boldness and constant zeal in the cause of the Reformation in Scotland. When the regent Morton, in the year 1573, obtained an order in the privy-council, authorizing the union of several parishes into one, Davidson, then a regent in St. Leonard's College, expressed his opposition to and displeasure at that crying abuse in the church, in a poem, which, although printed without his knowledge, brought him into great trouble. He was summoned to a justice-ayre held at Haddington, when sentence of imprisonment was pronounced against him; he was, however, soon after liberated on bail, in the hope that the leniency thus shown would induce him to retract what he had written, or at least that his brethren might be prevailed upon to condemn the poem. But these expectations were disappointed; and Davidson, finding the intercession even of some of the principal gentry in the country unavailing, and that nothing but a recantation would save him from punishment, fled to the west of Scotland, and thence into England, where he remained until the degradation of the regent, when he returned home. He ultimately attended the earl, along with other clergymen, when his lordship was about to suffer on the scaffold, and on that occasion a reconciliation took place between them.

Davidson again involved himself in difficulties by the active part which he took against Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling. Robert Montgomery, it appears, had made a Simoniacal purchase of the archbishopric of Glasgow from the Earl of Lennox; after which, accompanied by a number of soldiers, Montgomery came to Glasgow, and proceeded to the church. He there found the incumbent in the pulpit, when, going up to him, he pulled him by the sleeve, and cried, "Come down, sirrah." The minister replied, "He was placed there by the kirk, and would give place to none who intruded themselves without orders." Thereupon much confusion and some bloodshed ensued. The presbytery of Stirling suspended Montgomery, and were supported in their authority by the General Assembly; but the Earl of Lennox, not inclined to submit to this opposition, obtained a commission from the king to try and bring the offenders to justice. Before this court could be held, however, the Earl of Gowrie and other noblemen seized upon the young king, and carried him to the castle of Ruthven, and there constrained him to revoke the commission, and to banish the Earl of Lennox from the kingdom. But the king, having afterwards made his escape from his rebel nobles, banished all those who had been engaged in this treasonable enterprise. Montgomery, who in the meanwhile had made submission to the church, again revived his claim to the archbishopric of Glasgow, whereon Mr. Davidson, then minister of Libberton, was appointed by the presbytery of Edinburgh to pronounce sentence of excommunication against him; which duty he performed with great boldness. He was also appointed one of the commission sent to Stirling to remonstrate with the king on account of this measure in favour of Montgomery. In consequence, however, of the *faithfulness* with which he had admonished his majesty, Davidson found it expedient to make a hurried journey into England, where he remained for a considerable time.

Having returned to Scotland, Mr. Davidson signalized himself in the year 1590, by his letter in

answer to Dr. Bancroft's attack on the Church of Scotland. In 1596, while minister of Prestonpans, he took an active part in accomplishing the renewal of the national covenant. He was chosen to minister to the assemblage of divines and elders, which congregated for confession and prayer in the Little Church of Edinburgh, as a preparatory step to the introduction of the overture for that purpose into the General Assembly; and on this occasion "he was so assisted by the Spirit working upon their hearts, that within an hour after they had convened, they began to look with quite another countenance than at first, and while he was exhorting them the whole assembly melted into tears before him." "Before they dismissed they solemnly entered into a new league and covenant, holding up their hands, with such signs of sincerity as moved all present." And "that afternoon, the (General) Assembly enacted the renewal of the covenant by particular synods." "There have been many days of humiliation for present judgments or imminent dangers; but the like for sin and defection was never seen since the Reformation" (*Calderwood's Church History*).

In the General Assembly held at Dundee, in the year 1598, it was proposed that the clergy should vote in parliament in the name of the church. Davidson, looking upon this measure as a mere device for the introduction of bishops, opposed it violently. "Busk, busk, busk him," he exclaimed, "as bonnily as you can, and fetch him in as fairly as you will, we see him weel enough—we can discern the horns of his mitre." He concluded by entreating the assembly not to be rash; for, "brethren," said he, "see you not how readily the bishops begin to creep up." He would have protested against the measure—which, notwithstanding the efforts to pack the Assembly, was carried only by a majority of ten—but the king, who was present, interposed and said, "That shall not be granted: see, if you have voted and reasoned before." "Never, sir," said Davidson, "but without prejudice to any protestation made or to be made." He then tendered his protestation, which, after having been passed from one to another, was at last laid down before the clerk; whereon the king took it up, and having showed it to the moderator and others who were around him, he put it in his pocket. The consequences of this protest did not, however, end here; Davidson was charged to appear before the council, and was by order of the king committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh; but, on account of the infirm state of his health, the place of his confinement was changed to his own manse. Afterwards his liberty was extended to the bounds of his own parish, in which he was allowed to perform the duties of his charge: and there, after labouring in his vocation for some years, during which he suffered much from bad health, he died at Prestonpans in the year 1604.

He was a man of sincere piety, and of an ardent and bold disposition, which fitted him to take a leading part in the great movements of the period. Davidson is particularly deserving of notice on account of the exertions which he made for the religious and literary instruction of his parishioners in Prestonpans. At his own expense he built the church, the manse, and the school and schoolmaster's house. The school was erected for teaching the three learned languages, and he bequeathed all his heritable and movable property for its support. But by much the most extraordinary feature in his character was his reputation for prophecy. Calderwood tells, that Davidson, "one day seeing Mr. John Kerr, the minister of Prestonpans, going in a scarlet cloak like a courtier, told him to lay aside

that abominable dress, as he (Davidson) was destined to succeed him in his ministry; which accordingly came to pass." On another occasion, when John Spottiswood, minister of Calder, and James Law, minister of Kirkliston, were called before the synod of Lothian, on the charge of playing at foot-ball on Sabbath, Davidson, who was acting as moderator, moved that the culprits should be deposed from their charges. The synod, however, awarded them a slighter punishment; and when they were ordered in to receive their sentence, Davidson called out to them, "Come in, you pretty foot-ball men, the synod ordains you only to be rebuked." Then, addressing the meeting in his usual earnest and prophetic manner, he said—"And now, brethren, let me tell you what reward you shall get for your lenity; these two men shall trample on your necks, and the necks of the whole ministry of Scotland." The one was afterwards archbishop of St. Andrews, and the other of Glasgow.—We quote the following from Wodrow's *MS. Lives of Scottish Clergymen*:—When Davidson was about to rebuild the church of Prestonpans, "a place was found most convenient upon the lands of a small heritor of the parish, called James Pinkerton. Mr. Davidson applied to him, and signified that such a place of his land, and five or six acres, were judged most proper for building the church and churchyard dyke, and he behoved to sell them." The other said "he would never sell them, but he would freely gift those acres to so good a use;" which he did. Mr. Davidson said—"James, ye shall be no loser, and ye shall not want a James Pinkerton to succeed you for many generations;" and hitherto, as I was informed some years ago, there has been still a James Pinkerton succeeding to that small heritage in that parish, descending from him; and after several of them had been in imminent danger when childless.

DEMPSTER, GEORGE, of Dunnichen (an estate near Dundee, which his grandfather, a merchant in that town, had acquired in trade), was born about the year 1735. He was educated at the grammar-school of Dundee and the university of St. Andrews; after which he repaired to Edinburgh, where, in 1755, he became a member of the Faculty of Advocates. Possessed of an ample fortune, and being of a social disposition, Mr. Dempster entered eagerly into all the gaieties of the metropolis; and at the same time he cultivated the friendship of a group of young men conspicuous for their talents, and some of whom afterwards attained to eminence. In the number were William Robertson and David Hume, the future historians. Mr. Dempster became a member of the "*Poker Club*," instituted by the celebrated Dr. Adam Ferguson, which met in a house near the Netherbow, and had for its object harmless conviviality: but a society which included David Hume, William Robertson, John Home (the author of *Douglas*), Alexander Carlyle, and George Dempster, must necessarily have conducted to the intellectual improvement of its members. It was succeeded, in the year 1756, by the "*Select Society*," a much more extensive association, consisting of most of the men of talent, rank, and learning in Scotland. The object of this society was the advancement of literature and the promotion of the study and speaking of the English language in Scotland, and Dempster was one of the ordinary directors. A list of the members of this society will be found in the appendix to Professor Dugald Stewart's *Life of Dr. Robertson*.

After travelling some time on the Continent, Mr. Dempster returned to Scotland, and practised for a short while at the bar. But, abandoning that pro-

fession early in life, he turned his attention to politics, and stood candidate for the Fifie and Forfar district of burghs. His contest was a very arduous one, and cost him upwards of £10,000; but it was successful, for he was returned member to the twelfth parliament of Great Britain, which met on the 25th November, 1762. He entered the House of Commons as an independent member unshackled by party. In the year 1765 he obtained the patent office of secretary to the Scottish order of the Thistle, an office more honourable than lucrative; and it was the only reward which he either sought or procured for twenty-eight years of faithful service in parliament. Mr. Dempster was decidedly opposed to the contest with the American colonies, which ended in their independence; and concurred with Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox in maintaining that taxes could not be constitutionally imposed without representation. He did not, however, enter into any factious opposition to the ministry during the continuance of the first American war; but on its conclusion he was strenuous in his endeavours to obtain an immediate reduction of the military establishment, and the abolition of sinecure places and pensions. He joined Mr. Pitt when that great statesman came into power, and supported him in his financial plans, particularly in the establishment of the sinking fund. Mr. Dempster had directed much of his attention to the improvement of our national commerce and manufactures, which he desired to see freed from all restraint. But the object to which at this time, and for many years afterwards, he seems to have directed his chief attention, was the encouragement of the Scottish fisheries. This had been a favourite project with the people of Scotland ever since the time when the Duke of York, afterwards James II., patronized and became a subscriber to a company formed expressly for the purpose. At length Mr. Dempster succeeded in rousing the British parliament to a due appreciation of the national benefits to be derived from the encouragement of the fisheries on the northern shores, and was allowed to nominate the committee for reporting to the house the best means of carrying his plans into execution.

About this period Mr. Dempster was elected one of the East India Company's directors. It is believed that his election took place in opposition to the prevailing interest in the directory; and certainly his mistaken notions on the subject of oriental politics must have rendered him an inefficient member of that court. Misled by the commercial origin of the corporation, he would have had the company, after it had arrived at great political influence, and acquired extensive territorial possessions in India, to resign its sovereign power, and to confine itself to its mercantile speculations. The policy of relinquishing territorial dominion in India, has long been a cry got up for party purposes; but it seems very extraordinary that Dempster, controlled by no such influence, should have so violently opposed himself to the true interest of the country. The error into which he fell is now obvious; he wished to maintain an individual monopoly, when the great wealth of the country rendered it no longer necessary, while he proposed to destroy our sway over India, when it might be made the means of defending and extending our commerce. Finding himself unable to alter our Indian policy, he withdrew from the directory and became a violent parliamentary opponent of the company. He supported Mr. Fox's India bill, a measure designed chiefly for the purpose of consolidating a Whig administration; and on one occasion he declared, that "all chartered rights should be held inviolable,—those derived from one charter

only excepted. That is the sole and single charter which ought in my mind to be destroyed, for the sake of the country, for the sake of India, and for the sake of humanity."—"I for my part lament, that the navigation to India had ever been discovered, and I now conjure ministers to abandon all ideas of sovereignty in that quarter of the world: for it would be wiser to make some one of the native princes king of the country, and leave India to itself."

In 1785 Mr. Dempster gave his support to the *Grenville act*, by which provision was made for the decision of contested elections by committees chosen by ballot. On the regency question of 1788-9 he was opposed to the ministry; declaring that an executive so constituted would "resemble nothing that ever was conceived before; an un-whig, un-tory, odd, awkward, anomalous monster."

In the year 1790 Mr. Dempster retired from parliamentary duties. Whether this was owing to his own inclination, or forced upon him by the superior influence of the Athole family, a branch of which succeeded him in the representation of his district of burghs, seems doubtful. He now devoted his undivided attention to the advancement of the interests of his native country. It was chiefly through his means that an act of parliament had been obtained affording protection and giving bounties to the fisheries in Scotland; and that a joint-stock company had been formed for their prosecution. In the year 1788 he had been elected one of the directors of this association, and on that occasion he delivered a powerful speech to the members, in which he gave an historical account of the proceedings for extending the fisheries on the coasts of Great Britain. He then showed them that the encouragement of the fisheries was intimately connected with the improvement of the Highlands; and in this manner, by his zeal and activity in the cause, Mr. Dempster succeeded in engaging the people of Scotland to the enthusiastic prosecution of this undertaking. The stock raised, or expected to be raised, by voluntary contribution, was estimated at £150,000. Even from India considerable aid was supplied by the Scotsmen resident in that country. The company purchased large tracts of land at Tobermory in Mull, on Loch Broom in Ross-shire, and on Loch-Bay and Loch-Folliart in the Isle of Skye; at all of these stations they built harbours or quays and erected storehouses. Everything bore a promising aspect, when the war of 1793 with France broke out, and involved the project in ruin. The price of their stock fell rapidly, and many became severe sufferers by the depreciation. Still, however, although the undertaking proved disastrous to the shareholders, yet the country at large is deeply indebted to Mr. Dempster for the great national benefit which has since accrued from the parliamentary encouragement given to our fisheries.

In farther prosecution of his patriotic designs, Mr. Dempster attempted to establish a manufacturing village at Skibo, on the coast of Caithness; but the local disadvantages, in spite of the cheapness of labour and provisions, were insuperable obstacles to its prosperity; and the consequence was, that he not only involved himself, but his brother also, in heavy pecuniary loss, without conferring any lasting benefit on the district.

On the close of his parliamentary career, Mr. Dempster had discontinued his practice of passing the winter in London, and spent his time partly at his seat at Dunnichen, and partly in St. Andrews. In that ancient city he enjoyed the society of his old friend Dr. Adam Ferguson, and of the learned professors of the university; and we have a pleasing

picture of the happy serenity in which this excellent and truly patriotic statesman passed the evening of his life, in the fact that he was in use to send round a vehicle, which he facetiously denominated "*the route coach*," in order to convey some old ladies to his house, who, like himself, excelled in the game of whist, an amusement in which he took singular pleasure. His time while at Dunnichen was more usefully employed. When Mr. Dempster first directed his attention to the improvement of his estate, the tenantry in the north of Scotland were still subject to many of the worst evils of the feudal system. "I found," he says (speaking of the condition of his own farmers), "my few tenants without leases, subject to the blacksmith of the barony; thirled to its mills; wedded to the wretched system of out-field and in; bound to pay kain and to perform personal services; clothed in hoddens, and lodged in hovels." The Highland proprietors, instead of attempting to improve the condition of their farmers and peasantry, were driving them into exile, converting the cultivated lands on their estates into pasturage, and supplying the place of their tenantry with black cattle. Mr. Dempster, in order to find employment for the population thus cruelly driven from their native country, became more strenuous in his endeavours for the encouragement of our fisheries, while, in the course he pursued on his own estate, he held out a praiseworthy example to the neighbouring proprietors, of the mode which they ought to pursue in the improvement of their estates. He granted long leases to his tenants, and freed them from all personal services or unnecessary restrictions in the cultivation of their grounds; he inclosed and drained his lands; he built the neat village of Letham; he drained and improved the loch or moss of Dunnichen, and the peat-bog of Restennet, by which he added greatly to the extent and value of his property, and rendered the air more salubrious. And having ascertained by experiments that his land abounded in marl, he immediately rendered the discovery available; inasmuch, it is estimated, that he acquired a quantity of that valuable manure of the value of £14,000.

After having enjoyed much good health, and a cheerful old age, until his last illness, Mr. Dempster died on the 13th of February, 1818, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. We cannot more appropriately finish our imperfect sketch of this good and able patriot, than by subjoining an extract from one of his letters to his friend Sir John Sinclair:—"I was lately on my death-bed, and no retrospect afforded me more satisfaction than that of having made some scores—hundreds of poor Highlanders happy, and put them in the way of being rich themselves, and of enriching the future lairds of Skibo and Portrossie. —Dunnichen, 2d Nov. 1807."

DEMPSTER, THOMAS, a learned professor and miscellaneous writer, was born at Brechin, in the shire of Angus, sometime in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Of his family or education nothing certain has been preserved, farther than that he studied at Cambridge. In France, whither he went at an early period of his life, and where probably he received the better part of his education, he represented himself as a man of family, and possessed of a good estate, which he had abandoned for his religion, the Roman Catholic. He was promoted to a professor's chair at Paris in the college of Beauvais. Bayle says, that though his business was only to teach a school he was as ready to draw his sword as his pen, and as quarrelsome as if he had been a duellist by profession; scarcely a day passed, he adds, in

which he did not fight either with his sword or at fisticuffs, so that he was the terror of all the school-masters. Though he was of this quarrelsome temper himself, it does not appear, however, that he gave any encouragement to it in others; for one of his students having sent a challenge to another, he had him horsed on the back of a fellow-student, and whipped him upon the seat of honour most severely before a full class. To revenge this monstrous affront, the scholar brought three of the king's life-guardsmen, who were his relations, into the college. Dempster, however, was not to be thus tamed. He caused hamstringing the life-guardsmen's horses before the college gate; themselves he shut up close prisoners in the belfrey, whence they were not relieved for several days. Disappointed of their revenge in this way, the students had recourse to another. They lodged an information against his life and character, which not choosing to meet, Dempster fled into England. How long he remained, or in what manner he was employed there, we have not been informed; but he married a woman of uncommon beauty, with whom he returned to Paris. Walking the streets of Paris with his wife, who, proud of her beauty, had bared a more than ordinary portion of her breast and shoulders, which were of extreme whiteness, they were surrounded by a mob of curious spectators, and narrowly escaped being trodden to death. Crossing the Alps, he obtained a professor's chair in the university of Pisa, with a handsome salary attached to it. Here his comfort, and perhaps his usefulness, was again marred by the conduct of his beautiful wife, who at length eloped with one of his scholars. Previously to this, we suppose, for the time is by no means clearly stated, he had been professor in the university of Nîmes, which he obtained by an honourable competition in a public dispute upon a passage of Virgil. "This passage," he says himself, "was proposed to me as a difficulty not to be solved, when I obtained the professorship in the royal college of Nîmes, which was disputed for by a great number of candidates, and which I at once very honourably carried from the other competitors; though some busy people would have had it divided among several, the senate declaring in my favour, and not one among so many excellent men and eminent in every part of learning dissenting, besides Barnier. The choice being also approved by the consuls, and the other citizens, excepting some few whom I could name if they deserved it; but since they are unworthy so much honour, I shall let their envy and sly malice die with them, rather than contribute to their living by taking notice of them." At this period Dempster must have professed to be a Huguenot, the university of Nîmes being destined solely for the professors of the reformed religion. Be this as it may, Dempster, driven from Pisa by the infidelity of his wife, proceeded to Bologna, where he obtained a professorship which he held till his death in the year 1625.

Dempster was the author of many books, and during his own life certainly enjoyed a most extensive reputation. His powers of memory were so great, that he himself was in the habit of saying that he did not know what it was to forget. Nothing, it was said by some of his encomiasts, lay so hidden in the monuments of antiquity, but that he remembered it; and they gave him on this account the appellation of a speaking library. He was also allowed to have been exceedingly laborious, reading generally fourteen hours every day. If he really devoted so large a portion of his time to reading, his knowledge of books, even though his memory had been but of ordinary capacity, must have been im-

mense; but he wanted judgment to turn his reading to any proper account. What was still worse, he was destitute of common honesty; "and shamefully," says Bayle, "published I know not how many fables." In his catalogue of the writers of Scotland, it has been observed that he frequently inserted those of England, Wales, and Ireland, just as suited his fancy; and to confirm his assertions, very often quoted books which were never written, and appealed to authors who never existed. "Thomas Dempster," says M. Baillet, "has given us an ecclesiastical history of Scotland in nineteen books, wherein he speaks much of the learned men of that country. But though he was an able man in other respects, his understanding was not the more sound, nor his judgment the more solid, nor his conscience the better for it. He would have wished that all learned men had been Scots. He forged titles of books which were never published, to raise the glory of his native country; and has been guilty of several cheating tricks, by which he has lost his credit among men of learning.

The catalogue of Dempster's works is astonishingly ample, and they undoubtedly exhibit proofs of uncommon erudition. Of his numerous writings, however, his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, is the most remarkable, though, instead of being, as its title would indicate, an ecclesiastical history of Scotland, it is merely a list of Scottish authors and Scottish saints. The work was composed in Italy, where, it is presumable, the works of Scottish authors were not easily accessible; in consequence of which he could not be expected to proceed with any very great degree of accuracy; but many of his errors, even candour must admit, are not the result of inadvertency, but of a studied intention to mislead. A more fabulous work never laid claim to the honours of history. Of the names which he so splendidly emblazons, a large proportion is wholly fictitious, and his anecdotes of writers who have actually existed are entitled to any kind of commendation but that of credibility. In extenuation of this fabulous propensity, however, it ought to be observed, that he lived in an age when such fabrications were considered as meritorious rather than reprehensible. The rage for legends framed for promoting the practice of piety, as was foolishly imagined, gave a general obliquity to the minds of men, rendering them utterly insensible to the sacred claims and the immutable character of truth. The most impudent lie, if it was supposed to favour the cause of religion, was dignified with the name of a *pious* fraud; and the most palpable falsehood, if it was designed to promote national glory, met, from the general impulse of national vanity, with the same indulgence. Hence that contemptible mass of falsehood and of fiction which darkens and disfigures all, and has totally blotted out the early history of some nations. Dempster had certainly an irritable, and, in some degree, a ferocious disposition, but we do not see that he ought to be charged with moral turpitude beyond the average of the men of his own age and standing in society. Yet for the honour of his country, as he foolishly imagined, he has compiled an immense mass of incredible fictions, which he has gravely told; and seems to have hoped mankind in general would receive as well authenticated historical facts. Losing in the brilliancy of his imagination any little spark of integrity that illumined his understanding, when the reputation of his native country was concerned, he seems to have been incapable of distinguishing between truth and falsehood. In this respect, however, he does not stand alone, the earlier historians of every country being in some degree chargeable

with the same failing. Even in the most splendid works of the same kind, written at periods comparatively late, many passages might be pointed out which there is no necessity for supposing their compilers seriously believed. With all his faults, the reputation of Dempster certainly extended itself to every country of Europe; and though his most elaborate works are digested with so little care or so little skill that they can only be regarded as collections of ill-assorted materials, exhibiting little merit beyond assiduity of transcription; yet it would perhaps be difficult to point out another Scottish writer who had the same intimate acquaintance with classical antiquity.

DICK, Rev. JOHN, D.D., an eminent divine of the Scottish Secession church, was born at Aberdeen on the 10th October, 1764. His father, the Rev. Alexander Dick, a native of Kinross, was minister of the Associate congregation of Seceders in that city.

Of the earlier years of Dr. Dick little more is known than that he distinguished himself at the grammar-school. On entering the university in October, 1777, when in his thirteenth year, he obtained a bursary in King's College, having been preferred to competitors of long standing. Here he studied humanity under Professor Ogilvie, Greek under Leslie, and philosophy under Dunbar, and on 30th March, 1781, he took the degree of A.M.

In 1785 Dr. Dick, who had now attained the age of twenty-one, and had studied for the clerical office in connection with the Secession, received his license as a preacher from the Associate-presbytery of Perth and Dunfermline, and soon afterwards began to attract notice by the elegance of his sermons, the gracefulness of his delivery, and the dignity and fervour of his manner in the pulpit. The consequence of this favourable impression was, that he received, shortly after being licensed, simultaneous calls from three several congregations,—those of Scone, Musselburgh, and Slateford, near Edinburgh, to the last-named of which he was appointed by the synod, and was ordained on the 26th October, 1786, at the age of twenty-two. With this appointment Dr. Dick was himself highly gratified. He liked the situation, and soon became warmly attached to his people, who, in their turn, formed the strongest attachment to him. During the first year of his ministry he lived with Dr. Peddie of Edinburgh, there being no residence for him in the village. One, however, was built, and at the end of the period named he removed to it, and added to his other pursuits the culture of a garden which had been assigned him, and in which he took great delight. A few years afterwards he married Miss Jane Coventry, second daughter of the Rev. George Coventry of Stitchell in Roxburghshire, a connection which added greatly to his comfort and happiness.

Dr. Dick's habits were at this time, as indeed they also were throughout the whole of his life, extremely regular and active. He rose every morning before six o'clock and began to study, allowing himself only from two to three hours' recreation in the middle of the day, when he visited his friends or walked alone into the country. Nor was his labour light, for, although an excellent extempore speaker, he always wrote the discourses he meant to deliver, in order to insure that accuracy and elegance of language which, he rightly conceived, could not be commanded, or at least depended on, in extemporaneous oratory. The consequence of this care and anxiety about his compositions was a singular clearness, conciseness, and simplicity of style in his sermons. Nor was he

less happy in the matter than the manner of his discourses. The former was exceedingly varied and comprehensive, embracing nearly the whole range of theology.

In 1788, two years after his settlement at Slateford, Dr. Dick made his first appearance as an author. In that year he published a sermon entitled, *The Conduct and Dooms of False Teachers*, a step suggested by the publication of *A Practical Essay on the Death of Christ*, by Dr. M'Gill of Ayr, in which Socinian opinions were openly maintained. The general aim of Dr. Dick's discourse was to expose all corrupters of the truth, particularly those who, like Dr. M'Gill, disseminated errors, and yet continued to hold office in a church whose creed was orthodox. During all the debates in this case, which took place before the General Assembly, Dr. Dick attended, and took a deep interest in all the proceedings connected with it which occurred in that court.

The subject of this memoir did not appear again as an author till 1796, when he published another sermon, entitled *Confessions of Faith shown to be Necessary, and the Duty of Churches with Respect to them Explained*. This sermon, which was esteemed a singularly able production, had its origin in a controversy then agitated on the subject of the *Westminster Confession of Faith* in relation to seceders who were involved in an inconsistency by retaining the former entire, while, contrary to its spirit, they threw off spiritual allegiance to magisterial authority. In this discourse Dr. Dick recommends that confessions of faith should be often revised, and endeavours to do away the prejudice which prevents that being done.

From this period till 1800 the doctor's literary productions consisted wholly of occasional contributions to the *Christian Magazine*, a monthly publication conducted by various ministers belonging to the two largest branches of the Secession. The contributions alluded to were distinguished by the signature *Chorepiscopus*. But in the year above-named the able work appeared on which Dr. Dick's reputation as a writer and theologian now chiefly rests. This was *An Essay on the Inspiration of the Scriptures*; a production which was received with great applause, and which made the author's name widely known throughout the religious world. The popularity of this work was so great that it went through three editions during Dr. Dick's lifetime, and a fourth, on which he meditated certain alterations, which, however, he did not live to accomplish, was called for before his death.

Dr. Dick had now been fifteen years resident at Slateford, and in this time had been twice called to occupy the place of his father, who had died in the interval; but the synod, in harmony with his own wishes, declined both of these invitations, and continued him at Slateford. The time, however, had now arrived when a change of residence was to take place. In 1801 he was called by the congregation of Greyfriars, Glasgow, to be colleague to the Rev. Alexander Pirie, and with this call the synod complied, Dr. Dick himself expressing no opinion on the subject, but leaving it wholly to the former to decide on the propriety and expediency of his removal. The parting of the doctor with his congregation on this occasion was exceedingly affecting. Their attachment to each other was singularly strong, and their separation proportionally painful.

Having repaired to Glasgow, Dr. Dick was inducted, as colleague and successor, into his new charge, one of the oldest and wealthiest in the Secession church, on the 21st May, 1801. Previously to the doctor's induction a large portion of the members

of the congregation had withdrawn to a party who termed themselves the Old Light; but the diligence, zeal, and talents of its new minister speedily restored the church to its original prosperity.

From this period nothing more remarkable occurred in Dr. Dick's life than what is comprised in the following brief summary of events. In 1810 he succeeded, by the death of Dr. Pirie, to the sole charge of the Greyfriars. In 1815 he received the degree of Dr. of Divinity from the college of Princeton, New Jersey, and in the following year he published a volume of sermons. In 1820 he was chosen to the chair of theological professor to the Associate synod in room of Dr. Lawson of Selkirk, who died in 1819; an appointment which involved a flattering testimony to his merits, being the most honourable place in the gift of his communion. Yet his modesty would have declined it, had not his friends insisted on his accepting it. For six years subsequent to his taking the theological chair, Dr. Dick continued sole professor, but at the end of that period, viz. in 1825, a new professorship, intended to embrace biblical literature, was established, and the Rev. Dr. John Mitchell was appointed to the situation. From this period Dr. Dick's labours were united with those of the learned gentleman just named.

On the retirement of the Earl of Glasgow from the presidency of the Auxiliary Bible Society of Glasgow, in consequence of the controversy raised regarding the circulation of the Apocrypha, Dr. Dick was chosen to that office, and in March, 1832, he was elected president also of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Association, to the furtherance of whose objects he lent all his influence and talents. But his active and valuable life was now drawing to a close, and its last public act was at hand. This was his attending a meeting on the 23d January, 1833, in which the lord-provost of the city presided, for the purpose of petitioning the legislature regarding the sanctification of the Sabbath. On this occasion Dr. Dick was intrusted with one of the resolutions, and delivered a very animated address to the large and respectable assemblage which the object alluded to had brought together; thus showing that, consistently with the opinions he maintained as to the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion, he could join in an application to parliament for the protection of the sacred day against the encroachments of worldly and ungodly men.

On the same evening Dr. Dick attended a meeting of the session of Greyfriars, to make arrangements for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, but on going home he was attacked with a complaint, a disease in the interior of the ear, which brought on his death, after an illness of only two days' duration. This excellent man died on the 25th January, 1833, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, the forty-seventh of his ministry, and the thirteenth of his professorship. His remains were interred in the High Churchyard of Glasgow on the 1st of February following, amidst expressions of regret which unequivocally indicated the high estimation in which he was held. About a year after his death his theological lectures were published in four volumes, 8vo, with a memoir prefixed.

It only remains to be added, that Dr. Dick, during the period of his ministry in Glasgow, attracted much notice by the delivery of a series of monthly Sabbath evening lectures on the Acts of the Apostles, which were afterwards published at intervals in two volumes; and, on a second edition being called for, were collected in one volume. These lectures, which were followed up by a series of discourses on the divine

attributes, are reckoned models for the exposition of the Holy Scriptures.

DICK, THOMAS, LL.D., F.R.A.S., &c. This popular writer, who made the difficulties of natural science intelligible to the multitude, was born in the Hilltown, Dundee, on the 24th of November, 1774. His father, Mungo Dick, a small linen manufacturer, being a member of the Secession Church, educated his son according to that strict religious system which was then prevalent in Scottish households, and especially among those of his own communion. He was also taught his letters at home chiefly by his mother, and could read the New Testament before he went to school. The direction of his mind to astronomical studies is said to have been given in the ninth year of his age by the appearance of a remarkable meteor, the first flash of which had such an effect upon him that, overcome with awe, he fell to the ground. After this he anxiously sought and perused every book connected with the science of astronomy. This occupation was opposed, however, to the wishes of his father, who intended to bring him up to the manufacturing business; but Thomas Dick, who in his thirteenth year had contrived, by saving his pocket-money, to purchase a small work on astronomy, made its pages his constant study, even while seated at the loom. This bias towards study was further strengthened by a severe attack of small-pox, followed by measles, which so greatly weakened his constitution, that he preferred the exercise of thought to the bodily labour of weaving.

The book to which we have referred was entitled, *Martin's Gentlemen's and Ladies' Philosophy*, and his curiosity to see the planets described in it was so intense, that he begged, borrowed, or purchased the eyes of invalidated spectacles from every quarter; and having contrived a machine for the purpose of grinding these lenses into the proper form, he mounted them in pasteboard tubes, and commenced with such embryo telescopes his celestial discoveries. These strange doings so astonished the neighbourhood that they thought the boy had lost his wits, while his parents were grieved at the visitation. Further acquaintance, however, with the nature of his studies, and the conviction that they were "not uncanny," reconciled them to his parents, and at the age of sixteen he was free to choose his future occupation. He accordingly became an assistant teacher in one of the schools of Dundee; and having prepared himself by this occupation for the college, he entered himself when twenty years old as a student in the university of Edinburgh, supporting himself in the meantime by private teaching. Diligently prosecuting the studies of philosophy and theology, and holding the office of master in several schools successively, he also contributed essays to various publications, by which he trained himself for the important tasks of his future authorship. In 1801 he was licensed to preach in the Secession church, and officiated for several years as a probationer in various parts of Scotland; but at last he settled for ten years as teacher of the Secession school at Methven, in consequence of the invitation of the Rev. J. Jamieson, and the kirk-session of that quarter, who were patrons of the school. Having thus found a permanent resting-place, Thomas Dick began those experiments for the intellectual and moral improvement of the people at large which formed his great principle of action throughout the whole of his life. For this purpose he recommended the study of the sciences to the working-classes, established a "people's library," and founded what might properly be called

the first mechanic's institute of the kingdom—for this was six years before the name was first applied to it.

After remaining ten years at the Secession school of Methven, Mr. Dick removed to an educational establishment at Perth, where he spent other ten years as a public teacher. It was while holding this situation also that he wrote his *Christian Philosopher*, which was published in 1827. As soon as the work appeared it was received with favour, and the numerous editions through which it successively passed showed how widely and firmly it had secured for itself readers in every class of society. In consequence of this success, he resigned his laborious occupation of a schoolmaster for the more important one of a teacher of the people through the press, for which he had now shown himself so well qualified. In the fifty-third year of his age he accordingly retired to Broughty Ferry, in the neighbourhood of Dundee, and built for himself a neat little cottage on the top of the hill overlooking the Tay. The plot of ground on which this edifice was erected was so barren that nothing would grow on it, until he had laid eight thousand wheel-barrow loads of fresh soil upon it—and as for the house, it had a room at the top of it with openings to the four cardinal points, and fitted up as an observatory, in which were placed his books and philosophical instruments. The rustics gazed in astonishment at the house erected in so high and bleak a region, and at the observatory surmounting the whole, and at last concluded that his principal wish was to dwell near the stars. To him, however, it was a dwelling congenial to the high themes on which he meditated, and here he continued to produce his numerous works until within a few years of his death, when age paralyzed the activity of his pen.

The principal works of Dr. Dick, besides his *Christian Philosopher*, were *The Philosophy of Religion*; *The Philosophy of a Future State*; *The Improvement of Society by the Diffusion of Knowledge*; *The Mental Illumination and Moral Improvement of Mankind*; *Christian Beneficence contrasted with Covetousness*; *Celestial Scenery, or the Wonders of the Planetary System Displayed*; *The Sidereal Heavens*; *The Practical Astronomer*; *The Solar System*; and, *The Atmosphere and Atmospherical Phenomena*. In all of these works he endeavoured to enlist science and philosophy in the service of religion, and by the simplicity of his treatment and clearness of style adapt the subjects to every class of readers. And few authors in so important an aim have succeeded so well or acquired such popularity, while his publications, which went through several editions, were extensively read and highly valued both in Britain and America. It is melancholy, however, to reflect that, with all this success in authorship, he still remained poor; this was owing not by any means to expensive habits, but the carelessness of his contracts with his publishers, so that his literary labours were very scantily remunerated. Thus it was that in old age, and with the high distinction he had won, he was obliged to lead a life of rigid economy. An attempt was made, in 1845, by some of the most influential in Dundee and its neighbourhood, to obtain for him a pension from government; but the application failed. Another was made in 1847, and with more success, as a pension of £50 a-year was awarded to him. Happily this scanty sum was increased by the liberality of several gentlemen in Dundee, Inverness, and other places, who in consequence of an appeal through the press raised a small fund, out of which between £20 and £30 were annually paid to him. The title of LL.D. was conferred upon him

by Union College, New York, United States, where his popularity as a writer was greater than even at home. Dr. Dick died on the 29th of July, 1857, at the age of eighty-three.

DICKSON, DAVID, an eminent Presbyterian divine of the seventeenth century, of whom Wodrow remarks, that, "if ever a Scots biography and the lives of our eminent ministers and Christians be published, he will shine there as a star of the first magnitude." Remarkable not merely for the part he took in public affairs—his preaching produced the most astonishing effects in the early part of the century in which he lived. Fleming in his work on the *Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, says of Dickson's pulpit ministrations, "that for a considerable time few Sabbaths did pass without some evidently converted, or some convincing proof of the power of God accompanying his Word. And truly (he adds) this great spring-tide, as I may call it, of the gospel, was not of a short time, but of some years' continuance; yea, thus like a spreading moor-burn, the power of godliness did advance from one place to another, which put a marvellous lustre on those parts of the country, the savour whereof brought many from other parts of the land to see its truth." We may be permitted to devote a few pages to the history of a man thus recommended by his great public usefulness, his talents, and virtues.

The subject of our narrative was a native of Glasgow, in which city his father John Dick, or Dickson, was a merchant. The latter was possessed of considerable wealth, and the proprietor of the lands of the Kirk of the Muir, in the parish of St. Ninians, and barony of Fintry. He and his wife, both persons of eminent piety, had been several years married without children, when they entered into a solemn vow, that, if the Lord would give them a son, they would devote him to the service of his church. A day was appointed, and their Christian townsmen were requested to join with them in fasting and prayer. Without further detail of this story, we shall merely say, that Mr. David Dickson, their son, was born in the Tron Street (or Trongate) of Glasgow, in 1583; but the vow was so far forgot, that he was educated for mercantile pursuits, in which he was eminently unsuccessful, and the cause of much pecuniary loss to his parents. This circumstance, added to a severe illness of their son, led his parents to remember their vow; Mr. Dickson was then "put to his studies, and what eminent service he did in his generation is known."¹

Soon after taking the degree of Master of Arts, Mr. Dickson was appointed one of the regents or professors of philosophy in the university of Glasgow; a situation held at that period in all the Scottish colleges by young men who had just finished their academical career, and were destined for the church. "The course of study which it was their duty to conduct was calculated to form habits of severe application in early life, and to give them great facility both in writing and in speaking. The universities had the advantage of their services during the vigour of life, when they were unencumbered by domestic cares, and when they felt how much their reputation and interest depended on the exertions which they made. After serving a few years (seldom more than eight, or less than four), they generally obtained appointments in the church, and thus transferred to another field the intellectual industry and aptitude for communicating knowledge by which they had distin-

¹ Wodrow's *Analecta*, MS. Advocates' Library, i. 128. Wodrow's *Life of Dickson*, prefixed to *Truth's Victory over Error*, p. x.

guished themselves in the university. It may well be conceived, that by stimulating and exemplifying diligence, their influence on their brethren in the ministry was not less considerable than on the parishioners, who more directly enjoyed the benefit of attainments and experience, more mature than can be expected from such as have never had access to similar means of improvement."¹ But we must return from a digression, which seemed necessary in order to explain a system which is no longer pursued.

Mr. Dickson remained several years at Glasgow, and was eminently useful in teaching the different branches of literature and science, and in directing the minds of his students to the end to which all such attainments should lead them—the cultivation of true piety. But in accordance with the custom already noticed, he was now removed to a more honourable, though certainly more hazardous calling. In the year 1618 he was ordained minister of Irvine. At this period, it would appear he had paid but little attention to the subject of church government, a circumstance the more remarkable when we consider the keen discussions between the Presbyterians and Episcopalians on such questions. But the year in which he had entered on his ministry was too eventful to be overlooked. The General Assembly had agreed to the five ceremonies now known as the Perth articles, and a close examination convinced Mr. Dickson that they were unscriptural. Soon afterwards, when a severe illness brought him near death, he openly declared against them; and no sooner had Law, the Archbishop of Glasgow, heard of it, than he was summoned before the court of high commission. He accordingly appeared, but declined the jurisdiction of the court, on account of which sentence of deprivation and confinement to Turrieff was passed upon him. His friends prevailed upon the archbishop to restore him, on condition that he would withdraw his declination; a condition with which he would not comply. Soon after, Law yielded so far as to allow him to return to his parish, if he would come to his castle, and withdraw the paper from the hall-table without seeing him; terms which Mr. Dickson spurned, as being "but juggling in such a weighty matter." At length he was permitted, in July, 1623, to return unconditionally.²

After noticing the deep impression Mr. Dickson made upon the minds of his hearers, Mr. Wodrow gives us the following account of his ministerial labours at Irvine:—"Mr. Dickson had his week-day sermon upon the Mondays, the market-days then at Irvine. Upon the Sabbath evenings, many persons under soul distress used to resort to his house after sermon, when usually he spent an hour or two in answering their cases, and directing and comforting those who were cast down; in all which he had an extraordinary talent; indeed he had the tongue of the learned, and knew how to speak a word in season to the weary soul. In a large hall he had in his house at Irvine, there would have been, as I am informed by old Christians, several scores of serious Christians waiting for him when he came from the church. Those, with the people round the town, who came in to the market at Irvine, made the church as throng, if not thronger, on the Mondays as on the Lord's-day, by these week-day sermons.

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission for Visiting the Scottish Universities*, 1831, p. 221. Another practice at this period was, that the regents, when they took the oath of office, should engage to vacate their charge in the event of marrying. Mr. James Dalrymple (afterwards the Viscount of Stair), having married while a regent at Glasgow in 1643, demitted, but was reappointed.—*Ibid.*

² *Wodrow's Memoir of Dickson*, p. 12, 13. *Livingston's Characteristics*, edit. 1773, p. 81.

The famous Stewarton sickness was begun about the year 1630; and spread from house to house for many miles in the strath where Stewarton water runs on both sides of it. Satan endeavoured to bring a reproach upon the serious persons who were at this time under the convincing work of the Spirit, by running some, seemingly under serious concern, to excesses, both in time of sermon and in families. But the Lord enabled Mr. Dickson and other ministers who dealt with them, to act so prudent a part, as Satan's design was much disappointed, and solid, serious, practical religion flourished mightily in the west of Scotland about this time, even under the hardships of prelacy."

About the year 1630 some of the Scottish clergymen settled among their countrymen who had emigrated to the north of Ireland. While they were permitted to preach they had been highly useful; but the Irish prelates did not long allow them to remain unmolested: they felt the progress of their opinions, and with a zeal which, in attempting to promote, often defeats its own cause, determined to silence the Presbyterians, or oblige them to conform. In 1637 Robert Blair and John Livingston, against whom warrants had been issued, after secreting themselves near the coast, came over to Scotland. They were received by Mr. Dickson at Irvine, and were employed occasionally in preaching for him. He had been warned that this would be seized upon by the bishops as a pretext for deposing him, but he would not deviate from what he considered his duty. He was, therefore, again called before the high commission court; but we are only told that "he soon got rid of this trouble, the bishops' power being now on the decline."

In the summer of the same year several ministers were charged to buy and receive the *Service Book*; a measure which produced the most important consequences. Mr. John Livingston, in his autobiography, has truly said that the subsequent changes in the church took their rise from two petitions presented upon this occasion. Many others followed, and their prayer being refused, increased the number and demands of the petitioners; they required the abolition of the high commission, and exemption from the Perth articles. These were still refused, and their number was now so great as to form a large majority of the ministers and people. The presbytery of Irvine joined in the petition, at the instigation of Mr. Dickson, and throughout the whole of the proceedings which followed upon it, we shall find him taking an active but moderate part.

When the General Assembly of 1638 was convoked, David Dickson, Robert Baillie, and William Russell, minister at Kilbirnie, were appointed to represent the presbytery at Irvine, and "to propound, reason, vote, and conclude according to the word of God, and confession approved by sundry General Assemblies." Mr. Dickson and a few others were objected to by the king's party, as being under the censure of the high commission, but they proved the injustice of the proceedings against them, and were therefore admitted members. He seems to have borne a zealous and useful part in this great ecclesiastical council: his speech, when the commissioner threatened to leave them, is mentioned by Wodrow with much approbation; but the historian has not inserted it in his memoir, as it was too long, and yet too important and nervous to be abridged. A discourse upon Arminianism, delivered at their eleventh session, is also noticed, of which Principal Baillie says that he "refuted all those errors in a new way of his own, as some years ago he had conceived it in a number of sermons on the new covenant. Mr.

David's discourse was much as: all his things, extempore; so he could give no double of it, and his labour went away with his speech."¹ An effort was made at this period by John Bell, one of the ministers of Glasgow, to obtain Mr. Dickson for an assistant, but the opposition of Lord Eglinton and that of Mr. Baillie in behalf of the presbytery of Irvine, were sufficient to delay, though not to prevent the appointment.

In the short campaign of 1639 a regiment of 1200 men, of which the Earl of Loudon was appointed coroner (or colonel), and Mr Dickson chaplain, was raised in Ayrshire. The unsatisfactory pacification at Berwick, however, required that the Scots should disband their army, and leave the adjustment of civil and ecclesiastical differences to a parliament and assembly. Of the latter court Mr. Dickson was, by a large majority, chosen moderator; a situation which he filled with great judgment and moderation. In the tenth session a call was presented to him from the town of Glasgow, but the vigorous interference of Lord Eglinton, and of his own parishioners, contributed still to delay his removal. His speech at the conclusion of the assembly, as given by Stevenson, displays much mildness, and forms a striking contrast to the deep-laid plans formed by the king's party, to deceive and ensnare the Scottish clergy.

Soon afterwards (1640) Mr. Dickson received an appointment of a much more public and important nature than any he had yet held. A commission for visiting the university of Glasgow had been appointed by the assembly of 1638, to the members of which the principal had made himself obnoxious, by a strong leaning towards episcopacy. It was renewed in subsequent years, and introduced several important changes. Among these was the institution of a separate professorship of divinity, to which a competent lodging and a salary of £800 Scots was attached. This situation had been long destined for Mr. Dickson; and when he entered upon the duties of it, he did not disappoint the expectations of the nation. Not only did he interpret the Scriptures, teach casuistical divinity, and hear the discourses of his students, but Wodrow informs us that he preached every Sunday forenoon in the High Church.

We find Mr. Dickson taking an active part in the assembly of 1643. Some complaints had been made of the continuance of episcopal ceremonies, such as, repeating the doxology and kneeling, and Alexander Henderson, the moderator, David Calderwood, and Mr. Dickson, were appointed to prepare the draught of a directory for public worship. It had, we are informed, the effect of quieting the spirits of the discontented. This is the only public transaction in which we find him employed while he remained at Glasgow.

The remaining events in Mr. Dickson's life may be soon enumerated. In 1650 he was appointed professor of divinity in the university of Edinburgh, where he dictated in Latin to his students, what has since been published in English, under the title of *Truth's Victory over Error*. Mr. Wodrow mentions that the greater part of the ministers in the west, south, and east of Scotland had been educated under him, either at Glasgow or Edinburgh. There Mr. Dickson continued till the Restoration, when he was ejected for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. The great change which took place so rapidly in the ecclesiastical establishment of the country preyed upon him, and undermined his constitution.

His last illness is thus noticed by Wodrow:—"In December, 1662, he felt extremely weak. Mr. John

Livingston, now suffering for the same cause with him, and under a sentence of banishment for refusing the foresaid oath, came to visit Mr. Dickson on his death-bed. They had been intimate friends near fifty years, and now rejoiced together as fellow confessors. When Mr. Livingston asked the professor how he found himself, his answer was, 'I have taken all my good deeds and all my bad deeds, and cast them through each other in a heap before the Lord, and fled from both, and betaken myself to the Lord Jesus Christ, and in him I have sweet peace!' Mr. Dickson's youngest son gave my informer, a worthy minister yet alive, this account of his father's death. Having been very weak and low for some days, he called all his family together, and spoke in particular to each of them; and when he had gone through them all, he pronounced the words of apostolical blessing (2 Cor. xiii. 14) with much gravity and solemnity, and then put up his hand, and closed his own eyes, and without any struggle or apparent pain immediately expired in the arms of his son, my brother's informer,² in the year 1663." This period has been noticed by some of our historians as particularly calamitous. In the course of a few years, when the church most required their support, the deaths of Dickson, Durham, Baillie, Ramsay, Rutherford, and many others, are recorded.³

Of Mr. Dickson's works the indefatigable Wodrow has given a minute account. By these he is best known, and it is perhaps the best eulogium that could be pronounced upon them, that they have stood the test of more than two hundred years, and are still highly valued.

His commentaries on the Psalms, on the Gospel of St. Matthew, on the Epistles, and on that to the Hebrews, which was printed separately, were the results of a plan formed among some of the most eminent ministers of the Scottish church for publishing "short, plain, and practical expositions of the whole Bible." To the same source we are indebted for some of the works of Durham, Ferguson, Hutchison, &c.; but the plan was never fully carried into effect, and several of the expositions in Wodrow's time still remained in manuscript. Mr. Dickson's *Treatise on the Promises*, published at Dublin, in 1630, 12mo, is the only other work printed during his life, with the exception of some ephemeral productions arising out of the controversy with the doctors of Aberdeen, and the disputes between the resolutioners and protesters. A few poems on religious subjects are mentioned by Wodrow, but they are long since quite forgotten.

Mr. Dickson's *Therapeutica Sacra, or Cases of Conscience Resolved*, has been printed both in Latin and English. On the 25th of July, 1661, he applied to the privy council for liberty to publish the English version; and Fairfoul, afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow, was appointed to examine and report upon it. "Now, indeed," says Wodrow sarcastically, "the world was changed in Scotland, when Mr. Fairfoul is pitched upon to revise Mr. David Dickson, professor of divinity, his books." What was the result of this application is not known; it is only certain that no further progress was made in the attainment of this object till 1663, after the author's death. On the 23d of March that year his son, Mr. Alexander Dickson, professor of Hebrew in the university of Edinburgh, again applied to the lords of the council, who in October granted license to print it without restriction.⁴ It was accordingly published in 1664.

¹ Wodrow's *Memoir of Dickson*, p. xiii.

² Law's *Memorials*, p. 12.

³ *History of the Suff. of the Church of Scotland*, ed. 1828.

⁴ Baillie's printed *Letters and Journals*, i. 125.

The last work which we have to notice is *Truth's Victory over Error*, which was translated by the eccentric George Sinclair, and published as his own in 1684. What his object in doing so was Wodrow does not determine, but only remarks that *if* (and we think there is no doubt in the matter) it was "with the poor view of a little glory to himself, it happened to him as it generally does to self-seeking and private-spirited persons even in this present state." In accordance with the prevailing custom of the times, many of Mr. Dickson's students had copied his dictates, and Sinclair's trick was soon and easily detected. One of them inserted in the running title the lines,

"No errors in this book I see,
But G. S. where D. D. should be."

The first edition, with the author's name, was printed at Glasgow, in 1725, and has prefixed to it a memoir of the author, by Wodrow, to which we have already alluded, and to which we are indebted for many of the facts mentioned in this article.¹

DOIG, DR. DAVID, the son of a small farmer in the county of Angus, was born in the year 1719. His father dying while he was still an infant, he was indebted for subsistence to a stepfather, who, although in very moderate circumstances, and burdened with a young family, discharged to him the duty of an affectionate parent. From a constitutional defect of eyesight, he was twelve years of age before he had learned to read; he was enabled, however, by the quickness of his intellect, and the constancy of his application, amply to redeem his lost time: his progress was so rapid, that after three years' attendance at the parochial school, he was the successful candidate for a bursary in the university of St. Andrews. Having finished the usual elementary course of classical and philosophical education, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and commenced the study of divinity, but was prevented from completing his studies by some conscientious scruples regarding certain of the articles in the Presbyterian confession of faith. Thus diverted from his original intention of entering the church, he taught for several years the parochial schools of Monifieth in Angus, and Kennoway and Falkland in Fifeshire. His great reputation as a teacher then obtained for him, from the magistrates of Stirling, the appointment of rector of the grammar-school of that town; which situation he continued to fill with the greatest ability for upwards of forty years. It is a curious coincidence, that on one and the same day he received from the university of St. Andrews a diploma as Master of Arts, and from the university of Glasgow the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.—Dr. Doig died March 16th, 1800, at the age of eighty-one.

In addition to a profound knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, both of which he wrote with classical purity, Dr. Doig had made himself master of the Hebrew, Arabic, and other oriental languages, and was deeply versed in the history and literature of the East. Of his proficiency in the more abstruse learning he has afforded abundant proof in his dissertations on *Mythology*, *Mysteries*, and *Philology*, which were written at the request of his intimate friend and the companion of his social hours, the Rev. Dr. George Gleig, and published in the *Ency-*

clopædia Britannica; of which work that able and ingenious clergyman edited the last volumes, and was himself the author of many of the most valuable articles which the book contains. That part of the encyclopædia containing the article *Philology*, written by Dr. Doig, having been published in the same week with a *Dissertation on the Greek Verb* by Dr. Vincent, afterwards Dean of Westminster, that author was so much struck with the coincidence, in many points, with his own opinions, that he commenced an epistolary correspondence with Dr. Doig; and these two eminent philologists, by frequent communication, assisted and encouraged each other in their researches on these subjects. The same liberal interchange of sentiment characterized Dr. Doig's correspondence with Mr. Bryant, in their mutual inquiries on the subject of ancient mythology. Amongst other proofs which Dr. Doig gave of his profound learning, was a *Dissertation on the Ancient Hellenes*, published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*.

The most remarkable event of Dr. Doig's literary life, however, was his controversy with Lord Kames. That eminent philosopher, in his *Essay on Man*, had maintained, as the foundation of his system, that man was originally in an entirely savage state, and that by gradual improvement he rose to his present condition of diversified civilization. These opinions were combated by Dr. Doig, who endeavoured to prove that they were neither supported by sound reason, nor by historical fact; while they were at the same time irreconcilable with the Mosaic account of the creation. In the Bible the historical details of the earliest period present man in a comparatively advanced state of civilization; and if we resort to profane history, we find that the earliest historical records are confirmatory of the sacred books, and represent civilization as flowing from those portions of the globe—from the banks of the Euphrates and the Nile—which the biblical history describes as the seat of the earliest civilization. Modern history is equally favourable to Dr. Doig's system. In Eastern Asia we find nations remaining for thousands of years in identically the same state of improvement, or if they have moved at all, it has been a retrograde movement. In Africa, also, we perceive man in precisely the same condition in which the Greek and Roman writers represent him to have been two thousand years ago. Europe alone affords an example of progress in civilization, and that progress may be easily traced to intercourse with the eastern nations. Man seems to possess no power to advance unassisted, beyond the first stage of barbarism. According to Dr. Robertson, "in every stage of society, the faculties, the sentiments, and the desires of men, are so accommodated to their own state, that they become standards of excellence to themselves; they affix the idea of perfection and happiness to those attainments which resemble their own, and wherever the objects of enjoyment to which they have been accustomed are wanting, confidently pronounce a people to be barbarous and miserable." The impediments which prejudice and national vanity thus oppose to improvement were mainly broken down in Europe by the crusades and their consequences, whereby the civilization of the East was diffused through the several nations in Europe. America presents the only instance of a people having advanced considerably in civilization unassisted, apparently, by external intercourse. The Mexicans and Peruvians, when first discovered, were greatly more civilized than the surrounding tribes: but although this be admitted, yet, as it still remains a debatable question whence the people of America

¹ Wodrow in his *Analecta*, MS. Advocates' Library, sets down the following characteristic anecdote of Mr. Dickson: "I heard that when Mr. David Dickson came in to see the Lady Eglington, who at the time had with her the Lady Wigton, Culross, &c., and they all caressed him very much, he said, 'Ladies, if all this kindness be to me as Mr. David Dickson, I can [render] you noe thanks, but if it be to me as a servant of my Master, and for his sake, I take it all weel'."

derived their origin, and as the most plausible theory represents them as having migrated from the nations of Eastern Asia, it may, after all, be contended, that the Mexicans and Peruvians had rather retrograded than advanced, and that, in truth, they only retained a portion of the civilization which they originally derived from the same common source.

Dr. Doig's controversy with Lord Kames was maintained in two letters addressed to his lordship, but which were not published until 1793, several years after the death of Lord Kames; they led, however, to an immediate intimacy between the controversialists, of the commencement of which we have an interesting anecdote:—The first of these letters "dated from Stirling, but without the subscription of the writer, was transmitted to Lord Kames, who was then passing the Christmas vacation at Blair-Drummond; his curiosity was roused to discover the author of a composition which bore evidence of a most uncommon degree of learning and ingenuity. In conversing on the subject with an intimate friend, Dr. Graham Moir of Leckie, a gentleman of taste and erudition, and of great scientific knowledge, who frequently visited him in the country, his lordship producing the letter of his anonymous correspondent, 'In the name of wonder,' said he, 'Doctor, what prodigy of learning have you got in the town of Stirling, who is capable of writing this letter, which I received a few days ago?' The doctor, after glancing over a few pages, answered, 'I think I know him,—there is but one man who is able to write this letter, and a most extraordinary man he is;—David Doig, the master of our grammar-school.'—'What!' said Lord Kames, 'a genius of this kind within a few miles of my house, and I never to have heard of him! And a fine fellow, too: he tells his mind roundly and plainly; I love him for that:—he does not spare me: I respect him the more:—you must make us acquainted, my good doctor: I will write him a card; and to-morrow, if you please, you shall bring him to dine with me.' The interview took place accordingly, and to the mutual satisfaction of the parties. The subject of their controversy was freely and amply discussed; and though neither of them could boast of making a convert of his antagonist, a cordial friendship took place from that day, and a literary correspondence began, which suffered no interruption during their joint lives."

We have various testimonies of the high respect in which Dr. Doig was held by all who were acquainted with him, and the sincere regard felt for him by his friends. Mr. Tytler, in his *Life of Lord Kames*, embraces the opportunity, while treating of the controversy between him and Lord Kames, to give a short outline of his life, as a small tribute of respect to the memory of a man whom he esteemed and honoured; and whose correspondence for several years, in the latter part of his life, was a source to him of the most rational pleasure and instruction. John Ramsay of Ochtertyre raised a mural tablet to his memory, on which he placed the following inscription:—

DAVID DOIG!
Dum tempus erit, vale!
Quo desiderio nunc recordor
Colloquia, coenas, itinera,
Quae tecum olim habui,
Prope Taichii marginem,
Ubi laeti saepe una erravimus!
Sit mihi pro solatio merita tua contemplare.
Tibi puero orbo,
Ingenui igniculos dedit Pater caelestis.
Tibi etiam grandaevum,
Labor ipse erat in deliciis.
Te vix alius doctrinae ditior,
Nemo edoctus modestior.
Tuo in sermone mihi lucebant

Candor, charitas, jucunda virtus,
Ingenii lumine sane gratiora.
Defunctum te dolebant octogenarium
Cives, discipuli, sodales.
Venerande Senex! non omnis extinctus es!
Anima tua, sperare lubet, paradisi incolit.
Ibi angelorum ore locutura,
Ibi per sempiternas saeculorum aetates,
Scientiae sitim in terris insatiabilem
Ad libitum expletura.

J. R.

DAVID DOIG!
Farewell through time!
With what regret do I now remember
The conversation, the meals, the journeys,¹
Which I have had with thee,
On the banks of the Teith,
Where, well pleased, we often strayed together.
Be it my consolation
To muse upon thy good qualities.
On thee, an orphan, thy heavenly Father
Bestowed the seeds of Genius:
To thee, even when well stricken in years,
Labour itself was delight.
Than thee, few more rich in literature,
None of the learned more unassuming.
In thy converse mildly shone
Candour, kindness, amiable virtue,
More engaging than the glare of genius.
When thou died'st, aged fourscore,
Townsmen, scholars, and companions,
Dropt a tender tear.
Venerable old man,
Thou hast not utterly perished!
Thy soul, we trust, now dwells in heaven:
There to speak the language of angels:
There, throughout the endless ages of eternity,
To gratify to its wish that thirst for knowledge
Which could not be satiated on earth.

A favourite amusement of Dr. Doig was the composition of small poetical pieces, both in Latin and English, of which those of an epigrammatic turn were peculiarly excellent. From among those fugitive pieces, the magistrates of Stirling selected the following elegiac stanzas, which he had composed on the subject of his own life and studies, and engraved them upon a marble monument, erected to his memory at the expense of the community of Stirling.

Eddidici quaedam, perlegi plura, notavi
Pauca, cum domino nox peritura suo,
Lubrica Pieris tentarem praemia palmae,
Credulus, ingenio heu nimis alta meo.
Extincto famam ruituro crescere saxo
Possse putem, vivo quae mihi nulla fuit!

DON, DAVID. This excellent botanist was born at Forfar in the year 1800. His father being the proprietor of a nursery and botanic garden there, such a circumstance was sufficient to give the mind of David a bias towards this science in early youth, and while working in his father's garden he would necessarily become acquainted with the plants and flowers among which he was occupied. But an ordinary or merely professional amount of knowledge on such subjects was not sufficient for him, and he pursued his investigations under the direction of his father, who was himself an able practical botanist, until he had acquired considerable knowledge of the subject as a science. This was shown in Edinburgh, when Mr. Don, sen., was appointed to the charge of the botanic garden in that city; David, who at that time was a young man, was found to possess such botanical knowledge, that Mr. Patrick Neill and other gentlemen connected with the garden obtained for him the means of attending some of the classes in the university. The stay of his father was but for a short time in Edinburgh, and he returned to his own botanical garden in Forfar, where he had cultivated the botany of his native country with great success;

¹ Dr. Doig, in company with Mr. Ramsay, visited Oxford and Cambridge in 1791, and some years after they spent a few weeks together at Peterhead.

but the young man, who now required a wider field of study, obtained soon afterwards a situation in the establishment of Messrs. Dickson of Broughton, near Edinburgh, where he had the care of the finest collection of plants in Scotland. In 1819 David Don went to London, and being recommended to Mr. Lambert, who at that time had a large collection of plants, he was by that gentleman established entirely in his own house as curator and librarian. In 1822 the situation of librarian to the Linnæan Society became vacant, and to this congenial office, notwithstanding his youth, Don was appointed. Already, indeed, he had acquired high distinction among the students in botanical science, while this appointment afforded the best opportunities for the extension and improvement of his knowledge. In 1836 he was appointed professor of botany in King's College, London, in consequence of the death of Professor Burnett; and the duties of this office he continued to discharge with credit to the end of his life. That valuable life, however, was unexpectedly and prematurely terminated. Although of a robust and strong constitution, a malignant tumour appeared on his lip, and although it was removed, it soon reappeared in an aggravated form, and ended his days on the 8th of December, 1840, when he had only reached the forty-first year of his age.

The reputation of David Don as a distinguished botanist was established in early life, not only among his friends, but the world at large, by his publications on the science which he so enthusiastically cultivated. One of the first of these was a description of several species of plants which were either entirely new, or confined to a few localities, and had been collected in Scotland by his father and other persons. This article was published in the third volume of the *Memoirs of the Wernerian Society of Edinburgh*. Soon after he published, in the thirteenth volume of the Linnæan Society, *A Monograph of the Genus Saxifraga*, by which his reputation as a sound accurate botanist was firmly established. His appointment of librarian to the Linnæan Society having directed his studies to the Indian collection of plants contained in its museum, he published descriptions of several species of plants that grew in Nepal, under the title of *Prodromus Floræ Nepalensis*. Indeed, after his appointment as librarian, almost every volume of the Linnæan Society's *Transactions* was enriched by him with papers on various departments of systematic botany. His numerous scientific contributions from early youth to the close of his life are to be found in every volume of the *Transactions of the Linnæan Society* from vol. 13 to vol. 18; in the *Memoirs of the Wernerian Society of Edinburgh*, vols. 3 and 5; and in the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*, vols. 2 and 19. These are chiefly descriptive of various new genera and species, and on various points in the physiology of plants, while the scientific character of their author has been thus briefly summed up by his biographer, whose account we have followed: "His numerous papers . . . are sufficient proof of his industry, and they have a real value. Don's knowledge of plants was most extensive, and his appreciation of species ready and exact. He was not, however, fully alive to the importance of studying plants in their morphological relations, and many of his papers are open to criticism on this ground."

DONALDSON, JOHN. This wayward artist and author, who wanted nothing but common sense to have attained very high distinction, was born at Edinburgh in 1737. His father, a glover in rather humble circumstances, was a man addicted to meta-

physical theories and reveries, which did not, however, interfere with his daily business; but in the son this tendency finally predominated to the exclusion of every other care.

Even while a child, John Donaldson exhibited an extraordinary aptitude for drawing; he copied every object with chalk upon his father's cutting-board, and when he was only twelve or thirteen years of age, he had attained such proficiency in executing miniature portraits in Indian ink, as to assist in supporting his parents. He was likewise so admirable a copyist in imitating ancient engravings with his pen, that these imitations were often mistaken even by the skillful for originals.

After he had thus spent some years in Edinburgh, he went to London, and for some time painted portraits in miniature with great success. But besides these, he betook himself to historical drawing, in which he was still more successful, and one of his productions in this department (the tent of Darius) gained the prize given by the Society of Arts. He also painted two subjects in enamel, the one on the death of Dido, and the other from the story of Hero and Leander, both of which obtained prizes from the same society. He was now regarded as an artist of high promise, and his foot was planted upon the ladder which would have raised him to fame and fortune, when the spirit of the moral dreamer which had been growing within him, superseded the inspiration of the artist. He had begun to think that the taste, intellectual pursuits, government, morals, and religion of mankind were all wrong—and that, as the necessary consequence of his making such a discovery, he was the person destined to set them all right. His father had been able, while discussing the most abstruse metaphysical subjects, to carry on his work without interruption, and cut out gloves upon the board; but John, an exaggeration of his father, was so wholly possessed by his theories as to become in the ordinary affairs of life as helpless as a child. An indifference, nay, a positive aversion to the art which he had cultivated so carefully and successfully, had now obtained complete possession, which he manifested by startling indications: he maintained that Sir Joshua Reynolds must be a very dull fellow to devote his life to the study of lines and tints; and on one occasion, when the carriage of Lord North waited at his door, his lordship was sent away with a "not at home," because the artist was not in a humour to paint. Donaldson also cultivated his conversational powers, which were chiefly distinguished by smart epigram and sarcasm—and thinking perhaps that these would be available instruments in the regeneration of human opinion, he would start from his easel to his writing-desk, and finish an epigram, or secure a flying thought, though some person of rank should at the time be sitting for his portrait. Of course his improvement as a painter was stopped, and his friends and patrons alienated. But neither by these instances, nor by the fact that younger and inferior artists were now obtaining the precedence, would he submit to be warned—these were merely proofs that the whole world was in the wrong, and combined in a conspiracy against the man who could reform them. Thus he went on until he had neither business to cultivate nor customers to resort to him.

In the meantime, although he had abandoned painting, he was not idle, as the masses of manuscript he had written attested; but their subjects were too *outré* or undigested to be fit for publication. The only works he published, notwithstanding all this mass of labour, were an *Essay on the Elements of Beauty*, and a volume of poems. He is supposed also to have been the author of an anonymous pamphlet

entitled *Critical Remarks upon the Public Buildings of London*. Among his various studies was the science of chemistry, and he discovered a method not only of preserving vegetables, but the lean of meat, so as to remain uncorrupted during the longest voyages, for which he obtained a patent; but his want of money, and entire ignorance of business, prevented him from deriving any benefit from the discovery. The last twenty years of Donaldson's life were years of suffering, chiefly arising from penury; his eyesight as well as his business had failed, and he frequently was in want of the common necessities of life. His last illness was occasioned by sleeping in a room which had been lately painted. In consequence of this imprudence he was seized with a total debility, and being removed by some friends to a lodging at Islington, he, in spite of every care they could bestow, died on the 11th of October, 1801. Such was the end of John Donaldson, a man addicted to no vice, and temperate to abstemiousness; endowed with high talent in various departments independent of that of art, and beloved by all who knew him on account of his many virtues as well as endowments. His only fault—but one which was sufficient to negative all his good qualities—was that total want of common sense which is so necessary for the business of every-day life, and without which all talent must be unavailing.

DONALDSON, WALTER. This learned writer, who is classed among the eminent scholars of the seventeenth century, was a native of Aberdeen, and was born probably about the year 1575. His father held the rank of a gentleman; his mother was the daughter of David Lamb of Dunkenny. The first notice we have of him shows that he formed part of the retinue of David Cunningham, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Sir Peter Young, great almoner of Scotland, when they were sent as ambassadors by James VI. to the court of Denmark, and to some of the princes of Germany. This was probably in 1594, when the embassy was sent to announce the birth of the king's eldest son, Henry, afterwards Prince of Wales. After his return home, where he made a short stay, Donaldson once more visited the Continent, and studied in the university of Heidelberg, where the civil law was ably taught by the elder Gothofredus. While studying at this university, he also appears to have instructed private pupils, one of whom, a native of Riga, published his *Synopsis of Ethics*, without his knowledge or consent. Donaldson mentions, although not in the language of displeasure, that the work thus surreptitiously published under the title of *Synopsis Moralis Philosophia*, went through several editions in Germany, and also in Great Britain, and that the learned Kecker-mann had in several instances plagiarized from its pages.

From Germany Donaldson repaired to France, where he permanently settled, and was appointed principal of the Protestant university of Sedan. Here, besides performing the duties of principal, he taught moral and natural philosophy, and the Greek tongue—a proof of the variety of his attainments, and the high estimation in which they were held. In this university were also two of his learned countrymen, one of whom was John Smith, one of the professors of philosophy, and the other the celebrated Andrew Melville, who occupied one of the chairs of divinity. Besides such multifarious teaching, Donaldson had leisure to compose a large and learned work for the use of students, extending to nearly 700 pages, and the plan of which had been suggested to him by Gothofredus, his teacher at Heidelberg. It was a systematic arrangement, in Greek and Latin,

of passages extracted from Diogenes Laertius, under the title of *Synopsis Locorum Communium, in qua Philosophia Ortus, Progressus, &c., ex Diogene Laertio digeruntur*. Francof. 1612, 8vo. The same work also reappeared under the title of *Electa Laertiana: in quibus e Vitis Philosophorum Diogenis Laertii totius Philosophia Ortus, Progressus, variaeque de Singulis Sententiae, in Locos Communes methodice digeruntur*. Authore G. Donaldsono, Scoto-Britanno. Francofurti ad Moenum, 1625, 8vo.

After residing sixteen years at Sedan, Donaldson was invited to open a college at Charenton, near Paris; but the idea of a new Protestant seminary established so nigh the walls of the capital seems to have alarmed the dominant religion of the country, and the Papists instituted a lawsuit for the purpose of frustrating the design. It was while this suit was pending that he again exercised his pen in the service of instruction, by producing another learned work, entitled *Synopsis Oeconomica, authore G. Donaldsono, Scoto-Britanno, Aberdonensi, J. C. ad celsissimum Carolum, Wallia Principem*. Paris, 1620, 8vo. Of this work there was a reprint at Rostock in 1624, and another at Frankfurt in 1625, while its merits are commended in *Bayle's Dictionary* as a work deserving to be read. And here the record of this distinguished and valued scholar terminates. We are unable to ascertain how the lawsuit ended, or where and at what time Donaldson died. We can only learn inferentially that he was survived by his widow, whose name was either Hoffman or Goffin, and by several children.

DOUGALL, JOHN, was born in Kirkcaldy in Fifeshire, where his father was the master of the grammar-school. After receiving the primary branches of education at home, he proceeded to the university of Edinburgh, where he studied for some time, with the intention of entering the Church of Scotland; but afterwards changing his design, he devoted himself principally to classical learning, for which his mind was unusually gifted. He also directed his attention to the study of mathematics, of ancient and modern geography, and of the modern languages, including most of those of northern Europe. He made the tour of the Continent several times in the capacity of tutor and travelling companion. Afterwards he was private secretary to the learned General Melville; and ultimately he established himself in London, where he dedicated his life to literary pursuits. He was the author of *Military Adventures*, 8vo; *The Modern Preceptor*, 2 vols. 8vo; *The Cabinet of Arts, including Arithmetic, Geometry, and Chemistry*, 2 vols. 8vo; and contributed besides to many scientific and literary works, particularly to the periodical publications of the day. He also engaged in the translation of works from the French and Italian languages. For many years he employed himself, under the patronage of the late Duke of York, in preparing a new translation of *Caesar's Commentaries*, with copious notes and illustrations. This work, however, he did not live to complete, which is much to be regretted, as from his classical knowledge he must have rendered it highly valuable. He had likewise intended to prepare an English translation of Strabo, as well as to clear up many doubtful passages in Polybius, for which he was eminently qualified; but the want of encouragement and the narrowness of his circumstances frustrated his wishes. Reduced in the evening of his life to all the miseries of indigence and neglect, he sunk, after a long and severe illness, into the grave, in the year 1822, leaving his aged widow utterly destitute and unprovided for; and affording in him-

self an instructive but painful example of the hardships to which, unless under very favourable circumstances, men even of extraordinary attainments are apt to be reduced, when, forsaking the ordinary paths of professional industry, they yield to the captivations of literature.

DOUGLAS, SIR CHARLES, a distinguished naval officer, was a native of Scotland; but we have not learned where he was born, nor to what family he belonged. His education must have been very good, as he could speak no fewer than six different European languages with perfect correctness. He was originally in the Dutch service, and it is said that he did not obtain rank in the British navy without great difficulty. In the Seven Years' war, which commenced in 1756, he was promoted through the various ranks of the service till he became post-captain. At the conclusion of the war, in 1763, he went to St. Petersburg, his majesty having previously conferred upon him the rank of baronet. On the war breaking out with America in 1775, Sir Charles had a broad pendant given him, and commanded the squadron employed in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. His services on this station were, after his return to England, rewarded with very flattering honours, and he soon after obtained command of the *Duke*, 98 guns. Sir Charles was remarkable not only as a linguist, but also for his genius in mechanics. He suggested the substitution of locks for matches in naval gunnery—an improvement immediately adopted, and which proved of vast service to the British navy. On the 24th of November, 1781, he was appointed first captain to Sir George Rodney, then about to sail on his second expedition to the West Indies. Sir George having hoisted his flag in the *Formidable*, Captain Douglas assumed the command of that vessel, and they sailed on the 15th of January, 1782, from Torbay. On the 12th of April took place the celebrated engagement with the French fleet, in which the British gained a most splendid victory, chiefly, it is supposed, in consequence of the *Formidable* having been directed across the enemy's line. In our memoir of Mr. Clerk of Eldin we have recorded part of the controversy which has been carried on respecting the originator of this idea. It was there shown that Sir Charles Douglas utterly denied the claims of Mr. Clerk: we must now show what claims have been put forward for himself. Douglas, it must be remarked, was an officer of too high principle to make any claims himself. He thought it a kind of insubordination for any one to claim more honour than what was allowed to him by his superiors in the despatches or in the gazette. Hence, whenever any one hinted at the concern which he was generally supposed to have had in suggesting the measure, he always turned the conversation, remarking in general terms—"We had a great deal to do, sir, and I believe you will allow we did a great deal." The claim has been put forward by his son, Major-general Sir Howard Douglas, who, at the same time, speaks in the following terms of his father's delicacy upon the subject:—"He never, I repeat, asserted, or would accept, when complimented upon it, greater share in the honour of the day than what had been publicly and officially given him, and I am sure his spirit would not approve of my reclaiming any laurels of that achievement from the tomb of his chief." The principal proof brought forward by Sir Howard consists of the following extract from a letter by Sir Charles Dashwood—a surviving actor in the engagement of the 12th of April, though then only thirteen years of age. "Being one of the aides-de-camp to the commander-in-chief on that memor-

able day, it was my duty to attend both on him and the captain of the fleet, as occasion might require. It so happened, that some time after the battle had commenced, and whilst we were severely engaged, I was standing near Sir Charles Douglas, who was leaning on the hammocks (which in those days were stowed across the fore-part of the quarter-deck), his head leaning on his one hand, and his eye occasionally glancing on the enemy's line, and apparently in deep meditation, as if some great event were crossing his mind: suddenly raising his head, and turning quickly round, he said, 'Dash, where's Sir George?' 'In the after-cabin, sir,' I replied. He immediately went aft: I followed; and on meeting Sir George coming from the cabin, close to the wheel, he took off his cocked hat with his right hand, holding his long spy-glass in his left, and, making a low and profound bow, said—'Sir George, I give you joy of the victory!'—'Poh!' said the chief, as if half angry, 'the day is not half won yet.'—'Break the line, Sir George!' said Douglas, 'the day is your own, and I will insure you the victory.'—'No,' said the admiral, 'I will not break my line.' After another request and another refusal, Sir Charles desired the helm to be put a-port; Sir George ordered it to starboard. On Sir Charles again ordering it to port, the admiral sternly said, 'Remember, Sir Charles, that I am commander-in-chief,—starboard, sir,' addressing the master, who during this controversy had placed the helm amidships. The admiral and captain then separated; the former going aft, and the latter going forward. In the course of a couple of minutes or so, each turned and again met nearly on the same spot, when Sir Charles quietly and coolly again addressed the chief—'Only break the line, Sir George, and the day is your own.' The admiral then said in a quick and hurried way, 'Well, well, do as you like,' and immediately turned round, and walked into the after-cabin. The words 'Port the helm,' were scarcely uttered, when Sir Charles ordered me down with directions to commence firing on the starboard side. On my return to the quarter-deck I found the *Formidable* passing between two French ships, each nearly touching us. We were followed by the *Namur* and the rest of the ships astern, and from that moment the victory was decided in our favour."

Referring the reader for a further discussion of this controversy to the 83d number of the *Quarterly Review*, we may mention that Lord Rodney never failed to confess that the advantages of the day were greatly improved by Sir Charles Douglas. After the conclusion of the war, the gallant officer was intrusted with the command of the Nova Scotia station, which, however, he resigned, in consequence of some proceedings of the navy board with which he was displeased. During the preparations for war in 1787, he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, and next year he was reappointed to the Nova Scotia station. He expired, however, January, 1789, in the act of entering a public meeting at Edinburgh, a stroke of apoplexy having cut him off in a single moment. Over and above all his claims to the honours of the 12th of April, he left the character of a brave and honest officer. His mechanical inventions have been followed up by his son, Sir Howard, whose work on naval gunnery is a book of standard excellence.

DOUGLAS, DAVID. It seldom happens in the present day, when the path of knowledge is accompanied with the comforts and facilities of a railway, that the pursuit of science is closed with the honours of martyrdom. In this case, however, the subject of

the present memoir forms a rare and mournful exception.

David Douglas was born at Scone, in Perthshire, in the year 1798, and was the son of a working mason. After having received a common education at the parish school of Kinnoull, he was, at an early period, placed as an apprentice in the garden of the Earl of Mansfield, at Scone Palace. In this occupation his favourite pursuit had full scope and development, so that he soon became remarkable in the neighbourhood for his love of reading during the winter, and his researches in quest of wild plants during the months of summer. Thus he continued till his twentieth year, when a still more favourable opportunity of improvement presented itself at Valleyfield, the seat of Sir Robert Preston, in whose garden, famous for its store of rich exotics, he became a workman; and the head gardener of the establishment, Mr. Stewart, having observed the ardour of his young assistant in the study of botany as a science, procured him access to Sir Robert Preston's rich botanical library. From Valleyfield, David Douglas removed to Glasgow, where he was employed as gardener in the botanic garden of the university; and here the valuable knowledge he had acquired was so highly estimated by Dr. (afterwards Sir) William Hooker, the professor of botany at Glasgow, that he made him the companion of his professional explorations while collecting materials for his *Flora Scotica*. In this way Douglas had ample opportunity of improving his knowledge of plants in the Western Highlands, over which these scientific tours extended, as well as securing the approbation of one who could well appreciate his acquirements. The result was, that Professor Hooker recommended his talented assistant as a botanical collector to the Horticultural Society of London, by whom he was sent in 1823 to the United States, for the purpose of enriching our home collection in botany with choice transatlantic specimens; and this he successfully accomplished, by bringing home before the close of the year many fine plants, as well as a valuable collection of fruit-trees, by which the store of the society in the latter important production was materially augmented.

The zeal and ability which Douglas had shown on this occasion soon procured employment in a wider field of enterprise. This was to explore the botanical resources of the country adjoining the Columbia River, and southwards towards California, and ascertain its multifarious productions. He left England for this purpose in July, 1824, and as soon as the vessel touched the shore he commenced his operations. This was at Rio-de-Janeiro, where a large collection of rare orchidaceous plants and bulbs rewarded his labours. Among these bulbs was a new species of Gesneria, hitherto unknown to the botanists of England, and which Mr. Sabine, the secretary of the Horticultural Society, named the *G. Douglasii*, in honour of its discoverer. So rich was the soil and so plentiful the productions of this part of South America, that Douglas, who could here have increased his scientific treasures to an indefinite extent, was obliged to leave it with regret. In doubling Cape Horn, he shot several curious birds, only to be found in these latitudes, and carefully prepared them for being brought home. The vessel touched at the island of Juan Fernandez, that romantic residence of Alexander Selkirk; and Douglas, who was delighted with its wooded scenery and soil, sowed here a plentiful collection of garden seeds, in the hope that some future Robinson Crusoe would be comforted by the produce, should such a person again become its tenant. On the 7th of April, 1825, he arrived at

Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia, where his proper mission was to commence; and here his fitness for it was well attested by the immense collection of seeds and dried specimens which he transmitted to the Horticultural Society at home. Among his discoveries were several species of a pine of enormous size, one of these, belonging to the class which he called the *Pinus Lambertiana*, in honour of Mr. Lambert, vice-president of the Linnæan Society, measuring 215 feet in height, and 57 feet 9 inches in circumference. The cones of this forest Titan, of which he sent home specimens, were 16 inches long and 11 in circumference. But they had something else than mere bulk to recommend them; for their kernel, which is pleasant to the taste, and nutritious, is roasted or pounded into cakes by the Indians, and used as an important article of food; while the resin of the tree, on being subjected to the action of fire, acquires a sweet taste, and is used by the natives as sugar. After having spent two years in the country adjoining the Columbia, and exploring it in every direction, Douglas, in the spring of 1827, left Fort Vancouver, and crossed the Rocky Mountains to Hudson's Bay, where he met Sir John Franklin, Dr. Richardson, and Captain Back, on their way homeward from their second overland Arctic expedition, with whom he returned to England. His successful labours in botanical science, and the important additions he had made to it, insured him a hearty welcome among the most distinguished of the scientific scholars in London; so that, without solicitation, and free of all expense, he was elected a fellow of the Geological, Zoological, and Linnæan Societies. He was also requested to publish his travels, and a liberal offer to this effect was made to him by Mr. Murray, the publisher; but though he commenced the undertaking, he did not live to complete it, so that his authorship was confined to several papers which he contributed to the *Transactions* of the three societies of which he was elected a fellow; and extracts from his letters to Dr. Hooker, which were published in *Brewster's Edinburgh Journal* for January, 1828.

After remaining in London for two years, Mr. Douglas resumed his duties, and set off upon that last scientific tour which was destined to a melancholy termination. He returned to the Columbia River in 1829, and after some time spent in exploration among his former fields of research, which he prosecuted with his wonted ardour and success, he went to the Sandwich Islands. The inhabitants of these islands being in the practice of trapping wild bulls in pits dug for the purpose, Mr. Douglas, one evening, after a few months' residence, fell into one of these excavations, in which an animal had been previously snared; and the fierce creature, already maddened by its captivity, fell upon him, so that next morning he was found dead, and his body dreadfully mangled. This tragical event occurred on the 12th of July, 1834.

Thus prematurely, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, was the life of this enterprising traveller and skilful botanist cut short. The value of his discoveries, even in so brief a career, it would be difficult fully to appreciate. He introduced into our country almost all the new hardy plants that enrich our gardens. To these may be added many ornamental shrubs, as well as valuable timber-trees that adorn our sylvan plantations, and give promise of extensive future advantage to Britain. Of the plants alone, which are too numerous to specify in this work, he introduced 53 of the woody and 145 of the herbaceous genus, while his dried collection of Californian plants alone consists of about 800 different kinds. He was thus no mere curiosity-hunter, but a benefactor to society

at large; and it may be, that while new productions are implanted in our soil, and naturalized in our climate, the name of the humble but sagacious and enterprising individual who thus benefited our country for ages to come, will pass into utter forgetfulness. But if he has been unable to command immortality, he has done more—he has deserved it.

DOUGLAS, GAVIN, one of the most eminent of our early poets, was the third and youngest son of Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, by Elizabeth Boyd, only daughter of Robert, Lord Boyd, high chamberlain of Scotland. The Earls of Angus were a younger branch of the family of Douglas, and helped in the reign of James II. to depress the enormous power of the main stock; whence it was said, with a reference to the complexions of the two different races, that the *red Douglas had put down the black*. Archibald, the fifth earl, father to the poet, is noted in our history for his bold conduct respecting the favourites of James III. at Lauder, which gained him the nickname of *Bell-the-cat*. His general force of character amidst the mighty transactions in which he was engaged, caused him to be likewise designated "the great earl." According to the family historian, he was every way accomplished both in body and mind; of stature tall, and strong made; his countenance full of majesty, and such as bred reverence in the beholders; wise, and eloquent of speech; upright and regular in his actions; sober, and moderate in his desires; valiant and courageous; a man of action and undertaking; liberal also; loving and kind to his friends; which made him to be beloved, revered, and respected by all men.

Gavin Douglas, the son of such a father, was born about the year 1474, and was brought up for the church. Where his education was commenced is unknown; but, according to Mr. Warton, there is certain evidence that it was finished in the university of Paris. He is supposed, in youth, to have travelled for some time over the Continent, in order to make himself acquainted with the manners of other countries. In 1496, when only twenty-two years of age, he was appointed rector of Hawick—a benefice probably in the gift of his family, which has long held large property and high influence in that part of the country. We are informed by the family historian that in youth he felt the pangs of love, but was soon freed from the tyranny of that unreasonable passion. Probably his better principles proved sufficient to keep in check what his natural feelings, aided by the poetical temperament, would have dictated. However, he appears to have signalized his triumph by writing a translation of Ovid's *Remedy of Love*. He alludes in a strange manner to this work, in his translation of Virgil; giving the following free reading of the well-known passage in the *Æneid*, where his author speaks of the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* as having been his former compositions:—

"So thus followand the floure of poetry,
The battellis and the man translate have I,
Quhilk yore ago in myne undauntit youth
Unfructuous idelnes feand, as I couth,
Of Ovideis Lufe the Remede did translate,
And syne of hie Honour the Palice wrate."

In those days, it does not seem to have been considered the duty of a translator to put himself exactly into the place of the author; he was permitted to substitute modern allusions for the original; and, as this specimen testifies, to alter any personality respecting the author, so as to apply to himself. The translation of the *Remedy of Love*, which must have been written before the year 1501, has not been pre-

served. In the year just mentioned, he wrote his *Palace of Honour*—an apologue for the conduct of a king, and which he therefore addressed very appropriately to his young sovereign, King James IV. The poet, in a vision, finds himself in a wilderness, where he sees troops of persons travelling towards the Palace of Honour. He joins himself to the train of the muses, and in their company proceeds to the happy place. At this point of the allegory his description of one of their resting-places is exceedingly beautiful:—

"Our horses pasturit on ane pleasad plane,
Law at the foot of ane fair grene montane,
Amid ane meid, shaddowit with cedar trees,
Safe fra all heit, thair might we weil remain.
All kind of herbis, flouris, fruit, and grain,
With every growand tree thair men might cheis,
The beryal streams rinnand over stanerie greis,
Made sober noise; the shair dinnit again,
For birdis sang, and sounding of the beis."

In his last adventure he seems to allude to the law of celibacy, under which, as a priest, he necessarily lay. The habitation of the honourable ladies (which he describes in gorgeous terms) is surrounded by a deep ditch, over which is a narrow bridge, formed of a single tree; and this is supposed to represent the ceremony of marriage. Upon his attempting to pass over the bridge, he falls into the water, and awakes from his dream. Sage, in his life of Douglas, prefixed to the edition of the *Æneid*, thus speaks of the poem under our notice: "The author's excellent design is, under the similitude of a vision, to represent the vanity and inconstancy of all worldly pomp and glory; and to show that a constant and inflexible course of virtue and goodness is the only way to true honour and felicity, which he allegorically describes as a magnificent palace, situated on the top of a very high mountain, of a most difficult access. He illustrates the whole with a variety of examples, not only of those noble and heroic souls whose eminent virtues procured them admission into that blessed place, but also of those wretched creatures whose vicious lives have fatally excluded them from it for ever, notwithstanding of all their worldly state and grandeur." This critic is of opinion that the poet took his plan from the palace of happiness described in the *Tablet* of Cebes.

In all probability these poems were written at his residence in the town of Hawick, where he was surrounded with scenery in the highest degree calculated to nurse a poetical fancy. In 1509 he was nominated to be provost of the collegiate church of St. Giles, at Edinburgh, and it is likely that he then changed his residence to the capital. Some years before, he had contemplated a translation of the *Æneid* into Scottish verse, as appears from his *Palace of Honour*, where Venus presents him with a copy of that poem in the original, and, in virtue of her relation to the hero, requests the poet to give a version of it in his vernacular tongue. Douglas commenced his labours in January, 1511-12, and although he prefaced each book with an original poem, and included the poem written by Mapheus Vigus¹ as a thirteenth book, the whole was completed in eighteen months, two of which, he tells us, were spent exclusively in other business. The work was completed on the 22d of July, 1513. The *Æneid* of Gavin Douglas is a work creditable in the highest degree to Scottish literature, not only from a specific merit of the translation, but because it was the first translation of a Roman classic executed in the English language.²

¹ A learned Italian of the fifteenth century.

² The near affinity of the languages of England and Scotland at this time, renders any circumlocutory mode of expressing this idea unnecessary.

To adopt the criticism of Dr. Irving—"Without pronouncing it the best version of this poem that ever was or ever will be executed, we may at least venture to affirm, that it is the production of a bold and energetic writer, whose knowledge of the language of his original, and prompt command of a copious and variegated phraseology, qualified him for the performance of so arduous a task. And whether we consider the state of British literature at that era, or the rapidity with which he completed the work, he will be found entitled to a high degree of admiration. In either of the sister languages few translations of classical authors had hitherto been attempted; and the rules of the art were consequently little understood. It has been remarked, that even in English, no metrical version of a classic had yet appeared; except of Boethius, who scarcely merits that appellation. On the destruction of Troy, Caxton had published a kind of prose romance, which he professes to have translated from the French: and the English reader was taught to consider this motley composition as a version of the *Æneid*. Douglas bestows severe castigation on Caxton for his presumptuous deviation from the classical story, and affirms that his work no more resembles Virgil, than the devil is like St. Austin. He has, however, fallen into one error, which he exposes in his predecessor; proper names are often so transfigured in his translation that they are not, without much difficulty, recognized. In many instances he has been guilty of modernizing the notions of his original. The sibyl, for example, is converted into a nun, and admonishes Æneas, the Trojan baron, to persist in counting his beads. This plan of reducing every ancient notion to a clerical standard has been adopted by much later writers; many preposterous instances occur in the learned Dr. Blackwell's memoirs of the court of Augustus.

"Of the general principles of translation, however, Douglas appears to have formed no inaccurate notion. For the most part, his version is neither rashly licentious nor tamely literal. . . . Though the merit of such a performance cannot be ascertained by the inspection of a few detached passages, it may be proper to exhibit a brief specimen:—

Facilis descensus Avernī,
Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis;
Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est; pauci quos æquus amavit
Jupiter, aut ardens evehit ad æthera virtus,
Dis geniti, potuere. Tenent media omnia silvæ,
Cocytusque sinu labens circumfuit atro.

VIRGIL.

It is richt facill and eith gate, I thé tell,
For to descend and pass on down to hell:
The black yettis of Pluto and that dirk way
Standis evir open and patent nycht and day:
Bot therefra to return agane on licht,
And here aboue recour this airis licht,
That is difficill werk, there laboure lysis.
Full few there bene quhom heich aboue the skyis
Thare ardent vertew has rasit and upheit,
Or yet quhame equale Jupiter deifvrit,
Thay quhilkis bene gendrit of goddis, may thidder attane.
All the midway is wildernes vuplane,
Or wilsom forrest; and the laithly flude
Cocytus with his dresy bosum vnrude
Flowis enuiron round about that place.

DOUGLAS."

Mr. Warton pronounces for judgment upon Douglas' *Æneid*, that it "is executed with equal spirit and fidelity, and is a proof that the Lowland Scotch and English languages were then nearly the same. I mean the style of composition; more especially, in the glaring affectation of anglicizing Latin words."¹

It is not, however, in the translation that the chief

merit lies. The poet has gained much greater praise for the original poetry scattered through the book. To an ordinary reader, the plan of the work may be best described by a reference to the structure of *Marmion*, which is decidedly an imitation of it. To every book is prefixed what Douglas calls a prologue, containing some descriptions or observations of his own, and some of which afford delightful glimpses of his personal character and habits. Those most admired are the prologue to the seventh book, containing a description of winter; that to the twelfth book, containing a description of a summer morning; and that to the thirteenth (supplementary) book, which describes an evening in June. It would appear that the author, in these and other cases, sought to relax himself from the progressive labour of mere translation, by employing his own poetical powers on what he saw at the time around him. Mr. Warton speaks of Milton's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* as among the earliest descriptive poems produced in England. Whether he be correct or not, we may at least affirm, that Douglas, in his prologues to the books of Virgil, has given Scotland the credit of producing poems of that kind more than a century earlier.

These compositions being of such importance in Scottish literature, it seems proper in this place to present a specimen sufficient to enable the reader to judge of their value. It is difficult, however, to pitch upon a passage where the merit of the poetry may be obvious enough to induce the reader to take a little trouble in comprehending the language.² We have with some hesitation pitched upon the following passage from the prologue to the seventh book, which, as descriptive of nature in a certain aspect in this country, is certainly very faithful and even picturesque:—

* * * * *
"The firmament owrecast with cludis black:
The ground fadit, and faugh³ wox all the fieldis
Mountane toppis sleikit with snaw owre heildis:
On raggit rockis of hard harsh qubyn stane,
With frostyn frontis cald clynty clewis schane:
Bewty was lost, and barrand shew the landis
With frostis hore, owerfret the fieldis standis.
Thick drumly skuggis⁴ dirkinit so the hevin,
Dim skyis oft furth warpit fearful levin,⁵
Flaggis⁶ of fyrc, and mony fellown flaw,
Sharp soppis of sleit and of the swyppand snaw:
The dolly dichis war al douk and wate,
The low dales all flodderit all with spate,
The plane stretis and every hie way
Full of fluschis, dubbis, myre, and clay. * * *

Owr craggis and the frontis of rockys sere,
Hang gret yse schokkilis, lang as ony spere:
The grund stude barrane, widdert, dosk, and gray
Herbis, flowris, and gersis wallowit away:
Woddis, forrestis, with naket bewis blout,
Stude stripit of their weede in every bout;
So bustouslie Boreas his bugill blew,
The dere full dorne full in the dailis drew: * * *

The watter lynns routes, and every lynd
Quhistlit and brayit of the southend wynd:
Pure laubararis and byssy husbandmen,
Went weat and wery draight in the fen;
The silly sheep and thare little hird-gromes
Lurkis under lye of bankis, woddis, and bromes;
And uthers dautit greter bestial
Within thare stabill sesit in thare stall. * * *

The caller air, penetrative and pure,
Dasing the blude in every creature,

¹ Well do I recollect, in early days, borrowing old Gavin's translation from a circulating library, in order to steal a sly march upon my class-fellows in version-making. What was my disappointment on finding that the copy was a great deal more unintelligible than the original, and that, in reality, he of St. Giles stood more in need of a translator than he of Mantua!

² Fallow. ³ Shadows. ⁴ Lightning. ⁵ Flakes.

¹ *History of English Poetry*, ii. 581, 2.

Made seik warm stovis and bene fyris hote,
In doubill garment clad, and we.ecote,
With mychty drink, and metis comfortive,
Aganis the stern winter for to strive.
Repattirir¹ wele, and by the chymmay bekit,
At evin betym down in the bed they strekit,
Warpit my hede, kest on claithis thrynefeld,
For to expell the perillous persand cald:
I crosseit me, syne bowmit for to sleep:

Approaching near the breking of the day,
Within my bed I walkynint quhare I lay;
So fast declynes Cynthia the mone,
And kayis keklyis on the rufe abone,

Fast by my chalmer, on hie wisnet treis,
The sary gled quhissilis with mony ane pew,
Quharby the day was dawing wief I knew;
Bade bete the fyre and the candill alicht,
Syne blessit me, and in my wedis dycht;
Ane schot-windo² unschet, ane litel on char,
Persavyt the morning blae, wan, and har,
Wyth cloudy gum and rak owirquhelmyt the air;

—Blaiknyt schew the brayis,
With hirstis harsk of waggand wyndil strayis,
The dew-droppis congelit on stibbil and vynd,
And sharp hailstanyis mortfundyit of kynd,
Stoppand on the thack, and on the causay by:
The schote I closit, and drew inward in hy;
Cheverand of cald, the seosoun was sa anell,
Schafe with hait flamblis to steme the freezing fell.
And as I bounit me to the fire me by,
Baith up and downe the house I did espy;
And secand Virgil on ane letteron³ stand,
To wryte anone I eynt my pen in hand,
And as I culd, with ane fald diligence
This nint buke followand of profound science,
Thus has begun in the chill wynter cald,
Quhen frostis dois owir flete baith firth and fald."

The poet concludes his description of the month of May in the twelfth prologue with the following fine apostrophe:—

"Welcum the lord of licht, and lampe of day,
Welcum fosterere of tender herbis grene,
Welcum quickener of flurest flouris schene,
Welcum support of every rute and vane,
Welcum comfort of all kind frute and grane,
Welcum the birdis beild upon the brier,
Welcum maister and ruler of the year,
Welcum weilfare of husbands at the plewis,
Welcum repaire of woddis, treis, and bewis,
Welcum depainter of the blomyt medis,
Welcum the lyf of every thing that spedis,
Welcum storare of all kind bestial,
Welcum be thy bricht beams gladall!"

It remains to be mentioned that the translation of Virgil, being written at a time when printing hardly existed in Scotland, continued in manuscript till long after the death of Bishop Douglas, and was first published at London in 1553, at the same time with the *Palice of Honour*. The work bore the following title: *The xiii. Bukes of Eneados of the Famose Poet Virgill. Translatet out of Latyne Verses into Scottish Meter, by the Reverend Father in God, Mayster Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkel, and Unkil to the Erle of Angus. Every Buke hauing hys Particular Prologue*. A second edition was printed at Edinburgh in 1710, by the celebrated Thomas Ruddiman, with a life by Bishop Sage. Even this later impression is now rarely met with.

The Earl of Angus was at this time possessed of great influence at court, in virtue of which he filled the office of chief magistrate of the city. Less than two months after Gavin Douglas had finished his translation, the noble provost and all his retainers accompanied King James on the fatal expedition which terminated in the battle of Flodden. Here the poet's two elder brothers, the Master of Angus and Sir William Douglas of Glenberrie, fell, with 200 gentlemen of their name. The earl himself had

¹ Well solaced with victuals. ² A kind of sliding panel in the fronts of old wooden houses. ³ Desk.

previously withdrawn from the expedition, on account of an unkind expression used by his imprudent sovereign. He died, however, within a twelvemonth thereafter, of grief, leaving his titles and immense territorial influence to the heir of his eldest deceased son, and who was consequently nephew to the provost of St. Giles. It is curious to find that, on the 30th of September, only three weeks after his country had experienced one of the greatest disasters recorded in her history, and by which himself had lost two brothers and many other friends, the poet was admitted a burgess of Edinburgh. This fact was discovered by Sibbald in the council register, with the phrase added, *pro commune bono villaz, gratis*. But perhaps there is some mistake as to the date, the register of that period not being original, but apparently a somewhat confused transcript.

The consequences of this fatal battle seemed at first to open up a path of high political influence to Gavin Douglas. His nephew, being as yet very young, fell in some measure under his tutelage, as the nearest surviving relation. The queen, who had been appointed regent for her infant son James V., in less than a year from her husband's death, was pleased to marry the young Earl of Angus, who accordingly seemed likely to become the actual governor of the kingdom. The step, however, was unpopular, and at a convention of the nobles it was resolved, rather than obey so young a member of their own body, to call in the Duke of Albany, cousin to the late king. This personage did not realize the expectations which had been formed respecting him; and thus it happened, that for some years the chief power alternated between him and Angus. Sometimes the latter individual enjoyed an influence deputed to him in the queen's name by the duke, who occasionally found it necessary to retire to France. At other times, both the queen and her husband were obliged to take refuge in England, where, on one of these occasions, was born their only child, Margaret Douglas, destined in future years to be the mother of Lord Darnley, the husband of Queen Mary.

The fortunes and domestic happiness of our poet appear to have been deeply affected by those of his nephew. Soon after the battle of Flodden, the queen conferred upon him the abbacy of Aberbrothock, vacant by the death of Alexander Stewart, the late king's natural son. In a letter addressed by her grace to Pope Leo X. she extols Douglas as second to none in learning and virtue, and earnestly requests that he may be confirmed in the possession of this abbacy till his singular merits should be rewarded with some more ample endowment. Soon after she conferred on him the archbishopric of St. Andrews, which, if confirmed, would have placed him at the head of the Scottish church. But the queen and her husband were not powerful or popular enough to secure him in this splendid situation. He was first intruded on by one John Hepburn, who had been appointed by the chapter, and then both he and Hepburn were displaced by the pope, in favour of Forman, the Bishop of Moray, a busy and ambitious churchman, who had been legate *à latere* to Pope Julius II. Douglas was at the same time deprived of the abbacy of Aberbrothock. It appears that, although these disputes were carried on by strength of arms on all sides, the poet himself was always averse to hostile measures, and would rather have abandoned his own interest than bring reproach upon his profession. The queen, having hitherto failed to be of any service to him, nominated him, in 1515, to be Bishop of Dunkeld, and on this occasion, to make quite sure, confirmation of the

gift was, by the influence of her brother Henry VIII., procured from the pope. In those days, however, a right which would suffice one day might not answer the next; and so it proved with Gavin Douglas. The Duke of Albany, who arrived in May, 1515, though he had protected the right of Archbishop Forman on the strength of a papal bull, not only found it convenient to dispute that title in the case of Douglas, but actually imprisoned the poet for a year, as a punishment for having committed an act so detrimental to the honour of the Scottish church. In the meantime, one Andrew Stewart, brother to the Earl of Athole, and a partisan of Albany, got himself chosen bishop by the chapter, and was determined to hold out the cathedral against all whatsoever. Gavin Douglas, when released, was actually obliged to lay a formal siege to his bishopric before he could obtain possession. Having gone to Dunkeld, and published his bull in the usual form at the altar, he found it necessary to hold the ensuing entertainment in the dean's house, on account of his palace being garrisoned by the servants of Andrew Stewart. The steeple of the cathedral was also occupied as a fortress by these men, who pretended to be in arms in the name of the governor. Next day, in attempting to go to church, he was hindered by the steeple garrison, who fired briskly at his party: he had therefore to perform service in the dean's house. To increase his difficulties, Stewart had arrived in person, and put himself at the head of the garrison. His friends, however, soon collected a force in the neighbouring country, with which they forced Stewart to submit. The governor was afterwards prevailed upon to sanction the right of Gavin Douglas, who gratified Stewart by two of the best benefices in the diocese.

In 1517, when Albany went to France in order to renew the ancient league between Scotland and that country, he took Douglas and Panter as his secretaries, his object being in the former case to have a hostage for the good behaviour of the Earl of Angus during his absence.¹ However, when the negotiation was finished, the Bishop of Dunkeld is said to have been sent to Scotland with the news. He certainly returned long before the governor himself. After a short stay at Edinburgh, he repaired to his diocese, where he employed himself for some time in the diligent discharge of his duties. He was a warm promoter of public undertakings, and, in particular, finished a stone bridge over the Tay (opposite to his own palace) which had been begun by his predecessor. He spent so much money in this manner, and in charity, that he became somewhat embarrassed with debt. During the absence of the Duke of Albany, his nephew Angus maintained a constant struggle with the rival family of Hamilton, then bearing the title of Earl of Arran, which formed a great part of the governor's strength in Scotland. In April, 1520, both parties met in Edinburgh, determined to try which was most powerful. The Bishop of Dunkeld, seeing that bloodshed was threatened, used his influence with Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, who was a partisan of Arran; when that prelate, striking his hand on his breast, asseverated, on his conscience, that he knew nothing of the hostile intentions of his friends. He had in reality assumed armour under his gown, in order to take a personal concern in the fray, and his hand caused the breastplate to make a rattling noise. "Methinks," said Douglas, with admirable sarcasm, "your conscience clatters;" a phrase that might be interpreted either into an allusion to the noise itself,

or to what it betrayed of the archbishop's intentions. Douglas retired to his own chamber to pray, and in the meantime his nephew met and overthrew the forces of the Earl of Arran. The bishop afterwards saved Beaton from being slain by the victors, who seized him at the altar of the Blackfriars' Church. Gavin Douglas probably entertained a feeling of gratitude to this dignity, notwithstanding all his duplicity; for Beaton had ordained him at Glasgow, and borne all the expenses of the ceremony out of his own revenues.

The Earl of Angus was now re-established in power, but it was only for a short time. Albany returned next year, and called him and all his retainers to an account for their management of affairs. The earl, with his nephew and others, was obliged to retire to England. The Bishop of Dunkeld experienced the most courteous attention at the court of Henry VIII., who, with all his faults, was certainly a patron of literature. We are informed by Holingshed that Douglas received a pension from the English monarch. In London he contracted a friendship with Polydore Virgil, a learned Italian, who was then engaged in composing a history of England. It is supposed that the bishop assisted him with a little memoir on the origin of the Scottish nation. Here, however, our poet was suddenly cut off by the plague, in 1521 or 1522, and was buried in the Savoy Church, where he had an epitaph inscribed on the adjacent tomb of Bishop Halsay. It is painful to think that, in consequence of the intestine divisions of his country, this illustrious and most virtuous person died a denounced traitor in a foreign land.

The only other poem of any extent by Gavin Douglas, is one entitled *King Hart*, which was probably written in the latter part of his life, and contains what Dr. Irving styles "a most ingenious adumbration of the progress of human life." It was first printed in Pinkerton's collection of *Ancient Scottish Poems*, 1786.

DOUGLAS, SIR JAMES, one of the most remarkable men of the heroic age to which he belonged, and the founder of one of the most illustrious houses in Scotland, was the eldest son of William Douglas, a baron or magnate of Scotland, who died in England about the year 1302.

The ancestry of this family has been but imperfectly traced by most genealogists; but it now seems to be established that the original founder came into this country from Flanders, about the year 1147; and, in reward of certain services, not explained, which he performed to the abbot of Kelso, received from that prelate a grant of lands on the Water of Douglas, in Lanarkshire. In this assignation, a record of which is yet extant, he is styled Theobaldus Flammaticus, or Theobald the Fleming. William, the son and heir of Theobald, assumed the surname of Douglas, from his estate. Archibald de Douglas, his eldest son, succeeded in the family estate on Douglas Water. Bricius, a younger son of William, became Bishop of Moray in 1203; and his four brothers, Alexander, Henry, Hugh, and Freskin, settled in Moray under his patronage, and from these the Douglasses in Moray claim their descent. Archibald died between the years 1238 and 1240, leaving behind him two sons. William, the elder, inherited the estate of his father; Andrew, the younger, became the ancestor of the Douglasses of Dalkeith, afterwards created Earls of Morton. William acquired additional lands to the family inheritance; and, by this means, becoming a tenant in chief of the crown, was considered as ranking among the barons, or, as they were then called,

¹ This is alleged by Dr. Henry.—*History of Great Britain.*

magnates of Scotland. He died about the year 1276, leaving two sons, Hugh and William. Hugh fought at the battle of Largs in 1263, and died about 1288, without issue. William, his only brother, and father to Sir James, the subject of the present article, succeeded to the family honours, which he did not long enjoy; for, having espoused the popular side in the factions which soon after divided the kingdom, he was, upon the successful usurpation of Edward I., deprived of his estates, and died a prisoner in England, about the year 1302.

The young Douglas had not attained to manhood when the captivity of his father left him unprotected, and in this condition he retired into France, and lived in Paris for three years. In this capital, remarkable even in that age for the gaiety of its inhabitants, the young Scotsman for a time forgot his misfortunes, and gave way to the current follies by which he was surrounded. The intelligence of his father's death, however, was sufficient to break him off from such courses, and incite him to a more honourable and befitting life. Having returned without delay to Scotland, he seems first to have presented himself to Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, by whom he was received with great kindness, and promoted to the post of page in his household. Barbour, the poet, dwells fondly upon this period in the life of Douglas, whom he describes as cheerful, courteous, dutiful, and of a generous disposition, insomuch that he was esteemed and beloved by all; yet was he not so fair, adds the same discreet writer, that we should much admire his beauty. He was of a somewhat gray or swarthy complexion, and had black hair, circumstances from which, especially among the English, he came to be known by the name of the Black Douglas. His bones were large, but well set; his shoulders broad, and his whole person to be remarked as rather spare or lean, though muscular. He was mild and pleasant in company, or among his friends, and lisped somewhat in his speech, a circumstance which is said not at all to have misbecome him, besides that it brought him nearer to the beau-ideal of Hector, to whom Barbour justly compares him.

Douglas was living in this manner when Edward, having for the last time overrun Scotland, called together an assembly of the barons at Stirling. The Bishop of St. Andrews attended the summons, and taking along with him the young squire whom he had so generously protected, resolved, if possible, to interest the monarch in his fortunes. Taking hold of a suitable opportunity, the prelate presented Douglas to the king, as a youth who claimed to be admitted to his service, and entreated that his majesty would look favourably upon him, and restore him to the inheritance which, from no fault of his, he had lost. "What lands does he claim?" inquired Edward. The good bishop had purposely kept the answer to this question to the end, well knowing the vindictive temper of the English king, and his particular dislike to the memory of the former Douglas; but he soon saw that the haughty conqueror was neither to be prepossessed nor conciliated. Edward no sooner understood the birth of the suitor, than, turning angrily to the bishop, "The father," said he, "was always my enemy; and I have already bestowed his lands upon more loyal followers than his sons can ever prove." This rebuff must have left a deep impression on the mind of the young Douglas; and it was not long before an occasion offered to display his hostility against the English king.

While he yet resided at the bishop's palace, intelligence of the murder of Comyn, and the revolt of Bruce, spread over the kingdom. Lamberton, who

secretly favoured the insurrection, not only made no difficulty of allowing the young Douglas to join the party, but even assisted him with money for the purpose. The bishop, it is also said, directed him to seize upon his own horse for his use, as if by violence, from the groom; and, accordingly, that servant having been knocked down, Douglas, unattended, rode off to join the standard of his future king and master. He fell in with the party of Bruce at a place called Errickstane, on their progress from Lochmaben towards Glasgow; where, making himself known to Robert, he offered his services, hoping that, under the auspices of his rightful sovereign, he might recover possession of his own inheritance. Bruce, well pleased with his spirit and bearing, and interested in his welfare as the son of the gallant Sir William Douglas, received him with much favour, giving him, at the same time, a command in his small army. This was the commencement of the friendship between Bruce and Douglas, than which none more sincere and perfect ever existed between sovereign and subject.

It would, of course, be here unnecessary to follow Sir James Douglas, as we shall afterwards name him, through the same path described in the life of his heroic master; as in that, all which it imports the reader to know has been already detailed. Of the battle of Methven, therefore, in which the young knight first signaled his valour; that of Dalry, in which Robert was defeated by the Lord of Lorn, and Sir James wounded; the retreat into Rachrin; the descent upon Arran, and afterwards on the coast of Carrick; in all of which enterprises the zeal, courage, and usefulness of Douglas were manifested, we shall in this place take no other notice, than by referring to the life of Bruce himself. Leaving these more general and important movements, we shall follow the course of our narrative in others more exclusively referable to the life and fortunes of Douglas.

While Robert the Bruce was engaged in rousing the men of Carrick to his cause, Douglas was permitted to repair to Douglasdale, for the purpose of drawing over the attached vassals of his family to the same interest, as well as of avenging some of the particular wrongs himself and family had sustained from the English. Disguised, therefore, and accompanied by only two yeomen, Sir James, towards the close of an evening in the month of March, 1307, reached the alienated inheritance of his house, then owned by the Lord Clifford, who had posted within the castle of Douglas a strong garrison of English soldiers. Having revealed himself to one Thomas Dickson, formerly his father's vassal, and a person of considerable influence among the tenantry, Sir James and his two followers were joyfully welcomed, and concealed within his house. By this faithful dependant Douglas was soon made acquainted with the numbers of those in the neighbourhood who would be willing to join him; and the more important of these being brought secretly, and by one or two at a time, before him, he received their pledges to assist him to the utmost of their power. Having thus secured the assistance of a small but resolute band, Sir James determined to execute a project he had planned for the surprisal of the castle. The garrison, entirely ignorant of these machinations, and otherwise far from vigilant, offered many opportunities which might be taken advantage of. The day of Palm Sunday, however, was fixed upon by Douglas, as being then near at hand, and as furnishing besides a plausible pretext for the gathering together of his adherents. The garrison, it was expected, would on that festival attend divine service in the neighbouring church of St. Bride. The fol-

lowers of Douglas, having arms concealed, were some of them to enter the building along with the soldiers, while the others remained without to prevent their escape. Douglas himself, disguised in an old tattered mantle, having a flail in his hand, was to give the signal of onset, by shouting the war-cry of his family. When the day arrived, the whole garrison, consisting of thirty men, went in solemn procession to the church, leaving only the porter and the cook within the castle. The eager followers of the knight did not wait for the signal of attack; for, no sooner had the unfortunate Englishmen entered the chapel, than one or two raising the cry of "*A Douglas! a Douglas!*" which was instantly echoed and returned from all quarters, they fell with the utmost fury upon the entrapped garrison. These defended themselves bravely till two-thirds of their number lay either dead or mortally wounded. Being refused quarter, those who yet continued to fight were speedily overpowered and made prisoners, so that none escaped. Meanwhile, five or six men were detached to secure possession of the castle gate, which they easily effected: and being soon after followed by Douglas and his partisans, the victors had now only to deliberate as to how they should use their conquest. Considering the great power and numbers of the English in that district, and the impossibility of retaining the castle should it be besieged, they resolved to destroy it. This measure was stained by an act of singular barbarity, which, however consistent with the rude and revengeful spirit of the age, remains the sole stigma which even his worst enemies could ever affix to the memory of Sir James Douglas. Having plundered and stripped the castle of every article of value, the great mass of provisions was heaped together within an apartment of the building; over this pile were stored the puncheons of wine, ale, and other liquors, which the cellar contained; and, lastly, the prisoners who had been taken in the church, having been despatched, their dead bodies were thrown over all; thus, in a spirit of savage jocularly, converting the whole into a loathsome collection, then, and long after, popularly described by the name of the *Douglas Larder*. These savage preparations gone through, the castle was set on fire, and burned to the ground.

No sooner was Clifford advertised of the fate of his garrison, than, causing the castle to be rebuilt more strongly than ever, he left a new garrison in it under the command of one Thirlwall, and returned himself into England. Douglas, while these operations proceeded, lurked in the neighbourhood, intending, on the first safe opportunity, to rejoin the king's standard. No sooner, however, had the Lord Clifford departed, than he resolved, a second time, to attempt the surprisal of his castle, under its new governor. The garrison, having a fresh remembrance of the late disaster, were not to be taken at unawares, and some expedient was needed to abate their extreme vigilance. This Douglas effected, by directing some of his men, at different times, to drive off portions of the cattle belonging to the castle, but who, as soon as the garrison issued out to the rescue, were instructed to betake themselves to flight. The governor and his men having been sufficiently irritated by the attempts of these pretended plunderers, Sir James resolved, without further delay, upon the execution of his project. Having formed an ambush of his followers at a place called Sandilands, at no great distance from the castle, he, at an early hour in the morning, detached a few of his men, who drove off some cattle from the immediate vicinity of the walls, towards the place where the ambuscade lay concealed. Thirlwall was

no sooner apprised of the fact, than, indignant at the boldness of the affront, he ordered a large portion of the garrison to arm and give chase to the spoilers, himself accompanying them so hastily, that he did not take time even to put on his helmet. The pursuers had scarcely passed the place of ambush, when Douglas and his followers started from their covert, and the party found their retreat cut off. They were ill prepared for the fierce assault which was instantly made upon them; the greater part fled, and a few succeeded in regaining their stronghold; but Thirlwall and many of his bravest soldiers were slain. The fugitives were pursued to the castle gates; but, having secured the entrance and manned the walls, Sir James found it impossible to dislodge them. Collecting, therefore, all who were willing to join the royal cause, he repaired to the army of Bruce, then encamped at Cumnock in Ayrshire. The skill which Douglas displayed in these two exploits seems to have infected the English with an almost superstitious dread of his resources; so that, if we may believe the writers of that age, few could be found adventurous enough to undertake the keeping of "the perilous castle of Douglas," for by that name it now came to be distinguished.

When King Robert, shortly after his victory over the English at Loudonhill, marched into the north of Scotland, Sir James Douglas remained behind, for the purpose of reducing the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh to obedience. His first adventure, however, was the taking a second time of his own castle of Douglas, then commanded by Sir John de Wilton, an English knight, who held this charge, as his two predecessors had done, under the Lord Clifford. Sir James and a body of armed men gained the neighbourhood undiscovered, and planted themselves in ambuscade, as near as possible to the gate of the castle. Fourteen of his best men disguised as peasants wearing smock-frocks, and having sacks filled with grass laid across their horses, were to pass within view of the castle, as if they had been countrymen carrying corn for sale to Lanark fair. The stratagem had the desired effect; for the garrison, being then scarce of provisions, the greater part, with the governor at their head, issued out in great haste to overtake and plunder the supposed peasants. These, finding themselves pursued, feigned a flight, till, ascertaining that the unwary Englishmen had passed the ambush, they suddenly threw down their sacks, stripped off the frocks which concealed their armour, mounted their horses, and with a loud battle-cry turned on the assailants. Douglas and his ambuscade no sooner heard their shout, which was the concerted signal of onset, than starting into view in the rear of the English party, these found themselves at once unexpectedly attacked from two opposite quarters. In this desperate encounter, their retreat to the castle being effectually cut off, Wilton and his whole party are reported to have been slain. When this successful exploit was ended, Sir James gained possession of the castle, probably by negotiation, as he allowed the garrison to depart unmolested into England, furnishing them, at the same time, with money to defray their charges. Barbour relates, that upon the person of the slain knight there was found a letter from his mistress, informing him that he might well consider himself worthy of her love, should he bravely defend for a year the adventurous castle of Douglas. Sir James razed the fortress to the ground, that it might on no future occasion afford protection to the English.

Leaving the scene where he had thus, for the third time, triumphed, Douglas proceeded to the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh, both of which he in a short

time reduced to the king's authority. While employed upon this service, he chanced one day, towards night-fall, to come in sight of a solitary house on the Water of Line, towards which he directed his course, with the intention of there resting himself and his followers till morning. Approaching the place with some caution, he could distinguish, from the voices within, that it was pre-occupied; and from the oaths which mingled in the conversation, he had no doubt as to the character of the guests it contained, military men being then, almost exclusively, addicted to swearing.¹ Having beset the house and forced an entrance, his conjecture proved well founded; for, after a sharp contest with the inmates, he was fortunate enough to secure the persons of Alexander Stuart, Lord Bonkle, and Thomas Randolph, the king's nephew; who were at that time not only attached to the English interest, but engaged in raising forces to check the progress of Douglas in the south of Scotland. The important consequences of this action, by which Bruce gained as wise and faithful a counsellor as he ever possessed, and Douglas a rival, though a generous one, deserves a particular notice. Immediately upon this adventure, Douglas, carrying along with him his two prisoners, rejoined the king's forces in the north; where, under his gallant sovereign, he assisted in the victory gained over the Lord of Lorn, by which the Highlands were reduced to submission.

Without following those events in which Douglas either participated, or bore a principal part, we come to the relation of one more exclusively his own. The castle of Roxburgh, a fortress of great importance on the borders of Scotland, had long been in the hands of the English king, by whom it was strongly garrisoned, and committed to the charge of Gillemain de Fiennes, a knight of Burgundy. Douglas and his followers, to the number of about sixty men, then lurked in the adjoining forest of Jedburgh, where they did not remain long inactive. A person of the name of Simon of the Leadhouse was employed by the Douglas to construct rope-ladders for scaling the walls of the castle, and the night of Shrove Tuesday, then near at hand, was fixed upon as the most proper for putting the project in execution; "for then," says Fordun, "all the men, from dread of the Lent season, which was to begin next day, indulged in wine and licentiousness." When the appointed night arrived, Douglas and his followers approached the castle, wearing black frocks or shirts over their armour, that they might be concealed from the observation of the sentinels. On getting near the walls they crept onwards on their hands and knees; and a sentinel having observed their indistinct crawling forms, remarked to his companion that farmer such a one (naming a husbandman who lived in the neighbourhood) surely made good cheer that night, seeing that he took so little care of his cattle. "He may make merry to-night, comrade," the other replied, "but if the Black Douglas come at them he will fare the worse another time." Sir James and his followers had approached so close to the castle as distinctly to overhear this discourse, and also to mark with certainty the departure of the men. The wall was no sooner free of their presence than Simon of the Leadhouse, fixing one of the ladders, was the

first to mount. This was perceived by one of the garrison so soon as he reached the top of the wall; but giving the startled soldier no time to raise an alarm, Simon suddenly despatched him with his dagger. Simon had then to sustain the attack of another antagonist, whom also he laid dead at his feet; and Sir James and his men, having surmounted the wall, the loud shout of "*A Douglas! a Douglas!*" and the rush of the enemy into the hall, where the garrison yet maintained their revels, gave the first intimation that the fortress was taken. Unarmed, bewildered, and most of them intoxicated, they could make little resistance, and in this state many of them were slaughtered. The governor and a few others escaped into the keep or great tower, which they defended till the following day; but having sustained a severe arrow-wound in the face, Gillemain de Fiennes surrendered, on condition that he and his remaining followers should be allowed to depart into England. This event, which fell out in March, 1313, greatly increased the terror of the Douglas' name in the north of England; while in an equal degree it infused spirit and confidence into the hearts of the Scots. Barbour attributes the successful capture of Edinburgh Castle by Randolph, an exploit of greater peril, and, on that account only, of superior gallantry to the preceding, to the noble emulation with which the one general regarded the deeds of the other.

The next occasion wherein Douglas signalized himself was on the field of Bannockburn; in which memorable battle he had the signal honour of commanding the centre division of the Scottish van. When the fortune of that great day was decided by the complete overthrow of the English, Sir James, at the head of sixty horsemen, pursued closely on the track of the fleeing monarch for upwards of forty miles, and only desisted from the inability of his horses to proceed further. In the same year King Robert, desirous of profiting by the wide-spread dismay of the English, despatched his brother Edward and Sir James Douglas, by the eastern marches, into England, where they ravaged and assessed at will the whole northern counties of that kingdom.

When Bruce passed over with an army into Ireland, in the month of May, 1316, to reinforce his brother Edward's arms in that country, he committed to Sir James Douglas the charge of the middle borders during his absence. The Earl of Arundel appears at the same time to have commanded on the eastern and middle marches of England, lying opposite to the district under the charge of Douglas. The earl, encouraged by the absence of the Scottish king, and still more by information which led him to believe that Sir James Douglas was then unprepared, resolved to take this wily enemy at advantage. For this purpose he collected, with secrecy and despatch, an army of 10,000 men. Douglas, who had just completed the erection of his castle or manor-house of Lintalee, near Jedburgh, in which he proposed giving a great feast to his military followers and vassals, was not prepared to encounter such a force; but, from the intelligence of his spies in the enemy's camp, he was not altogether to be taken by surprise. Aware of the route by which the English would advance, he collected in all haste a considerable body of archers, and about fifty men-at-arms, and with these took post in an extensive thicket of Jedburgh Forest. The passage or opening through the wood at this place—wide and convenient at the southern extremity, by which the English were to enter—narrowed as it approached the ambush, till in breadth it did not exceed a quoit's pitch, or about twenty yards. Placing the archers in a hollow piece of ground on one side of the pass,

¹ We have the authority of Barbour for the above curious fact. His words are these:

"And as he come with his menyre [forces]
Ner hand the hous, so lysznyr he,
And hard ane say tharin, '*the demill!*'
And be that he persawit [perceived] weill
That that war strang men, that thar
That nycht tharin herberyit war."

Barbour's *Brace*, b. ix. l. 684.

Douglas effectually secured them from the attack of the enemy's cavalry by an entrenchment of felled trees, and by knitting together the branches of the young birch-trees with which the thicket abounded. He himself took post, with his small body of men-at-arms, on the other side of the pass, and there patiently awaited the enemy. These preparations having been made with great secrecy, the English unsuspectingly entered the narrow part of the defile: they seem even to have neglected the ordinary rules for preserving the proper array of their ranks, these becoming gradually compressed and confused as the body advanced. In this manner, unable to form, and from the pressure in the rear equally unable to retreat, the van of the army offered an unresisting mark to the concealed archers; who, opening upon them with a volley of arrows in front and flank, first made them aware of their danger. Douglas, at the same moment bursting from his ambush, and raising his terrible war-cry, furiously assailed the surprised and disordered English, a great many of whom were slain. Sir James himself encountered in this warm onset a brave foreign knight, named Thomas de Richemont, whom he slew by a thrust with his dagger; taking from him, by way of trophy, a furred cap which it was his custom to wear over his helmet. The English having at length made good their retreat into the open country, Douglas was too wary to follow them. Indeed, he had service of a still more immediate nature yet to perform. Learning that a body of about 300 English, under the command of a person named Ellies, had, by a different route, penetrated to Lintalee, Sir James hastened thither. This party, finding the house deserted, had taken possession of it, as also of the good things provided for the feast, nothing doubting of the complete victory which Arundel would achieve over Douglas and his few followers. In this state of security, having neglected to set watches, they were unexpectedly assailed by their dreaded enemy, and put to the sword, with the exception of a very few who escaped. The fugitives having gained the camp of Arundel, that commander was so daunted by this new disaster, that he retreated back into his own country and disbanded his forces.

Among the other encounters on the borders at this time we must not omit one, in which the characteristic valour of the good Sir James unquestionably gained him the victory. Sir Edmund de Cailand, a knight of Gascony, whom King Edward had appointed governor of Berwick, desirous of signaling himself in the service of that monarch, had collected a considerable force, with which he ravaged nearly the whole district of Teviot. As he was returning to Berwick loaded with spoil, the Douglas, who had intimation of his movements, determined to intercept him. For this purpose he hastily collected a small body of troops; but, on approaching the party of Cailand, he found them so much superior, that he was obliged to pause. The Gascon knight instantly prepared for battle; and a severe conflict ensued, in which it seemed very doubtful whether the Scots should be able to withstand the numbers and bravery of their assailants. Douglas, fearful of the issue, pressed forward with incredible energy, and, encountering Sir Edmund de Cailand, slew him with his own hand. The English, discouraged by the loss of their leader, and no longer able to withstand the ardour with which this gallant deed of Sir James had inspired his men, soon fell into confusion, and were put to flight with considerable slaughter. The booty, which, previously to the engagement, had been sent on towards Berwick, was wholly recovered by the Scots.

Following upon this success, and in some measure connected with it, an event occurred singularly illustrative of the chivalric spirit of that age. Sir Ralph Neville, an English knight who then resided at Berwick, feeling his nation dishonoured by the praises which the fugitives in the late defeat bestowed upon the great prowess of Douglas, boastingly declared that he would himself encounter that Scottish knight whenever his banner should be displayed in the neighbourhood of Berwick. When the challenge reached the ears of Douglas, he determined that this rival should not want the opportunity which he courted. Advancing into the plain around Berwick, Sir James there displayed his banner, calling upon Sir Ralph at the same time, by herald, to make good his bravado. The farther to irritate the English, he detached a party of his men, who set fire to some villages within sight of the garrison. Neville, at the head of a much more numerous force than that of the Scots, at length issued forth. The combat was well contested on both sides, till Douglas, encountering Neville hand to hand, soon proved to that brave but over-hardy knight that he had provoked his fate, for he fell under the stronger arm of his antagonist. This event decided the fortune of the field. The English were completely routed, and several persons of distinction made prisoners. Taking advantage of the consternation caused by this victory, Sir James wasted with fire and sword all the country on the north side of the river Tweed which still adhered to the English interest; and returning in triumph to the forest of Jedburgh, divided among his followers the rich booty he had acquired, reserving no part of it, as was his generous custom, to his own use.

In the year 1322 the Scots, commanded by Douglas, invaded the counties of Northumberland and Durham; but no record now remains of the circumstances attending this invasion. In the same year, as much by the terror of his name as by any stratagem, he saved the abbey of Melrose from the threatened attack of a greatly superior force of the English, who had advanced against it for the purposes of plunder. But the service by which, in that last and most disastrous campaign of Edward II. against the Scots, Sir James most distinguished himself, was, in the attempt which he made, assisted by Randolph, to force a passage to the English camp at Biland, in Yorkshire. In this desperate enterprise the military genius of Bruce came opportunely to his aid, and he proved successful. Douglas, by this action, may be said to have given a final blow to the nearly exhausted energies of the weak and misguided government of Edward, and to have thus assisted in rendering his deposition—which soon after followed—a matter of indifference, if not of satisfaction, to his subjects.

The same active hostility which had on so many occasions during the life of our great warrior proved detrimental to the two first Edwards, was yet to be exercised upon the third monarch of that name, the next of the race of English usurpers over Scotland. The truce which the necessities of his own kingdom had extorted from Edward II. after his defeat at Biland having been broken, as it would seem, not without the secret connivance or approbation of the Scottish king, Edward III., afterwards so famous in English history, but then a minor, collected an immense force, intending not only to revenge the infraction, but, by some decisive blow, to recover the national honour. The inexperience of the young monarch, however, ill seconded as that was by the counsels of the faction which then governed England, could prove no match when opposed to the designs

of a king so politic as Robert, and the enterprise and consummate talent of such generals as Randolph and Douglas.

The preparations of England, though conducted on a great and even extravagant scale, failed in the necessary despatch, allowing the Scottish army, which consisted of 20,000 light-armed cavalry, nearly a whole month to plunder and devastate at will the northern districts of the kingdom. Robert, during his long wars with England, had admirably improved upon the severe experience which his first unfortunate campaigns had taught him; and so well had his system been inured into the very natures of his captains and soldiers, that he could not be more ready to dictate schemes of defence or aggression than his subjects to put them in execution. He was, besides, fortunate above measure in the choice of his generals, and particularly of those two, Randolph, Earl of Moray, and Sir James Douglas, to whose joint command the army on the present occasion was committed. Moray, though equally brave and courageous with his compeer, was naturally guided and restrained by prudential suggestions; while Douglas, almost entirely under the sway of a chivalrous spirit, often, by his very daring, proved successful where the other must have failed. One circumstance deserving of particular commendation must not be omitted. While in rank and reputation, and in the present instance, command, these two great men stood in a position singularly open to sentiments of envious rivalry, the whole course of their lives gives ample ground for believing that feelings of such a nature were utterly alien to the characters of both.

Of the ravages of the Scottish army in the north of England during the space above-mentioned we have no particulars recorded; but that they plundered all the villages and open towns in their route seems certain, prudently avoiding to dissipate their time and strength by assailing more difficult places. To atone somewhat for this deficiency in his narrative, Froissart, who on this period of Scottish history was unquestionably directed by authentic information, has left a curious sketch of the constitution and economy of the Scottish army of that day. "The people of that nation," says this author, "are brave and hardy, insomuch that, when they invade England, they will often march their troops a distance of thirty-six miles in a day and night. All are on horseback, except only the rabble of followers, who are a-foot. The knights and squires are well mounted on large coursers or war-horses, but the commons and country people have only small hackneys or ponies. They use no carriages to attend their army; and such is their abstinence and sobriety in war, that they content themselves for a long time with half-cooked flesh without bread, and with water unmingled with wine. When they have slain and skinned the cattle, which they always find in plenty, they make a kind of kettles of the raw hides with the hair on, which they suspend on four stakes over fires, with the hair side outmost; and in these they boil part of the flesh in water, roasting the remainder by means of wooden spits disposed around the same fires. Besides, they make for themselves a species of shoes or brogues of the same raw hides with the hair still on them. Each person carries attached to his saddle a large flat plate of iron, and has a bag of meal fixed on horseback behind him. When, by eating flesh cooked as before described, and without salt, they find their stomachs weakened and uneasy, they mix up some of the meal with water into a paste; and having heated the flat iron plate on the fire, they knead out the paste into thin cakes, which they bake

or fire on these heated plates. These cakes they eat to strengthen their stomachs." Such an army would undoubtedly possess all the requisites adapted for desultory and predatory warfare; while, like the modern guerillas, the secrecy and celerity of their movements would enable them with ease to elude any formidable encounters with troops otherwise constituted than themselves.

The English army, upon which so much preparation had been expended, was at length, accompanied by the king in person, enabled to take the field. It consisted, according to Froissart, of 8000 knights and squires, armed in steel, and excellently mounted; 15,000 men-at-arms, also mounted, but upon horses of an inferior description; the same number of infantry, or, as that author has termed them, sergeants on foot; and a body of archers 24,000 strong. This great force on its progress northward soon became aware of the vicinity of their destructive enemy by the sight of the smoking villages and towns which marked their course in every direction; but having for several days vainly attempted, by following these indications, to come up with the Scots, or even to gain correct intelligence regarding their movements, they resolved, by taking post on the banks of the river Tyne, to intercept them on their return into Scotland. In this the English army were not more fortunate; and having, from the difficulty of their route, been constrained to leave their camp baggage behind them, they suffered the utmost hardships from the want of provisions and the inclemency of the weather. When several days had been passed in this harassing duty, the king was induced to proclaim a high reward to whosoever should first give intelligence of where the Scottish army were to be found. Thomas Rokesby, an esquire, having among others set out upon this service, was the first to bring back certain accounts that the Scots lay encamped upon the side of a hill about five miles distant. This person had approached so near their position as to be taken prisoner by the outposts; but he had no sooner recounted his business to Randolph and Douglas than he was honourably dismissed, with orders to inform the English king that they were desirous to engage him in battle whensoever he thought proper.

On the following day the English, marching in order of battle, came in sight of the Scottish army, whom they found drawn up on foot, in three divisions, on the slope of a hill; having the river Wear—a rapid and nearly impassable stream—in front, and their flanks protected by rocks and precipices, presenting insurmountable difficulties to an approach. Edward attempted to draw them from their fastness by challenging the Scottish leaders to an honourable engagement on the plain—a practice not unusual in that age; but he soon found that the experienced generals with whom he had to deal were not to be seduced by artifice or bravado. "On our road hither," said they, "we have burned and spoiled the country, and *here* we shall abide while to us it seems good. If the King of England is offended, let him come over and chastise us." The two armies remained in this manner, fronting each other, for three days; the army of Edward much incommoded by the nature of their situation and the continual alarms of their hostile neighbours, who, throughout the night, says Froissart, kept sounding their horns "as if all the great devils in hell had been there." Unable to force the Scots to a battle, the English commanders had no alternative left them than, by blockading their present situation, to compel the enemy by famine to quit their impregnable position, and fight at a disadvantage. The fourth morning, however, proved the futility of such a scheme; for the Scots having

discovered a place of still greater strength about two miles distant, had secretly withdrawn thither in the night. They were soon followed by the English, who took post on an opposite hill, the river Wear still interposing itself between the two armies.

The army of Edward, baffled as they had been by the wariness and dexterity of their enemy, would seem, in their new position, to have relaxed somewhat in their accustomed vigilance; a circumstance that suggested to the enterprising spirit of Douglas the possibility of executing a truly hazardous enterprise. Taking with him a body of 200 chosen horsemen, he at midnight forded the river at a considerable distance from both armies, and by an unfrequented path gained the rear of the English camp undiscovered. On approaching the outposts Douglas artfully assumed the manner of an English officer going his rounds, calling out as he advanced, "Ha! St. George, you keep no ward here," and by this stratagem penetrated, without suspicion, to the very centre of the encampment, where the king lay. When they had got thus far the party, no longer concealing who they were, shouted aloud, "A Douglas! a Douglas! English thieves, you shall all die!" and furiously attacking the unarmed and panic-struck host, overthrew all who came in their way. Douglas, forcing an entrance to the royal pavilion, would have carried off the young king but for the brave and devoted stand made by his domestics, by which he was enabled to escape. Many of the household, and among others the king's own chaplain, zealously sacrificed their lives to their loyalty on this occasion. Disappointed of his prize, Sir James now sounded a retreat, and charging with his men directly through the camp of the English, safely regained his own; having sustained the loss of only a very few of his followers, while that of the enemy is said to have exceeded 300 men.

On the day following this night attack, a prisoner having been brought into the English camp, and strictly interrogated, acknowledged that general orders had been issued to the Scots to hold themselves in readiness to march that evening, under the banner of Douglas. Interpreting this information by the fears which their recent surprisal had inspired, the English concluded that the enemy had formed the plan of a second attack; and in this persuasion drew up their whole army in order of battle, and so continued all night resting upon their arms. Early in the morning two Scottish trumpeters having been seized by the patrols, reported that the Scottish army had decamped before midnight, and were already advanced many miles on their march homeward. The English could not, for some time, give credit to this strange and unwelcome intelligence; but, suspecting some stratagem, continued in order of battle, till by their scouts they were fully certified of its truth. The Scottish leaders, finding that their provisions were nearly exhausted, had prudently resolved upon a retreat; and in the evening, having lighted numerous fires, as was usual, drew off from their encampment shortly after nightfall. To effect their purpose the army had to pass over a morass, which lay in their rear, of nearly two miles in extent, till then supposed impracticable by cavalry. This passage the Scots accomplished by means of a number of hurdles, made of wands or boughs of trees wattled together, employing these as bridges over the water-runs and softer places of the bog; and so deliberately had their measures been executed that, when the whole body had passed, these were carefully removed, that they might afford no assistance to the enemy should they pursue them by the same track. Edward is said to have wept bitterly when

informed of the escape of the Scottish army; and his generals, well aware how unavailing any pursuit after them must prove, next day broke up the encampment, and retired towards Durham.

This was the last signal service which Douglas rendered to his country; and an honourable peace having been soon afterwards concluded between the two kingdoms, seemed at last to promise a quiet and pacific termination to a life which had hitherto known no art but that of war, and no enjoyment but that of victory. However, a different, and to him possibly a more enviable, fate awaited the heroic Douglas. Bruce dying not long after he had witnessed the freedom of his country established, made it his last request that Sir James, as his oldest and most esteemed companion-in-arms, should carry his heart to the Holy Land, and deposit it in the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, to the end that his soul might be unburdened of the weight of a vow which he felt himself unable to fulfil.

Douglas, attended by a numerous and splendid retinue of knights and esquires, set sail from Scotland, in execution of this last charge of his deceased master. He first touched in his voyage at Sluys in Flanders, where, having learned that Alphonso, King of Castile and Leon, was then at waged war with Osmyn, the Moorish King of Granada, he seems to have been tempted, by the desire of fighting against the infidels, to direct his course into Spain, with intention from thence to combat the Saracens in his progress to Jerusalem. Having landed in King Alphonso's country, that sovereign received him with great distinction; and not the less that he expected shortly to engage in battle with his Moorish enemies. Barbour relates, that while at this court a knight of great renown, whose face was all over disfigured by the scars of wounds which he had received in battle, expressed his surprise that a knight of so great fame as Douglas should have received no similar marks in his many combats. "I thank Heaven," answered Sir James mildly, "that I had always hands to protect my face." And those who were by, adds the author, praised the answer much, for there was much understanding in it.

Douglas and his brave company, having joined themselves to Alphonso's army, came in view of the Saracens near to Tebas, a castle on the frontiers of Andalusia, towards the kingdom of Granada. Osmyn, the Moorish king, had ordered a body of 3000 cavalry to make a feigned attack on the Spaniards, while, with the great body of his army, he designed, by a circuitous route, unexpectedly to fall upon the rear of King Alphonso's camp. That king, however, kept the main force of his army in the rear, while he opposed a sufficient body of troops to resist the attack which should be made in front. From this fortunate disposition the Christian king gained the day over his infidel adversaries. Osmyn was discomfited with much slaughter, and Alphonso, improving his advantage, gained full possession of the enemy's camp. While the battle was thus brought to a successful issue in one quarter, Douglas and his brave companions, who fought in the van, proved themselves no less fortunate. The Moors, not long able to withstand their furious encounter, betook themselves to flight. Douglas, unacquainted with the mode of warfare pursued among that people, followed hard, until, finding himself almost deserted by his followers, he turned his horse, with the intention of rejoining the main body. Just then, however, observing a knight of his own company to be surrounded by a body of Moors who had suddenly rallied, "Alas!" said he, "yonder worthy knight shall perish but for present help;" and with the few

who now attended him, amounting to no more than ten men, he turned hastily, to attempt his rescue. He soon found himself hard pressed by the numbers who thronged upon him. Taking from his neck the silver casket which contained the heart of Bruce, he threw it among the thickest of the enemy, saying, "Now pass thou onward before us, as thou wert wont, and I will follow thee or die." Douglas, and almost the whole of the brave men who fought by his side, were here slain. His body and the casket containing the embalmed heart of Bruce were found together upon the field; and were, by his surviving companions, conveyed with great care and reverence into Scotland. The remains of Douglas were deposited in the family vault at St. Bride's Chapel, and the heart of Bruce solemnly interred by Moray, the regent, under the high altar in Melrose Abbey.

So perished, almost in the prime of life, the gallant, and, as his grateful countrymen long affectionately termed him, "the good Sir James Douglas," having survived little more than one year the demise of his royal master. His death was soon after followed by that of Randolph; with whom might be said to close the race of illustrious men who had rendered the epoch of Scotland's renovation and independence so remarkable.

DOUGLAS, JAMES, EARL OF DOUGLAS. This distinguished warrior, the close of whose life was so brilliant and romantic, was the second who bore the title of the earldom. From his earliest years he had been trained to warfare, in which his deeds were so remarkable that he was intrusted with high command, while the utmost confidence was reposed in his valour and leadership. This was especially the case in his final expedition, which was crowned by the victory of Otterburn.

At this period Robert II., grandson by his mother of Robert Bruce, was seated upon the throne of Scotland. His youth had been spent in war, in which he showed activity and courage; but after his accession to the crown he relapsed into a peaceful state, that was supposed by his impatient nobles to be merely the result of indolence. With this character he had already ruled eighteen years, while the war of independence against England still continued to rage; but notwithstanding his inertness, the valour of the Scottish nobility, and especially the Douglasses, had succeeded in repelling every English inroad. At length, in 1388, a favourable opportunity seemed to have arrived of carrying an invasion into England. The Black Prince, the great terror of France and prop of the English crown, was dead. Richard II., the King of England, now only twenty-one years old, was ruling with all the folly and arrogance of boyhood; his council was rent with divisions and feuds, the nobility were arrayed against him, while the commons, lately awakened into a sense of their rights by the Wat Tyler insurrection, were equally hostile to the king who misruled, and to the chiefs who impoverished and oppressed them. This state of things presented an opportunity for retaliation and plunder which the Scots could not resist, and they resolved to change their defensive into an aggressive warfare. A council was held for this purpose at Edinburgh; and although Robert II. was opposed to the dangerous measure, his wishes were disregarded. A military muster of the kingdom was ordered to meet at Yetholm, and on the day appointed an army was assembled, composed of the chief force of Scotland. Forty thousand spearmen, including a band of Scottish archers, and twelve hundred men-at-arms, were mustered upon the field of meeting—a greater force

than that which had sufficed to achieve the victory of Bannockburn. The Earl of Fife, the king's second son, to whom the leading of this expedition had been committed, was neither a brave soldier nor a skilful general, but he had craft and policy enough to pass for both, while his chief captains were men inured to war, and well acquainted with the northern borders of England. The great question now at issue was the manner in which the invasion should be conducted, and the part of the English border that could be best assailed; and this was soon settled by a fortunate incident. The English wardens, alarmed at this formidable muster, had sent a squire, disguised as a Scottish man-at-arms, to ascertain its nature and purposes, in which he was fully successful; but, on returning, he found that his horse, which he had tied to a tree in a neighbouring forest, had been stolen by some border freebooter. Encumbered by his armour, and suspected to be other than he seemed, from thus travelling on foot in such an array, he was soon pounced upon by the light-heeled outposts, and brought before the Scottish lords, to whom he made a full confession of all the plans and preparations of his masters. Judging it unsafe to hazard a pitched battle against so large an army, they had resolved to remain quiet until the Scots had crossed the marches, after which they would break in upon Scotland at some undefended point, and work their will in a counter-invasion. This intelligence decided the Scottish lords upon a plan that should at once have the invasion of England and the defence of their own country for its object. Their army was to be divided, and England invaded both by the eastern and western marches, so that the enemy should find sufficient occupation in their own country. In pursuance of this plan, the Earl of Fife, with the bulk of the army, marched through Liddesdale and Galloway, intending to advance upon Carlisle, while the other inroad was to break into Northumberland. As this last was designed for the lightest part of the campaign, not more than 300 knights and men-at-arms, and about 2000 foot, were allotted to the service; but they were placed under the command of James, Earl of Douglas, who, though young, was already accounted one of the most practised and skilful leaders of the country. He was accompanied by George and John Dunbar, Earls of March and Moray, and several of the most distinguished Scottish knights, who were proud to serve under such a commander.

All being in readiness, the Earl of Douglas commenced the campaign by entering Northumberland. He crossed the Tyne, and by swift and secret marches approached Durham, having given orders to his army not to commence plundering until they had passed that city. It was then only that the English were aware of an enemy in the midst of them, by conflagration and havoc among their richest districts, while the course of the Scots, as they shifted hither and thither by rapid marches, could only be traced by burning villages and a dun atmosphere of smoke. The English, in the meantime, kept within their walls, imagining that this small body was the advanced guard of the main army, instead of an unsupported band of daring assailants. This was especially the case in Newcastle, where Henry Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland, famed in English history under the name of Hotspur; Sir Ralph, his brother, whose valour was scarcely inferior to his own, with many gallant knights and border barons, and a numerous host of military retainers, instead of sallying out, held themselves in readiness for a siege. At length, having wasted the country for miles, and enriched themselves with

plunder, the Scots prepared to retreat as rapidly as they had advanced, and had marched as far as Newcastle on their return, when Douglas and his brave companions in arms resolved to halt two days before its ramparts, and dare the defenders to come forth and do their worst. This defiance, which breathed the full spirit of chivalry, was not likely to reach the Hotspur's ears in vain; the gates and sally-ports of Newcastle were thrown open, and numerous bands of the English rushed out, headed by their far-famed leader, while the skirmishes that extended over the two days were both frequent and desperate. At length, in one of these encounters, Douglas and Hotspur met front to front, and between these two, each reckoned the bravest of his country, a hand-to-hand combat ensued, such as the wars of Scotland and England had seldom witnessed. In the furious close of the joust, Hotspur was unhorsed, and but for the rescue that interposed, would have been taken prisoner; while Douglas, seizing the lance of his fallen antagonist, with its silken embroidered pennon attached to it, waved it aloft in triumph, and exclaimed in the hearing of both armies, "I will bear this token of your prowess into Scotland, and set it on high on my castle of Dalkeith!" "That shalt thou never do," cried Percy in return; "you may be sure you shall not pass the bounds of this country till you be met with in such wise, that you shall make no vaunting thereof." "Well, sir," replied the Douglas, "come then this night to my encampment, and there seek for your pennon." Thus ended their ominous conference.

After a challenge so given and received, a conflict was inevitable, and Douglas, in continuing his retreat, marched in order of battle, and ready for any sudden onslaught of the enemy. At length the Scots reached the castle and village of Otterburn, about twenty-eight miles from Newcastle, on the second day of their march, and would have continued their progress into Scotland unmolested, but for the earnest entreaties of Earl Douglas, who besought them to stay a few days there, to give Hotspur an opportunity of redeeming his pennon. To this they consented, and chose their ground with considerable military skill, having their encampment defended in front and on one side by a marsh, and on the other by a hill. They had not long to wait. Burning with eagerness to recover his lost pennon and retrieve his tarnished honour, and learning at length that the small force under the Earl of Douglas was unsupported by the army, Hotspur left Newcastle after dinner, and commenced a rapid march in pursuit of the Scots. By waiting a little longer for the Bishop of Durham, who was hastening to his assistance, his army might have been doubled, and his success insured; but as it was, he greatly outnumbered his opponents, as he was followed by 8000 foot and 600 lances. In the evening he reached the encampment of the Scots, who, after a day of weary siege against the castle of Otterburn, had betaken themselves to rest, but were roused by the cry of "A Percy! a Percy!" that announced the coming foe. They instantly sprung to their feet, and betook themselves to their weapons. But without giving further time, the English commenced with an impetuous onset upon the front of the Scottish army, drawn up behind the marsh; through which, wearied with a hasty pursuit, they were obliged to flounder as they best could. And now it was that the admirable generalship of Douglas, in selecting and fortifying his encampment, was fully apparent. The front ranks thus assailed, and who bore the first brunt of the battle, were not regular soldiers, but sutlers and camp-followers,

placed in charge of the plundered horses and cattle, and whose position was strongly fortified with the carriages and waggons that were laden with English spoil. Although only armed with knives and clubs, these men, sheltered by their strong defences, made such a stubborn resistance as kept the enemy for a time at bay, and still further confirmed them in the delusion that the whole Scottish force was now in action.

Not a moment of the precious interval thus afforded was lost by the Earl of Douglas. At the first alarm he started from supper, where he and his knights sat in their gowns and doublets, and armed in such haste that his armour was unclasped in many places. The regular troops were encamped upon firm ground behind the marsh; and these he suddenly drew up, and silently marched round the small wooded hill that flanked their position, so that when the English had forced the barrier of waggons, and believed that all was now their own, they were astounded at the apparition of the whole Scottish army advancing upon them from an unexpected quarter, with the honoured Douglas banner of the crowned heart floating over its head. They had thus been wasting their valour upon the scum of the invaders, and the real battle was still to be fought and won! Furious with disappointment, Hotspur drew up his men in new order for the coming onset. Even yet he might be the victor, for his soldiers not only outnumbered the enemy by three to one, but were equal in discipline, and superior in military equipments. It seemed inevitable that the banner of the crowned heart must be thrown down and trodden in the dust unless the skilful head and mighty arm of its lord could maintain its honours against such fearful odds. The combatants closed by the light of an autumnal moon, that shone with an uncertain glimmer upon their mail, and half revealed their movements, as they shifted to and fro in the struggle of life and death. Thus they continued hour after hour, while neither party thought of yielding, although the ground was slippery with blood, and covered with the dead and dying—each closed in deadly grapple with his antagonist, that he might make his stroke more sure in the dim changeful moonlight. At length there appeared a wavering among the Scots; they reeled, and began to give back before the weight of superior numbers, when Douglas, finding that he must set his life upon a cast, prepared himself for a final personal effort. He ordered his banner to be advanced, and brandishing in both hands a heavy battle-axe, such as few men could wield, he shouted his war-cry of "A Douglas!" and rushed into the thickest of the press. At every stroke an enemy went down, and a lane was cleared before his onset; but his ardour carried him so far in advance, that he soon found himself unsupported, and three spears bore him to the earth, each inflicting a mortal wound. Some time elapsed before his gallant companions could overtake his onward career. At length the Earl of March, with his brother of Moray, who had entered battle with such haste that he had fought all night without his helmet, and Sir James Lindsay, one of the most stalwart of Scottish knights, cleared their way to the spot, where they found their brave commander dying, while none was beside him but William Lundie, his chaplain, a soldier priest, who had followed his steps through the whole conflict, and now stood ready, lance in hand, beside his master, to defend him in his last moments. Lindsay was the first to recognize the dying Douglas, and stooping down he asked him how he fared. "But indifferently," replied the earl; "but blessed be God, most of my ancestors have died on fields of battle, and not

on beds of down. There is a prophecy in our house, that a dead Douglas shall win a field, and I think that this night it will be accomplished. Conceal my death, raise my banner, shout my war-cry, and revenge my fall." With these words he expired.

In obedience to the dying injunctions of Douglas; his companions concealed the body among the tall fern that grew beside it, raised aloft his standard, that was reeling amidst the conflict, and shouted the Douglas war-cry, as if he was still at their head; while the English, who knew that some mighty champion had lately fallen, but were ignorant that it was the Scottish leader, gave back in turn at the sound of his dreaded name. The Scots, who also believed that he was still alive, seconded the fresh onset of their leaders, and advanced with such renewed courage, that the English were at last routed, driven from the field, and dispersed, after their bravest had fallen, or been taken prisoners. Among the last was Hotspur himself, who had fought through the whole affray with his wonted prowess; Sir Ralph, his brother, who was grievously wounded; the seneschal of York, the captain of Berwick, and several English knights and gentlemen, who were esteemed the choice of their border chivalry.

Such was the battle of Otterburn, fought in the month of August, and in the year 1388. The loss of the English attests the pertinacity of the engagement, for they had 1800 killed, about 1000 wounded, and as many taken prisoners. Such a victory also evinces, more than the most laboured eulogium, the high military skill of the Earl of Douglas, so that, had he lived, his renown might have worthily taken a place by the side of the hero of Bannockburn. But he died while still young, and achieved the victory even when dead by the terror of his name—a different fate from that of his gallant rival, Henry Percy, who was first a traitor to Richard II., his natural sovereign, and afterwards to Henry IV., a usurper whom he had mainly contributed to elevate to the throne, and who finally died a proclaimed rebel on the field of Shrewsbury, amidst disaster and defeat. On the day after the engagement the Bishop of Durham, whose movements had been anticipated by the impetuosity of Hotspur, arrived upon the field at the head of 10,000 horse and a large array of foot—an army sufficient, as it seemed, to trample down the victors at a single charge. But the spirit of Douglas was still among his followers, so that, under the command of Moray, they drew up in their former position, and showed themselves as ready for a second combat as they had been for the first; and the bishop, daunted by their bold appearance, drew off his forces, and retired without a blow. The Scots then resumed their route homeward unmolested; but instead of a joyful triumphal march, as it might well have been after such a victory, it was rather a sad and slow funeral procession, in the centre of which was a car that conveyed the body of their hero to the burial-place of his illustrious ancestors. It is not often thus that a soldier's love and sympathy so overwhelm a soldier's pride in the full flush of his success. The funeral was performed with pompous military honours in the abbey of Melrose, while the epitaph of the departed was indelibly engraven in the hearts of his countrymen and the page of Scottish history.

DOUGLAS, JAMES, fourth Earl of Morton, and Regent of Scotland, was the second son of Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich (younger brother of Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, and a grandson of the fifth, or great earl, styled *Bell-the-cat*). The matrimonial connection of the sixth Earl of Angus with Margaret of England, the widow of James IV.,

brought the whole of this great family into an intimate alliance with Henry VIII., that princess' brother.

During the reign of James V. as an adult sovereign most of them lived in banishment in England; and it was only after his death, in 1542, that they reappeared in the country. Whether the Earl of Morton spent his early years at the English court is not known; but it is related by at least one historical writer that he travelled during his youth in Italy. Immediately after the return of the family from banishment, he is found mingling deeply in those intrigues which Angus and others carried on for the purpose of promoting the progress of the reformed religion, along with the match between Henry's son and the infant Queen Mary. He seems to have followed in the wake of his father, Sir George, who was a prime agent of King Henry; and who, in April, 1543, engaged with others to deliver up the lowland part of Scotland to the English monarch. Previous to this period the future regent had been married to Elizabeth Douglas, third daughter of James, third Earl of Morton, who was induced to bequeath his title and all his estates to this fortunate son-in-law, conjointly with his wife.¹ In virtue of this grant, the subject of our memoir was invested with the title of Master of Morton. It is somewhat remarkable, that on the very day when the English ambassador informed his prince of the traitorous engagement of Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, his son, the Master of Morton, had a royal charter confirming the above splendid grant. This must have been obtained from the fears of the governor, Arran, against whom all the Douglases were working. In November following the master is found holding out the donjon or principal tower of his father-in-law's castle of Dalkeith against Arran; but, being destitute of victuals and artillery, he was obliged to give it up, on the condition of retiring with all his effects untouched. Nothing more is learned of this remarkable personage till 1553, when he succeeded his father-in-law as Earl of Morton. Although one of the original lords of the congregation in 1557, he did not for some time take an active or decided part against the queen-regent. He had received large favours from this lady, and, possessing all that gratitude which consists in a lively anticipation of favours to come, he feared, by casting off her cause, which he supposed would be the triumphant one, to compromise his prospect of those future advantages. This caused Sir Ralph Sadler, the English envoy, to describe him as "a simple and fearful man;" words which are certainly, in their modern sense at least, inapplicable to him. Morton was, however, a commissioner for the settlement of affairs at Upsettlington, May 31st, 1559. After the return of Queen Mary, in 1561, he was sworn a privy-councillor, and on the 7th of January, 1563, was appointed lord high-chancellor of Scotland. By the advice of his father the Earl of Lennox, Darnley consulted Morton and the Earl of Crawford, in preference to any other of the nobility, respecting the taking away the life of Rizzio, when his jealousy had been inflamed by the presumption of that unfortunate adventurer; and Morton became a principal actor in the tragical catastrophe that ensued. It was the opinion of these noblemen that Rizzio should be impeached before the parliament, and brought publicly to justice, as an incendiary who had sown distrust and jealousy among the nobility, and had also endeavoured to subvert the ancient laws and constitu-

¹ The mother of the regent's wife was Katherine Stewart, a natural daughter of King James IV.

tion of the kingdom. This there certainly would have been little difficulty in accomplishing, but it did not suit the impatient temper of Darnley, whose revenge could not be satiated without in some degree implicating the queen; and he had determined that her favourite should suffer in her almost immediate presence. He accordingly carried a number of the conspirators from his own chamber, which was below the queen's, by a narrow staircase, of which he alone had the privilege, into hers, when she had just sat down to supper, in company with the Countess of Argyll and her unfortunate secretary, the object of their hatred, whom they instantly dragged from his seat, and, ere they were well out of the queen's presence, whose table they had overturned, and whose clothes the unhappy man had almost torn while he clung to her and implored her protection, despatched him with innumerable wounds. In the meantime Morton, chancellor of the kingdom, and the protector of its laws, kept watch in the outer gallery, and his vassals paraded in the open court, preventing all egress from or ingress to the palace. The effect of this barbarous murder was an entire change of policy on the part of the court. The Protestant lords, the principal of whom had been in exile, returned to Edinburgh that same night, and all Papists were, by a proclamation issued by the king, commanded to leave the city next day. The queen, though she was enraged in the highest degree, concealed her feelings till she had completely overcome the foolish Darnley, whom she persuaded in the course of a few days to flee with her to Dunbar, to abandon the noblemen to whom he had bound himself by the most solemn written obligations, and to issue a proclamation denying all participation in the murder of Rizzio, and requiring the lieges to assemble instantly for the protection of the queen and the prosecution of the murderers. In consequence of this the queen, with her now doubly degraded husband, returned in a few days to the capital, at the head of a formidable army; and though the exiled noblemen who had newly returned maintained their ground, Morton and his associates were under the necessity of making their escape out of the kingdom. Through the interest of the Earl of Bothwell he was pardoned shortly after; and it was attempted at the same time to engage him in the plot that was already formed for murdering Darnley. In this, however, he positively refused to concur; but, practically acquainted with the childish weakness of that unfortunate young man, he dared not to inform him of the design, nor did he take any measures to prevent its being executed, which occasioned him eventually the loss of his own life. After the death of the king, and Mary's subsequent marriage to Bothwell, Morton was one of the most efficient leaders in the confederacy that was formed for her degradation, and for erecting a Protestant regency under her infant son. He was the same year restored to the office of high-chancellor for life. He was also constituted high-admiral for Scotland, and sheriff of the county of Edinburgh, which had become vacant by the forfeiture of Bothwell. He, along with the Earl of Home, took the oaths for King James VI. at his coronation, on August 29th, 1567, to the effect that he would observe the laws and maintain the religion then publicly taught, so far as it was in his power. The Scottish treasury was at this time so low, that when it was determined to fit out a small fleet to apprehend and bring to justice the notorious Bothwell, who to all his other enormities had now added that of being a pirate, in which capacity he was infesting the northern islands, it was found to be impracticable, till Morton generously came forward

and supplied the necessary sum from his private purse.

During the regency of the Earl of Moray, Morton was an active and able assistant to him on all occasions. He was one of the principal commanders at the battle of Langside, and to his courage and good conduct it was in no small degree owing that the results of that memorable day were of such a favourable complexion. He was also one of the commissioners in the famous conferences at York. On the murder of the regent in the year 1570, Morton became the head of the Protestant or king's party, though Matthew, Earl of Lennox, was created regent, chiefly through his interest and that of Queen Elizabeth. Never was any country that had made the smallest progress in civilization, in a more deplorable condition than Scotland at this period. At the time of the regent's murder the whole, or nearly the whole, faction of the Hamiltons were collected at Edinburgh, evidently that they might be able to improve that event for advancing their views; and the very night after the murder, Ker of Fernihurst, accompanied by some of the Scotts, entered England, which they wasted with fire and sword, in a manner more barbarous than even any of their own most barbarous precedents. The reason of this was, that they did not in this instance so much desire plunder, the usual incentive to these savage inroads, as to provoke the English government to declare war, which they vainly supposed would advance the interests of their faction. Elizabeth, however, was well acquainted with the state of Scotland, and aware that strong external pressure might unite the discordant parties, and make them for a time lose sight of those individual objects which every paltry chieftain was so eagerly pursuing, sent her ambassador Randolph to assure the Scottish council that her affection towards Scotland was not at all abated, and, as in former times of great confusion she had not been backward to assist them, she would not be so now. As for the robberies and the murders that had so lately been committed upon her people, being aware that they were authorized by no public authority, she would never think of punishing the many for the errors of the few. These marauders, however, she insisted should be restrained; and, if they felt themselves incompetent, by reason of their public commotions, to do this, she offered to join her forces to theirs for that purpose. He also added, in name of his sovereign, many advices which were regarded by the council as wholesome, equitable, and pious; but, as they had as yet elected no chief magistrate, he was requested to wait for an answer till the beginning of May, on the first day of which the parliament was summoned to meet. The interim was busily, as might easily have been foreseen, employed, by the faction of the queen, in preparing either to prevent the parliament from being assembled, or to embroil its proceedings if it did. Glasgow, therefore, being convenient for the Hamiltons, was first fixed on as the general rendezvous of the party, whence they wrote to Morton and the party of the king to meet them either at Falkirk or Linlithgow. This not being agreed to, the queen's faction removed themselves to Linlithgow, and afterwards, thinking to persuade the citizens to join them, into Edinburgh. Foiled in this, though Kirkcaldy, the governor of the castle, had declared for them, as also in their aim to assemble the parliament before the appointed time, they, before that time approached, withdrew to Linlithgow, whence they issued an edict, commanding all the lieges to obey only the commissioners of the queen, and summoning a parliament to meet in that place on the 3d of August. Previously to their leav-

ing Edinburgh, the faction despatched two special messengers into England, one to meet with the Earl of Sussex, who was on his march with an army to punish the Scotts and the Kers, with their adherents, who had so barbarously, a few months before, carried fire and sword into England—praying for a truce, till they should be able to inform the queen, Elizabeth, by letter, of the state of their affairs. The other carried the said letter, which contained the most exaggerated statements of their own strength, and not obscurely threatened war against the English nation. It also contained a request that Elizabeth, as arbitress of the affairs of Scotland, should annul the decrees of the two former years, that the whole business should be gone over anew, and settled by the common consent of all. Trusting to the ignorance of the English, they ventured to append to this document, not only all the names of the party, but many of those of the other, and the whole of those that stood neuter. Sussex, having full authority, opened both these despatches, and, perfectly aware of the fraud, sent back the messengers with contempt. He also transmitted copies of the letters to the adherents of the king, that they might know what was going on among their enemies; in consequence of which they sent an embassy to Elizabeth to treat about repressing the common enemy, and, to show their respect for her, proposing, in the choice of a regent, to be guided by her wishes.

Sussex, in the meantime, entered Teviotdale, and laid waste without mercy the whole possessions belonging to the Scotts and the Kers, and generally all those belonging to the partisans of Mary. Under pretence of being revenged on the Johnstons, Lord Scrope entered Annandale in the same manner, and committed similar depredations. They even carried their ravages into Clydesdale, where they burned and destroyed the town and castle of Hamilton, and carried off a large booty from the different estates in that quarter belonging to the Hamiltons; after which they returned to Berwick. The messenger who had been by the Protestant lords sent to Elizabeth, in the meantime returned with an answer that contained the strongest expressions of astonishment at the length of time that had elapsed from the death of the regent, before they had thought it meet to make her acquainted with the state of their affairs, and, in consequence of the delay, she declared that she could scarcely determine in what manner she should conduct herself with regard to them. The truth was that she had been again parleying with Mary, who had promised to cause her party in Scotland deliver up the Earl of Westmoreland and some other fugitives, subjects of Elizabeth, who had taken refuge among them; in consequence of which, Sussex had been recalled, and, to save appearances with both, she was now necessitated to propose another conference, with a view to the clearing of Mary's character and restoring her to the exercise of sovereign authority. Both parties were in the meantime to abstain from hostilities of every kind, and whatever innovations they had attempted by their public proclamations, they were to annul by the same means.

Nothing could have been contrived more discouraging to the king's friends, or more detrimental to the interests of Scotland, than such a determination as this; but they had no choice left. They behaved either to be assisted by the Queen of England, or run the hazard of a dangerous civil war with their own party, considerably diminished by the dilatory manner in which they had already acted, and the chance of the opposite party being assisted by a strong auxiliary force from France, which had been often promised, and as often boasted of, gene-

rally among the more uninformed classes, who had little knowledge of the internal strength of France, or of the political balance that might externally sway her councils, and prevent her government from acting according to either their promises or their wishes. But they were not altogether blind to the difficulties in which, by the subtlety of her policy, Elizabeth was involved; and they chose a middle course, trusting to the chapter of accidents for an issue more successful than they could fully or clearly foresee. Sensible how much they had lost by the delay in appointing some person to the regency, they proceeded to create Matthew, Earl of Lennox, regent, till the middle of July, by which time they calculated upon ascertaining the pleasure of Elizabeth, of whose friendship they did not yet despair.

The Earl of Lennox was not by any means a man of commanding talent, but he was a man of kindly affections, and a lover of his country; and with the assistance of his council, set himself in good earnest to correct the disorders into which it had fallen, when, about the beginning of July, letters arrived from Elizabeth, filled with expressions of high regard both for the king and kingdom of Scotland, and promising them both her best assistance; and though she wished them to avoid the nomination of a regent, as in itself invidious, yet if her opinion were asked, she knew no person who ought to be preferred to the king's grandfather to that office, because none could be thought upon who would be more faithful to his pupil while a minor, nor had any one a preferable right. On the reception of this grateful communication, Lennox was immediately declared regent, and having taken the usual oath for preserving the religion, the laws, and liberties of his country, he issued a proclamation, commanding all who were capable of bearing arms to appear at Linlithgow on the 2d of August. His purpose by this was to prevent the assembling of the party meeting, which, under the name of a parliament, was called in name of the queen, for the 2d day of September, he himself having summoned, in name of the king, a parliament to meet on the 10th of October. He was accordingly attended on the day appointed by 5000 at Linlithgow, where the party of the queen did not think it advisable to appear. Hearing, however, that Huntly had issued orders for a large army to be assembled at Brechin, the garrison of which had begun to infest the highways, and to rob all travellers, he sent against that place the Lords Lindsay and Ruthven, with what forces they could collect at Perth and Dundee. The subject of this memoir followed them with 800 horse, and was at Brechin only a day behind them. The regent himself having despatched the men of Lennox and Renfrew to protect their own country, in case Argyle should attack them, followed in three days, and was waited upon by the nobility and gentry, with their followers, to the number of 7000 men. Huntly had now fled to the north. The garrison of Brechin made a show of defending themselves, but were soon brought to submit at discretion. Thirty of them who had been old offenders, were hanged on the spot, and the remainder dismissed.

The regent returned to Edinburgh in time to attend the meeting of parliament, which harmoniously confirmed his authority. On this account the queen's party had again recourse to the French and the Spaniards, with more earnestness than ever, entreating them to send the promised assistance for the restoring of the queen and the ancient religion, the latter depending, they said, upon the former. Another parliament being appointed for the 25th of January, 1510, the queen's party, through the Queen of England, procured a renewal of the truce till the

matters in dispute should be debated before her. The parliament on this account was prorogued from the 25th of January till the beginning of May; and on the 5th of February the Earl of Morton, Robert Pitcairn, abbot of Dunfermline, and James Macgill, were despatched to London to hold the conference. For this second conference before the agents of Elizabeth we must refer our readers to the life of Mary Queen of Scots. We cannot for a moment suppose that Elizabeth had any serious intentions, at any period of her captivity, to restore Queen Mary, and they were probably less so now than ever. The proposals she made at this time, indeed, were so degrading to both parties as to be rejected by both with equal cordiality. There had been in this whole business a great deal of shuffling. Mary had undertaken for her partisans that they would deliver up to Elizabeth the fugitives that had made their escape from justice, or in other words, from the punishment which they had made themselves liable to on her account; but instead of being delivered up to Elizabeth they were safely conveyed into Flanders. Mary had also engaged that her partisans should abstain from courting any foreign aid; but an agent from the pope, who had vainly attempted to conciliate Elizabeth, issued a bull of excommunication against her, declared her an usurper as well as a heretic, and absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance to her; yet with inexplicable pertinacity, Elizabeth seemed to divide her regards between the parties, by which means she kept alive and increased their mutual hatred, and was a principal instrument of rendering the whole country a scene of devastation and misery.

While this fruitless negotiation was going on, the truce was but indifferently observed by either party. Kirkcaldy and Maitland having possession of the castle of Edinburgh, and being free from the fear of any immediate danger, were constantly employed in training soldiers, taking military possession of the most advantageous posts in the city, seizing the provisions brought into Leith, and by every means making preparations for standing a siege till the promised and ardently expected assistance should arrive from abroad. The Hamiltons oftener than once attempted the life of the regent, and they also seized upon the town of Paisley, but Lennox, marching in person against them, speedily recovered it. He also marched to Ayr against the Earl of Cassillis, who gave his brother to the regent as a hostage, and appointed a day when he would come to Stirling and ratify his agreement. The Earl of Eglinton and Lord Boyd at the same time made their submission to the regent, and were taken into favour. The castle of Dumbarton too, which had all along been held for the queen, fell at this time, by a piece of singular good fortune, into the hands of the regent. In the castle were taken prisoners Monsieur Verac, ambassador from the King of France, John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and John Fleming of Boghall. The archbishop was shortly after hanged at Stirling, as being concerned in the plots for murdering Darnley and the Regent Moray. In the meantime Morton and the other commissioners that had accompanied him, returned from London, having come to no conclusion. Morton gave a particular account of all that had passed between the commissioners to the nobles assembled at Stirling, who entirely approved of the conduct of the commissioners; but the further consideration of the embassy was postponed to the first of May, when the parliament was summoned to assemble. Both parties were now fully on the alert: the one to hold, and the other prevent, the meeting on the day appointed. Morton, after the nobles had approved of his conduct, returned

to his house at Dalkeith, attended by 100 foot-soldiers and a few horse, as a guard, in case he should be attacked by the townsmen, or to repress their incursions till a sufficient force could be collected. Morton, as desired by the regent, having sent a detachment of a few horsemen and about seventy foot to Leith, to publish a proclamation forbidding any person to supply the faction of the queen with provisions, arms, or warlike stores, under pain of being treated as rebels, they were attacked in their way back to Dalkeith, and a smart skirmish ensued, in which the townsmen were driven back into the city, though with no great loss on either side. This was the beginning of a civil war that raged with unusual bitterness till it was terminated by the intervention of Elizabeth. The regent not being prepared to besiege the town, wished to abstain from violence; but, determined to hold the approaching parliament in the Canongate, within the liberties of the city, at a place called St. John's Cross, he erected two fortifications, one in Leith Wynd, and the other at the Dove Craig, whence his soldiers fired into the town during the whole time of the sitting of the parliament, slaying great numbers of the soldiers and citizens. This parliament forfeited Maitland the secretary, and two of his brothers, with several others of the party, and was held amid an almost constant discharge of cannon from the castle; yet no one was hurt. On its rising, the regent and Morton retired to Leith, when the party of the queen burned down the houses without the walls that had been occupied by them; and as they withdrew towards Stirling, they sent out their horsemen after them to Corstorphine. Before they reached that place, however, the regent was gone; but they attacked the Earl of Morton, who slowly withdrew towards Dalkeith. As Morton afterwards waylaid all that carried provisions into the town, a party was sent out, supposed to be sufficiently strong to burn Dalkeith. The earl, however, gave them battle, and repulsed them to the marches of the Borough Muir. The garrison, seeing from the castle the discomfiture of their friends, sent out a reinforcement, which turned the tide of victory; and but for the carelessness of one of the party, who dropped his match into a barrel of powder, the whole of Morton's party might have fallen victims to their temerity in pursuing the enemy so far. This accident, whereby the horse that carried the powder and many of the soldiers were severely scorched, put an end to the affray. Elizabeth all this while had professed a kind of neutrality between the parties. Now, however, she sent Sir William Drury to Kirkcaldy, the captain of the castle, to know of him whether he held the castle in the queen's name or in the name of the king and regent; assuring him that if he held it in the name of the queen, Elizabeth would be his extreme enemy, but if otherwise that she would be his friend. The captain declared that he owned no authority in Scotland but that of Queen Mary. The regent, when Drury told him this, sent him back to demand the house to be rendered to him, in the king's name; on which he and all that were along with him should be pardoned all by-past offences, restored to their rents and possessions, and should have liberty to depart with all their effects. This offer, the captain, trusting the "carnal wit and policy of Lethington," was so wicked and so foolish as to refuse, and the war was continued with singular barbarity. The small party in the castle, in order to give the colour of law to their procedure, added the absurdity of holding a parliament, in which they read a letter from the king's mother, declaring her resignation null, and requesting that she might be restored, which was at once complied with; only

they wanted the power to take her out of the hands of Elizabeth. In order to conciliate the multitude, they declared that no alteration should be made in the Presbyterian religion, only those preachers who should refuse to pray for the queen were forbidden to exercise their functions. These mock forms, from which no doubt a man of so much cunning as Lethington expected happy results, tended only to render the party ridiculous, without producing them a single partisan. The regent, all whose motions were directed by Morton, was indefatigable, and by an order of the estates, the country was to send him a certain number of men, who were to serve for three months, one part of the country relieving the other by turns. To narrate the various skirmishes of the contending parties, as they tended so little to any decisive result, though the subject of this memoir had a principal hand in them all, would be an unprofitable as well as an unpleasant task. We shall therefore pass over the greater part of them; but the following we cannot omit.

Morton, being weary and worn out with constant watching, and besides afflicted with sickness, retired with the regent to Stirling, where the whole party, along with the English ambassador, thought themselves in perfect security. The men of the castle, in order to make a flourish before Sir William Drury, came forth with their whole forces, as if to give their opponents an open challenge to face them if they dared to be so bold. Morton, who was certainly a brave man, being told of this circumstance, rose from his bed, put on his armour, and led forth his men as far as Restalrig, where he put them in battle array, facing the queen's adherents, who had drawn up at the Quarrel Holes, having along with them two field-pieces. Drury rode between the armies and entreated them to return home, and not spoil all hopes of accommodation by fresh bloodshed. To this he at length brought them to agree, only they wanted to know who should leave the ground first. Drury endeavoured to satisfy both by standing between the armies, and giving a signal which both should obey at the same time. Morton was willing to obey the signal; but his enemies threatened that if he did not retire of his own accord, they would drive him from the field with disgrace. This was enough for a man of his proud spirit. He was loath to offend the English; but he conceived that he had abundantly testified his moderation, and he therefore rushed like a whirlwind upon his foes, who, panic-struck, fled in a moment towards the nearest gate, which not being wide enough to receive at once the flying cloud, many were trodden down and taken prisoners; only one small party, who rallied in an adjoining churchyard, but who again fled at the first charge, made any resistance. So complete was the panic, and so disorderly the flight, that, leaving the gates unguarded, every man fled full speed towards the castle; and had not the regent's soldiers, too intent upon plunder, neglected the opportunity, the city might have been taken. Gavin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, was slain, with upwards of fifty soldiers, and there were taken prisoners the Lord Home, Captain Cullen, a relation of Huntly's, and upwards of seventy soldiers, with some horsemen, and the two field-pieces. On the side of the regent there were slain Captain Wymis and one single soldier. This adventure befell on Saturday the 26th of June, and, for its fatal issue, was long called by the people of Edinburgh the BLACK SATURDAY. The faction of the queen held another parliament in the month of August, still more ridiculous than the preceding; but in the month of September, Kirkcaldy, the governor of the castle, projected an expedition of the most decisive character,

and which, had it succeeded, must have put an end to the war. This was no less than an attempt to surprise Stirling, where the regent and all the nobles in amity with him were assembled to hold a parliament, and it was hoped they should all be either killed or taken prisoners at the same moment. The leaders who were chosen to execute the project were the Earl of Huntly, Lord Claud Hamilton, the laird of Buccleuch, and the laird of Wormeston; they were allowed 300 foot and 200 horsemen; and that the foot might reach their destination unfatigued, they pressed the day before every horse that came into the market, upon which, and behind the horsemen, they were all mounted. In this manner they left Edinburgh on the evening of the 3d of September, 1571. Taking an opposite direction till they were fairly quit of the town, they marched straight for Stirling, where they arrived at three o'clock in the morning, and reached the market-place without so much as a dog barking at their coming. They had for their guide George Bell, a native of Stirling, who knew every individual lodging and stable within it, and his first care was to point them all out, that men might be stationed at them, to force up doors and bring forth the prisoners out of the lodgings, and horses from the stables. The footmen were placed in the streets by bands, with orders to shoot every person belonging to the town, without distinction, who might come in their way. The stables were instantly cleared (for the greater part of the invaders belonged to the borders, and were excellently well acquainted with carrying off prizes in the dark), and the finest horses of the nobility were collected at the east port. The prisoners too had been mostly seized, and were already in the streets, ready to be led away, for they were not to be put to death till they were all assembled outside the town wall. Morton, however, happened to be in a strong house, and with his servants made such a desperate resistance that the enemy could only obtain entrance by setting it on fire. After a number of his servants had been killed, he made his escape through the flames, and surrendered himself prisoner to his relation the laird of Buccleuch. The regent too was secured, and the retreat sounded, but the merchants' shops had attracted the borderers, and they could not on the instant be recalled from their ordinary vocation till Erskine of Marr, who commanded the castle, issued out with a body of musqueteers, which he placed in an unfinished house that commanded the market-place, and which, from its being empty, the marauders had neglected to occupy. From this commanding station he annoyed them so grievously that they fled in confusion, and in the narrow lane leading to the gate trode down one another, so that, had there been any tolerable number to join in the pursuit, not one of them could have escaped. The inhabitants of the town, however, were fast assembling, and the invaders were under the necessity of quitting their prisoners or of being instantly cut to pieces. Those who had taken Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, and James, Earl of Morton, were fair, for the saving of their lives, to deliver themselves up to their prisoners; and Captain Calder, seeing the day lost, shot the regent, who was in the hands of Spence of Wormeston. Wormeston had already received two wounds in defending his prisoner, and now he was slain outright. Two of these who had struck at the regent and wounded him, after being taken, not being able to escape to their friends, were seized and hanged. The pursuit was however prevented by the thieves of Teviotdale having in the beginning of the affair carried off all the horses, so that those who once got

clear of the gate had no difficulty in escaping. There were in Stirling at this time with the regent, Morton, Argyle, Cassillis, Glencairn, Eglinton, Montrose, Buchan, Ruthven, Glamis, Sempill, Ochiltree, Cathcart, and Methven, all of whom, had the plot succeeded, would have been either killed or made prisoners. The regent died the same night, and Marr succeeded him in his office, though it was supposed that Morton was the choice of the Queen of England. The parliament was continued by the new regent, and a great number of the queen's faction were forefaulted. The parliament was no sooner concluded than the regent hastened to besiege Edinburgh, for which great preparations had been made by the Regent Lennox, lately deceased. Scotsmen in those days had but little skill in attacking fortified places, and though the regent erected batteries in different situations, their efforts were inconsiderable. The siege of course was abandoned, and the former kind of ceaseless hostility renewed. Maitland and Kirkcaldy, in company, now had recourse to Elizabeth to settle their disputes; but they expected their property and their offices restored, and for security that Kirkcaldy should retain the command of the castle. Elizabeth offered to protect them and to treat with the regent on their behalf; but, laying aside disguise, she informed them that Mary had been so ill advised, and had adopted measures so dangerous to her, that while she lived she should neither have liberty nor rule.

It was about this time that John, Lord Maxwell, was married to a sister of Archibald, Earl of Angus. Morton, for the entertainment of a number of gentlemen and ladies on the occasion, had store of wines, venison, &c., provided, which being brought from Perth on the way towards Dalkeith, was taken by a party of horsemen from the castle, which so enraged Morton, that he sent a number of armed men into Fife, who destroyed all the corn on the lands of the governor of the castle, and burned his house; and the governor the same night succeeded in burning the whole town of Dalkeith. The same detestable wickedness was, by both parties, committed in various other places shortly after. In March, 1572, all the mills in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh were broken down, that the inhabitants might be cut off from their supply of meal; and by placing soldiers in Corstorphine, Redhall, Merchiston, Craigmillar, and other defensible places in the neighbourhood of the town, it came to be closely blockaded. Whoever was found carrying any necessary to the town was brought down to Leith, where he was either hanged or drowned, or at the very least burned in the cheek. So inveterate, indeed, had the parties now become, that prisoners taken in the field of open war were instantly hanged on both sides. This blind brutality was carried on without intermission for nearly two months. The town of Edinburgh was now reduced to the greatest straits, and nothing but the deepest infatuation could have prevented the governor of the castle from surrendering, especially as Elizabeth, by her ambassador, was willing to treat with the regent on his behalf. A truce was, however, effected by the mediation of the French and English ambassadors; the town was made patent to the governor, and the banished clergy were all allowed to return; but still no terms of mutual agreement could be devised, and the Regent Marr, broken in spirit for the wickedness and folly of his countrymen, died, as has been generally supposed, of a broken heart, on the 24th of October, 1572. Morton had now a fair field for his ambition, and on the 24th of November he was elected regent, in the room of the Earl of Marr.

During the government of the three former regents Morton had been a principal actor in all matters of importance, and there did not appear to be any positive change in his principles and views now that he was at liberty to act for himself. He still proffered peace upon the conditions that had been held out by his predecessor; but Grange, who commanded the castle, having risen in his demands, and Maitland being a man of whom he was jealous, he fell upon the plan of treating with the party separately, and by this means ruining, or at least disabling, the whole. In this he was assisted, perhaps unwittingly, by the English ambassador Killigrew, who, now that a partisan of England was at the head of the government, laboured to bring about a reconciliation between all parties. Under his auspices a correspondence was accordingly entered into with the two most powerful leaders of the party, Chatelherault and Huntly, by whom a renewal of the truce was gladly accepted. Kirkcaldy, who refused to be included in the prolongation of the truce, fired some cannon at six o'clock in the morning after it had expired, against a place which had been turned into a fish-market, whereby one man was slain and several wounded. The ambassador seeing this, immediately moved home, and Sir James Balfour, who had been all the time of the dispute an inmate of the castle, hastened to make his submission to the regent, and demand a pardon, which was cheerfully granted, with restoration at once to all his possessions. Perhaps rather offended than mollified by this kindness on the part of the regent towards his friend, the governor proclaimed from the walls of the castle his intention to destroy the town, commanding, at the same time, all the queen's true subjects to leave the place, that they might not be involved in that ruin which was intended only for her enemies. Within two days after, a strong wind blowing from the west, he sallied out in the evening and set fire to the houses at the foot of the rock, which burned eastward as far as the Magdalen Chapel. At the same time he sent his cannon-shot along the path taken by the conflagration, so that no one dared to approach to put it out. This useless cruelty made him alike odious to his friends and his enemies, and they "sa cryit out with maledictions that he was saif frae na mannis cursing." The estates, notwithstanding all this, met in the end of January, when they passed several acts against Papists and despisers of the king's authority. This meeting of the estates had no sooner broken up than a meeting was held at Perth with the leading noblemen who had first been of the queen's faction, when a treaty was entered into by which a general amnesty was granted to all who should profess and support the Protestant religion, and submit themselves to the authority of the regent. The only persons excepted from this amnesty were the murderers of the king and the Regents Moray and Lennox, the Archbishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador in France, and the Bishop of Ross, her ambassador in England, both of whom were under a sentence of outlawry. Liberty was also reserved for Kirkcaldy and his associates to take the benefit of this amnesty if they did it within a given time. The English ambassador, anxious for the fate of a brave man, waited in the castle to show the governor the treaty, and to advise him acceding to it, but Maitland had so possessed him with the idea of assistance from abroad, that he was deaf to all advice. Morton, indeed, had not the means of reducing the castle himself; but he made immediate application to Elizabeth for a supply of cannon and of soldiers who could work them, which application she received most graciously, and Sir William Drury, with a body of troops and a train of artillery, left

Berwick upon that service in the month of April, 1573. Before the march of the troops, however, a special treaty was concluded whereby the terms upon which the aid was granted were particularly specified, and hostages were granted for the fulfilment of these terms. No time was lost in commencing the siege, and notwithstanding the skill and bravery of the governor, the place was speedily reduced. The fall of part of the chief tower choked up the well, which afforded them at best but a scanty supply; and the Spur, though a place of great strength, was stormed with the loss of only eight men killed and twenty-three wounded. The garrison on this beat a parley, and sent for one of the English captains, to whom they expressed their desire of conversing with the general and the ambassador. The regent giving his consent, Kirkcaldy, according to the prediction of John Knox, along with Sir Robert Melville, was let down over the wall, the gate being choked up with rubbish. Requiring conditions which could not be granted, Kirkcaldy was returned to the castle, but he found it impossible to stand another assault. They had no water but what they caught as it fell from heaven, and the garrison was discontented. Thinking on the terms that had been offered, and so often and foolishly rejected, and ascribing the obstinacy of the resistance to Maitland, the men threatened that if further attempts to preserve the place were made, they would hang him over the wall. Nothing of course was left but to capitulate at discretion; but this they did with the English general, in preference to the regent. The garrison had to be brought from the castle under an escort, so odious was it to the people; and Kirkcaldy and Maitland, for the same reason, had to be lodged with the English general. Maitland took himself off by poison; and Kirkcaldy and his brother James, along with two other persons, were hanged at the cross of Edinburgh upon the 3d day of August, 1573. Kirkcaldy had been an early friend and an intrepid defender of the Reformation; but his old age, in consequence perhaps of the companionships he had formed, was unworthy of his youth, and his end was most miserable. This was the last stroke to the interests of Mary in Scotland.

The regent's first care was to repair the castle, the keeping of which he committed to his brother, George Douglas of Parkhead, he himself going in person to repress the disorders that had so long prevailed among the borderers, and had been so often complained of by the English government. Along with Sir John Forrester, the English warden for the middle march, he adjusted the existing differences, and concerted measures to prevent their recurrence. From the chiefs of the different districts he exacted hostages for their good behaviour; and he appointed Sir James Home of Cowdenknows, Sir John Carmichael, one of his principal ministers, and Lord Maxwell, as wardens for the eastern, the middle, and the western marches. Having settled the borders, Morton next applied himself to correct the disorders in the country in general, and to the regular distribution of justice; and in this, says the author of the history of James VI., "he wished to punish the transgressor rather be his gudes than be death." "He had also another purpose," says the same author, "to heap up a great treasure whatsoever way it might be obtained. For the first he prospered in effect very well; and as to the uther, he had greater luck than any three kings had before him in sa short a space. For not only he collectit all the king's rents to his awin profit, but also controllit the yung king's family in sik sort, as they war content of sik a small pension as he pleased to appoint. Secondly,

when any benefices of the kirk vaikit, he kepted the profit of their rents sa lang in his awin hand, till he was urgit be the kirk to mak donation tharof, and that was not given but profit for all that. And becaus the wairds and marriages war also incidental matters of the crown, and fell frequently in thais dayis, as commonly they do, he obtainit als great profit of ilk ane of them as they war of avail, and as to the gudes of those wha war ony way disobedient to the lawis, and that the same fell in the king's hand, the parties offenders escapit not but payment in the highest degree. And to this effect he had certain interpreters and componitors wha componit with all parties, according to his ain direction; and he sa appointed with them for the payment, that it sould either be made in fyne gold or fyne silver." The above, we doubt not, is a pretty fair general statement of Morton's ordinary modes of procedure. He also sentenced to whipping and imprisonment those who dared to eat flesh in Lent; but the sentences were uniformly remitted upon paying fines. His exactions upon the church perhaps were not the most aggravated of his doings, but they certainly brought him a larger share of odium than any other. The thirds of benefices had been appropriated for the maintenance of the Protestant clergy; but from the avarice of the nobility, who had seized upon the revenues of the church, even these thirds could not be collected with either certainty or regularity. During the late troubles they had in many places been entirely lost sight of; to remedy this defect, Morton proposed to vest them in the crown, under promise to make the stipend of every minister local, and payable in the parish where he served. If upon trial this arrangement should be found ineligible, he engaged to replace them in their former situation. No sooner, however, did he obtain possession of the thirds, than he appointed one man to serve perhaps four churches, in which he was to preach alternately, with the stipend of one parish only; by which means he pocketed two-thirds, with the exception of the trifle given to three illiterate persons who read prayers in the absence of the minister. The allowance to superintendents was stopped at the same time; and when application was made at court, they were told the office was no longer necessary, bishops being placed in the diocese, to whom of right the ecclesiastical jurisdiction belonged. The ministers complained, and desired to be put on their former footing; but they were told that the thirds belonged to the king, and the management of them behoved of course to belong to the regent and council, and not to the church. The Assembly of 1574, in order to counteract the effects of their own simplicity, decreed that though a minister should be appointed to more churches than one, he should take the charge of that alone where he resided, and bestow upon the others only what he could spare without interfering with the duty he owed to his particular charge.

In the summer of 1575, an affray on the borders had well nigh involved Morton in a contest with Elizabeth. Sir John Carmichael, one of the Scottish wardens, had delivered up some outlaws to Sir John Forrester, the English warden, and now made application to that officer to have a notorious thief delivered up to him; Forrester showed a disposition to evade the demand, and some of the Scottish attendants uttered their dislike in terms ruder than suited the polite ears of Englishmen. Sir John Forrester then said, that Sir John Carmichael was not an equal to him; and his followers, without ceremony, let fly a shower of arrows that killed one Scotsman, and wounded many others. Inferior in numbers, the Scots were fain to flee for

their lives; but meeting some of their countrymen from Jedburgh, they turned back; and dispersing the Englishmen, chased them within their own borders, and slew by the way George Heron, keeper of Tinedale and Reddisdale, with twenty-four common men. Forrester himself they took prisoner, along with Francis Russell, son to the Earl of Bedford, Cudbert Collingwood, and several others, whom they sent to the regent at Dalkeith; who, heartily sorry for the affray, received them with kindness, entertained them hospitably for a few days, and dismissed them courteously. Elizabeth, informed of the circumstance, demanded by her ambassador, Killigrew, immediate satisfaction. Morton had no alternative but to repair to the border, near Berwick, where he was met by the Earl of Huntingdon, and after a conference of some days it was agreed that Sir John Carmichael should be sent prisoner into England. Elizabeth finding on inquiry that her own warden had been the offender, and pleased with the submissive conduct of Morton, ordered Carmichael in a few weeks to be honourably dismissed, and gratified him with a handsome present.

Morton, having a greedy eye to the temporalities of the church, had from the beginning been unfriendly to her liberties, and by his encroachments had awakened a spirit of opposition that gathered strength every year, till the whole fabric of Episcopacy was overturned. This embroiled him with the General Assembly every year, and had no small effect in hastening his downfall; but in the bounds we have prescribed to our narrative we cannot introduce the subject in such a way as to be intelligible, and must therefore pass it over.

In the end of 1575 the regent coined a new piece of gold of the weight of one ounce, and ordained it to pass current for twenty pounds. In the following year a feud fell out betwixt Athole and Argyle, which the regent hoped to have turned to his own account by imposing a fine upon each of them; but they being aware of his plan, composed their own differences, and kept out of his clutches. An attempt which Morton had before this made upon Semple of Beltrees and Adam Whitford of Milntown, had given all men an evil opinion of his disposition, and made them wish for the subversion of his power. Semple had married Mary Livingston, one of Queen Mary's maids of honour, and had received along with her, in a present from his royal mistress, the lands of Beltrees, which Morton now proposed to resume as crown lands, which, it was alleged, were unalienable. Semple, on hearing of this design, was reported to have exclaimed, that if he lost his lands he should lose his head also; on which Morton had him apprehended and put to the torture, under which, as most men will do, he confessed whatever they thought fit to charge him with, and was condemned to be executed, but was pardoned upon the scaffold. His uncle, Adam Whitford, was also tortured respecting the same plot; but though they mangled his body most cruelly, he utterly denied that he knew of any such thing. The firm denial of the uncle gained of course entire credit, while the confession of the nephew was ridiculed as the effect of weakness and fear. Irritated with the reproaches which were now pretty liberally heaped upon him, Morton conceived the idea of heightening his reputation by demitting, or offering to demit, his office into the hands of the king, who was now in his twelfth year. He accordingly, on the 12th day of September, 1577, proposed his resignation to his majesty, who, by the advice of Athole and Argyle, accepted it: and it was shortly after declared to the people of Edinburgh by the lyon king-at-arms, assisted by

twelve heralds, and accompanied by a round from the castle guns. Morton, taken at his word, seems to have retired to Lochleven in a kind of pet, but speedily contrived to regain that power by force which he had apparently laid down of his free-will. Having possessed himself of the castle and garrison of Stirling, he dexterously contrived to engross the same or at least equal power to what he possessed as regent; nor had he learned to temper it with greater moderation. He brought the parliament that had been summoned to meet at Edinburgh to Stirling; and he carried everything in it his own way. He also narrowly escaped kindling another civil war; yet he still meditated the ruin of the Hamiltons, and the enriching of himself and his faction by their estates. The Earl of Arran had been for a number of years insane, and confined in the castle of Draffan. But his brother, Lord John Hamilton, acted as the administrator of his estates, and Claud was commendator of Paisley; both the brothers had been excepted from the amnesty granted at Perth, as being concerned in the murder of the king and the Regent Moray, and Morton had now formed a scheme to involve them in a criminal sentence on that account, and to seize upon their estates. Informed of the plot, the brothers got happily out of the way, but their castles were seized; and because that of Hamilton had not been given up at the first summons, the garrison were marched to Stirling as felons, and the commander hanged for his fidelity. Still, however, Arran, being insane, was guiltless, but he was made answerable for his servants, and because they had not yielded to the summons of the king, he was convicted of treason, and his estates forfeited. In the same spirit of justice and humanity Morton apprehended a schoolmaster of the name of Turnbull, and a notary of the name of Scott, who had written in conjunction a satire upon some parts of his character and conduct, brought them to Stirling, where they were convicted of slandering "ane of the king's councillors, and hanged for their pains." The violent dealing of the wicked almost invariably returns upon their own heads, and so in a short time did that of Morton; for while he was still meditating mischief, he was most unexpectedly accused by the king's new favourite, Captain Stewart, of being an accomplice in the murder of the king's father. He was instantly committed to the castle of Edinburgh, thence carried to Dumbarton, and thence back to Edinburgh, where he was brought to trial on the 1st of June, 1581. Previously to his removal from Dumbarton, the estate and title of the Earl of Arran, which he had so iniquitously caused to be forfeited, were bestowed upon Captain Stewart, his accuser; who, at the same time that he was invested with the estate and title, received a commission to bring up the ex-regent from Dumbarton to Edinburgh, which he did at the head of one thousand men. When the commission was shown to Morton, struck with the title, he inquired who he was, not having heard of his exaltation. Being told, he exclaimed, "Then I know what I have to expect." The jury that sat upon his trial was composed of his avowed enemies, and though he challenged the Earl of Argyle and Lord Seton as prejudiced against him, they were allowed to sit on his assize. Of the nature of the proof adduced against him we know nothing, as our historians have not mentioned it, and the records of the court respecting it have either been destroyed or lost. He was, however, pronounced guilty of concealing, and guilty art and part in the king's murder. "Art and part," he exclaimed twice, with considerable agitation, and striking the ground

violently with a small walking-stick, "God knows it is not so." He heard, however, the sentence with perfect composure. In the interval between his trial and execution, he felt, he said, a serenity of mind to which he had long been a stranger. Resigning himself to his fate, he supped cheerfully, and slept calmly for a considerable part of the night. He was next morning visited by several of the ministers, and an interesting account of the conference which John Dury and Walter Balcanquhal had with him has been preserved. Respecting the crime for which he was condemned, he confessed, that after his return from England, whither he had fled for the slaughter of Rizzio, he met Bothwell at Whittingham, who informed him of the conspiracy against the king, and solicited him to become an accomplice, as the queen anxiously wished his death. He at first refused to have anything to do with it, but after repeated conferences, in which he was always urged with the queen's pleasure, he required a warrant under her hand, authorizing the deed, which never having received, he never consented to have any share in the transaction. On being reminded that his own confessions justified his sentence, he answered, that according to the strict letter of the law he was liable to punishment, but it was impossible for him to have revealed the plot; for to whom could he have done so? "To the queen? she was the author of it. To the king's father? he was sic a bairn that there was nothing told him but he would tell to her again; and the two most powerful noblemen in the kingdom, Bothwell and Huntly, were the perpetrators. I foreknew, indeed, and concealed it," added he, "but it was because I durst not reveal it to any creature for my life. But as to being art and part in the commission of the crime, I call God to witness that I am entirely innocent." He was executed by an instrument called the maiden, which he himself had introduced into Scotland, on the 3d of June, 1581. On the scaffold he was calm, his voice and his countenance continuing unaltered; and after some little time spent in devotion, he suffered death with the intrepidity that became a Douglas. His head was placed on the public jail, and his body, after lying till sunset on the scaffold, covered with a beggarly cloak, was carried by common porters to the usual burying-place of criminals. "Never was there seen," says Spottiswoode, "a more notable example of fortune's mutability than in the Earl of Morton. He who a few years before had been revered by all men, and feared as a king, was now at his end forsaken by all, and made the very scorn of fortune, to teach men how little stability there is in honour, wealth, friendship, and the rest of these worldly things that men do so much admire. In one thing he was nevertheless most happy, that he died truly penitent, with that courage and resignation which became a truly great man and a good Christian, and in the full assurance of a blessed immortality."

DOUGLAS, JAMES, M.D., a skilful anatomist and surgeon, and accomplished physician, was born in Scotland in the year 1675. Having completed his preliminary education, he proceeded to London, and there applied himself diligently to the studies of anatomy and surgery. Medical science was at that period but little advanced, nor were the facilities of acquiring a proficiency in any branch of it by any means considerable. Dr. Douglas laboured with assiduity to overcome the difficulties against which he had to contend;—he studied carefully the works of the ancients, which were at that time little known to his contemporaries, and sought to supply what in

them appeared defective, by closely studying nature. The toils of patient industry seldom go unrewarded; and he was soon enabled so far to advance the progress of anatomy and surgery, as to entitle himself to a conspicuous place in the history of medicine. His *Descriptio Comparativa Musculorum Corporis Humani et Quadrupedis* was published in London in 1707. The quadruped he chose for his analogy was the dog; and he thus appears to have proceeded in imitation of Galen, who left on record an account of the muscles of the ape and in man. "As for the comparative part of this treatise, or the interlacing the descriptions of the human muscles with those of the canine, that," says Dr. Douglas, "needs no apology. The many useful discoveries known from the dissection of quadrupeds, the knowledge of the true structure of divers parts of the body, of the course of the blood and the chyle, and of the use and proper action of the parts, that are chiefly owing to this sort of dissection; these, I say, give a very warrantable plea for insisting upon it, though it may be censured by the vulgar." His descriptions of the muscles, their origin and insertion, and their various uses, are extremely accurate; and to them many recent authors on myology, of no mean authority, have been not a little indebted. It soon obtained considerable notice on the Continent, where, in 1738, an edition appeared in Latin, by John Frederic Schreiber. His anatomical *chef d'œuvre*, however, was the description he gave of the peritonæum, the complicated course and reflexions of which he pointed out with admirable accuracy. His account, entitled *A Description of the Peritonæum, and of that Part of the Membrana Cellularis which lies on its Outside*, appeared in London in the year 1730. Nicholas Massa and others of the older anatomists had contended that the peritonæum was a uniform and continuous membrane, but it remained for Dr. Douglas to demonstrate the fact; in which, after repeated dissections, he satisfactorily succeeded. Ocular inspection can alone teach the folds and processes of this membrane; but his description is perhaps the best and most complete that can even yet be consulted. Besides his researches in anatomy, Dr. Douglas laboured to advance the then rude state of surgery. He studied particularly the difficult and painful operation of lithotomy, and introduced to the notice of the profession the methods recommended by Jacques, Rau, and Mery. In the year 1726 he published *A History of the Lateral Operation for Stone*, which was republished with an appendix in 1733, and embraced a comparison of the methods used by different lithotomists, more especially of that which was practised by Cheselden. Dr. Douglas taught for many years both anatomy and surgery; and his fame having extended, he was appointed physician to the king, who afterwards awarded him a pension of five hundred guineas per annum. It may be worth noticing that, while practising in London, he seems to have obtained considerable credit for having detected the imposition of a woman named Maria Tofts, who had for some time imposed successfully on the public. This impostor pretended that from time to time she underwent an accouchement, during which she gave birth—not to any human being—but to rabbits; and this strange deception she practised successfully on many well-educated persons. Dr. Douglas detected the fraud, and explained the mode by which it was enacted, in an advertisement which he published in *Manningham's Journal*. During the period that Dr. Douglas lectured on anatomy, he was waited upon by Mr. (afterwards the celebrated Dr.) William Hunter, who solicited his advice in the direction of his studies. Pleased

with his address, and knowing his industry and talents, Dr. Douglas appointed him his assistant, and invited him to reside under his roof—an invitation which Mr. William Hunter could not accept until he had consulted Dr. Cullen, with whom he had previously arranged to enter, when he had finished his education, into partnership, for the purpose of conducting the surgical part of his practice; but his friend Dr. Cullen, seeing how important to him would be his situation under Dr. Douglas, relinquished cheerfully his former agreement; and young Hunter was left at liberty to accept the situation he desired. He thus became the assistant of, and found a kind benefactor in, Dr. Douglas; who must have been amply rewarded, had he lived to see the high fame to which his pupil attained. Thus often it happens that the patron and preceptor of an obscure and humble boy, fosters talents which afterwards rise and shine with even greater brilliancy than his own. Dr. Douglas not only attended to the practical duties of his profession, but excelled in what may be termed its literary department. He was an erudite scholar, and published a work entitled *Bibliographiæ Anatomica Specimen, seu Catalogus penè Omnium Auctorum qui ab Hippocrate ad Harveium Rem Anatomicam ex professo vel obiter scriptis illustrarunt*. This work appeared in London in the year 1715, and was republished in Leyden in 1734, which edition was enriched by several important additions from the pen of Albinus. Portal, in his history of anatomy and surgery, thus eulogizes this valuable work:—"C'est le tableau le plus fidèle, et le plus succinct de l'anatomie ancienne. Douglas fait en peu de mots l'histoire de chaque anatomiste, indique leurs éditions, et donne une légère notice de leurs ouvrages; sa liste des écrivains est très étendue . . . cet ouvrage est une des meilleures modèles qu'on puisse suivre pour donner l'histoire d'une science, et j'avoue que je m'en suis beaucoup servi."¹ Haller, when in London, visited Dr. Douglas, and informs us that he was highly pleased with his anatomical preparations; particularly with those which exhibited the motions of the joints, and the internal structure of the bones. A tribute of admiration from such a man as the illustrious Haller cannot be too highly appreciated;—he observes that he found him "a learned and skilful person; modest, candid, and obliging, and a very diligent dissector." Besides devoting his attention to those departments of his profession in the exercise of which he was most particularly engaged, Dr. Douglas seems to have pursued botany, not only as a recreation, but as a graver study. In the year 1725 he published *Lilium Sarmiese*, or a description of the Guernsey lily. His work, descriptive of this beautiful flower, appeared in folio, illustrated by a plate, and is an admirable monograph. He also analyzed with peculiar care the coffee-seed, and published a work entitled *Arbor Yemensis*, a description and history of the coffee-tree, which may still be consulted as containing a great deal of curious and valuable information. We also find in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of London, that he contributed to that work a description of the flower and seed-vessel of the *Crocus autumnalis sativus*, and an essay on the different kinds of ipecacuanha. In addition to these labours, more or less connected with his immediate professional avocations, we find that he collected, at a great expense, all the editions of Horace which had been published from 1476 to 1739. Dr. Harwood,

¹ *Histoire de l'Anatomie et de la Chirurgie*, par M. Portal, lecteur du roi et professeur de médecine au Collège royale de France, à Paris, 1770, tom. iv. p. 403.

in his view of Greek and Roman classics, observes that "this one author multiplied, must thus have formed a very considerable library." An accurate catalogue of these is prefixed to Watson's *Horace*.²

In addition to the works we have mentioned, Dr. Douglas projected a splendid design of one on the bones, and another on hernia, which, notwithstanding the great advancement of medical science since his time, we regret that he did not live to complete. He died in the year 1742, in the sixty-seventh year of his age; and when we consider the period in which he lived, and the essential services he rendered towards the advancement of medical science, the homage of the highest respect is due to his memory.

DOUGLAS, JOHN, the brother of the eminent physician whose biography we have already given, attained to considerable eminence as a surgeon, in which capacity he officiated to the Westminster Infirmary. His name is principally distinguished, among those of other medical men, for his celebrity as a lithotomist, and for having written a treatise insisting on the utility of bark in mortification. His work on the high operation for the stone obtained for him considerable reputation, and will give the medical reader an accurate notion of the state of the surgical art at the period in which he lived. He also practised midwifery, and criticized with no inconsiderable asperity the works of Chamberlain and Chapman. He appears, indeed, to have been the author of several controversial works, which have deservedly drifted into obscurity. Among others we may notice one, entitled *Remarks on a Late Poppous Work*, a severe and very unjust criticism on Cheselden's admirable *Osteology*. He wrote some useful treatises on the employment of purgatives in syphilis; but by far his most important was *An Account of Mortifications, and of the surprising Effect of Bark in putting a stop to their Progress*. This remedy had already been tried successfully in gout by Sydenham; in typhus by Ramazzini and Lanzoni; by Monro, Wall, and Huxham, in malignant variola; and after Rushworth had tried it in the gangrene following intermittent fevers, it was introduced by Douglas, and afterwards by Shipton, Grindall, Werlhof, and Heister, in ordinary cases of gangrene.³ This same Scottish family, we may add, gave birth to Robert Douglas, who published a treatise on the generation of animal heat; but the rude state of physiology, and of animal chemistry, at that period, rendered abortive all speculation on this difficult but still interesting subject of investigation.

DOUGLAS, JOHN, D.D., Bishop of Salisbury, was born at Pittenweem, Fifeshire, in the year 1721. His father was Mr. John Douglas, a respectable merchant of that town, a son of a younger brother of the ancient family of Tilliquilly. Young Douglas commenced his education at the schools of Dunbar, whence, in the year 1736, he was removed, and entered commoner of St. Mary's College, Oxford. In the year 1738 he was elected exhibitioner on Bishop Warner's foundation, in Baliol College; and in 1741 he took his bachelor's degree. In order to acquire a facility in speaking the French language, he went abroad, and remained for some time at Montreal in Picardy, and afterwards at Ghent in Flanders. Having returned to college in 1743, he was ordained deacon, and in the following year he was appointed chaplain to the third foot-guards, and joined the regiment in Flanders, where it was then serving with

² See also Haller, *Bib. Anat. and Chirurg.*

³ Spreyell, *Histoire de la Médecine*, tom. v. f. 442.

the allied army. During the period of his service abroad, Dr. Douglas occupied himself chiefly in the study of modern languages; but at the same time he took a lively interest in the operations of the army, and at the battle of Fontenoy was employed in carrying orders from General Campbell to a detachment of English troops. He returned to England along with that body of troops, which was ordered home on the breaking out of the rebellion of 1745; and having gone back to college, he was elected one of the exhibitioners on Mr. Snell's foundation. In the year 1747 he was ordained priest, and became curate of Tilehurst, near Reading, and afterwards of Dunstew, in Oxfordshire. On the recommendation of Sir Charles Stuart and Lady Allen, he was selected by the Earl of Bath to accompany his only son Lord Pulteney, as tutor, in his travels on the Continent. Dr. Douglas has left a MS. account of this tour, which relates chiefly to the governments and political relations of the countries through which they passed. In the year 1749 he returned home; and although Lord Pulteney was prematurely cut off, yet the fidelity with which Dr. Douglas had discharged his duty to his pupil, procured him the lasting friendship and valuable patronage of the Earl of Bath; by whom he was presented to the free chapel of Eaton-Constantine, and the donative of Uppington, in Shropshire. In the following year (1750) he published his first literary work, *The Vindication of Milton from the charge of Plagiarism*, brought against him by the impostor Lauder. In the same year he was presented by the Earl of Bath to the vicarage of High Ercal, in Shropshire, when he vacated Eaton-Constantine. Dr. Douglas resided only occasionally on his livings. At the desire of the Earl of Bath he took a house in town, near Bath-House, where he passed the winter months, and in summer he generally accompanied Lord Bath to the fashionable watering-places, or in his visits among the nobility and gentry. In the year 1752 he married Miss Dorothy Pershouse, who died within three months after her nuptials. In 1754 he published *The Criterion of Miracles*. In 1755 he wrote a pamphlet against the Hutchinsonians, Methodists, and other religious sects, which he published under the title of *An Apology for the Clergy*, and soon after he published an ironical defence of these sectarians, entitled *The Destruction of the French foretold by Ezekiel*. For many years Dr. Douglas seems to have engaged in writing political pamphlets, an occupation most unbecoming a clergyman. In the year 1761 he was appointed one of his majesty's chaplains, and in 1762, through the interest of the Earl of Bath, he was made canon of Windsor. In 1762 he superintended the publication of *Henry the Earl of Clarendon's Diary and Letters*, and wrote the preface which is prefixed to that work. In June of that year he accompanied the Earl of Bath to Spa, where he became acquainted with the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who received him with marked attention, and afterwards honoured him with his correspondence. Of this correspondence (although it is known that Dr. Douglas kept a copy of all his own letters, and although it was valuable from its presenting a detailed account of the state of parties at the time), no trace can now be discovered. In the year 1764 the Earl of Bath died, and left his library to Dr. Douglas; but as General Pulteney wished to preserve it in the family, it was redeemed for £1000. On the death of General Pulteney, however, it was again left to Dr. Douglas, when it was a second time redeemed for the same sum. In 1764 he exchanged his livings in Shropshire for that of St. Austin and St. Faith in Watling Street, London.

In April, 1765, Dr. Douglas married Miss Elizabeth Brooke, the daughter of Henry Brudenell Brooke. In the year 1773 he assisted Sir John Dalrymple in the arrangement of his MSS. In 1776 he was removed from the chapter of Windsor to that of St. Paul's. At the request of Lord Sandwich, first lord of the admiralty, he prepared for publication the journal of Captain Cooke's voyages. In the year 1777 he assisted Lord Hardwick in arranging and publishing his *Miscellaneous Papers*. In the following year he was elected member of the Royal and the Antiquarian Societies. In 1781, at the request of Lord Sandwich, he prepared for publication Captain Cooke's third and last voyage, to which he supplied the introduction and notes. In the same year he was chosen president of Zion College, and preached the customary Latin sermon. In 1786 he was elected one of the vice-presidents of the Antiquarian Society, and in the month of March of the following year he was elected one of the trustees of the British Museum. In September, 1787, he was made Bishop of Carlisle. In 1788 he succeeded to the deanery of Windsor, for which he vacated his residentiaryship of St. Paul's, and in 1791 he was translated to the see of Salisbury. And having reached the eighty-sixth year of his age, he died on the 18th of May, 1807. He was buried in one of the vaults of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, and his funeral was attended by the Duke of Sussex.

Mr. Douglas had the honour to be a member of the club instituted by Dr. Johnson, and is frequently mentioned in Boswell's life of the lexicographer; he is also twice mentioned by Goldsmith in the *Retaliation*. We are told by his son that his father was an indefatigable reader and writer, and that he was scarcely ever to be seen without a book or a pen; but the most extraordinary feature in the career of this reverend prelate is his uniform good fortune, which makes the history of his life little more than the chronicle of the honours and preferments which were heaped upon him.¹

DOUGLAS, ROBERT, an eminent clergyman, is said to have been a grandson of Mary Queen of Scots, through a child born by her to George Douglas, younger, of Lochleven, while she suffered confinement in that castle. Although this was only a popular rumour, nothing else has come to our knowledge respecting his parentage and early history. It

¹ The following is a list of Bishop Douglas's works: *Vindication of Milton from the Charge of Plagiarism, adduced by Lauder, 1750*. "A Letter on the Criterion of Miracles, 1754, principally intended as an antidote against the writings of Hume, Voltaire, and the philosophers." *An Apology for the Clergy against the Hutchinsonians, Methodists, &c. The Destruction of the French foretold by Ezekiel, 1759*. This was an ironical defence of those he had attacked in the preceding pamphlet. *An Attack on certain Positions contained in Bower's History of the Popes, &c., 1756*. *A Serious Defence of the Administration, 1756*—being an attack on the cabinet of that day for introducing foreign troops. *Bower and Tillemont compared, 1757*. *A Full Confutation of Bower's Three Defences. The Complete and Final Detection of Bower. The conduct of the late Noble Commander (Lord George Sackville, afterwards Lord George Germain) candidly considered, 1759*. This was the defence of a very unpopular character. *A Letter to two Great Men on the Appearance of Peace, 1759*. *A Preface to the Translation of Hoake's Negotiations, 1760*. *The Sentiments of a Frenchman on the Preliminaries of Peace, 1762*. *The Introduction and Notes to Captain Cooke's Third Voyage. The Anniversary Sermon on the Martyrdom of King Charles, preached before the House of Lords, 1788*. *The Anniversary Sermon preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1793*. Besides these, Bishop Douglas wrote several political papers in the *Public Advertiser* in 1763, 66, 70, 71. He also superintended the publication of Lord Clarendon's *Letters and Diary*, and assisted Lord Hardwick and Sir John Dalrymple in arranging their MSS. for publication, and he drew up Mr. Hearne's narrative, and finished the introduction.

would appear that he accompanied, in the capacity of chaplain, one of the brigades of auxiliaries sent over from Scotland, by connivance of Charles I., to aid the Protestant cause under Gustavus Adolphus, in the celebrated Thirty Years' war. Wodrow, in his *Analecta*, under date 1712, puts down some anecdotes of this part of Douglas' life, which, he says, his informant derived from old ministers that had been acquainted with him.

"He was a considerable time in Gustavus Adolphus' army, and was in great reputation with him. He was very unwilling to part with Mr. Douglas, and when he would needs leave the army, Gustavus said of him that he scarce ever knew a person of his qualifications for wisdom. Said he, 'Mr. Douglas might have been counsellor to any prince in Europe; for prudence and knowledge, he might be moderator to a general assembly; and even for military skill,' said he, 'I could very freely trust my army to his conduct.' And they said that in one of Gustavus' engagements, he was standing at some distance on a rising ground; and when both wings were engaged, he observed some mismanagement in the left wing, that was like to prove fatal, and he either went or sent to acquaint the commanding officer; and it was prevented, and the day gained."

Mr. Wodrow further mentions that Douglas, while in the army, having no other book than the Bible to read, committed nearly the whole of that sacred volume to memory, which was of immense service to him in his future ministrations in Scotland. In 1641 Douglas was one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and probably of considerable distinction. On the 25th of July that year he preached before the parliament—an honour to which he was frequently preferred throughout the whole course of the civil war. According to Wodrow, he was "a great state preacher, one of the greatest we ever had in Scotland; for he feared no man to declare the mind of God to him." He was a man of such authority and boldness, that Mr. Tullidaff, himself an eminent preacher, declared he never could stand in the presence of Douglas without a feeling of awe. Nevertheless, says Wodrow, "he was very accessible and easy to be conversed with. Unless a man were for God, he had no value for him, let him be never so great or noble." Mr. Douglas was moderator of the General Assembly which met in 1649, and was in general a leading member of the standing committee of that body, in company with Mr. David Dickson, Mr. Robert Blair, and others. In August, 1650, he was one of the commissioners sent by the clergy to Dunfermline, to request Charles II. to subscribe a declaration of his sentiments for the satisfaction of the public mind. As this document threw much blame upon his late father, Charles refused to subscribe it, and the commissioners returned without satisfaction, which laid the foundation of a division in the Scottish church. Douglas became the leading individual of the party which inclined to treat Charles leniently, and which obtained the name of the *Resolutioners*. In virtue of this lofty character he officiated at the coronation of King Charles at Scone, January 1, 1651: his sermon on that occasion was published at the time, and has since been reprinted. It contains ample evidence of his qualifications as a "state preacher," that is, a preacher who commented on state affairs in the course of his sermons—a fashion which rendered the *pulpit* of the seventeenth century equivalent to the *press* of the present day. When the royal cause was suppressed in Scotland by Cromwell, Douglas, among other members of the church commission, was sent prisoner to London, whence he was soon after released. At the de-

parture of General Monk from Scotland, in 1659, Mr. Douglas joined with several other distinguished resolutioners in sending Mr. James Sharp along with that commander, as an agent to attend to the interests of the Scottish church in whatever turn affairs might take. Sharp, as is well known, betrayed his constituents, and got himself appointed Archbishop of St. Andrews under the new system. While conducting matters to this end, he maintained a correspondence with Mr. Douglas, for the use of his constituents in general; and this correspondence is introduced, almost at full length, into Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*. It is said that Mr. Douglas was offered high episcopal preferment, if he would have acceded to the new church-system, but that he indignantly refused. Wodrow in his diary gives the following anecdote: "When Mr. Sharp was beginning to appear in his true colours, a little before he went up to court and was consecrate, he happened to be with Mr. Douglas, and in conversation he termed Mr. Douglas 'brother.' He checked him and said, 'Brother! no more brother, James: if my conscience had been of the make of yours, I could have been bishop of St. Andrews sooner than you.'" At another place, Wodrow mentions that, "when a great person was pressing him (Mr. Douglas) to be primate of Scotland, he, to put him off effectually, answered, 'I will never be Archbishop of St. Andrews, unless the chancellor of Scotland also, as some were before me;' which made the great man speak no more to him about that affair." This great man was probably the Earl of Glencairn, who had himself been appointed chancellor. Kirkton, another church historian, says that when Mr. Douglas became fully aware of Sharp's intention to accept the primacy, he said to him in parting, "James, I see you will engage. I perceive you are clear, you will be made Archbishop of St. Andrews. Take it, and the curse of God with it." So saying, he clapped him on the shoulder, and shut the door upon him. In a paper which this divine afterwards wrote respecting the new introduction of Prelacy, he made the quaint but true remark, that the little finger of the present bishops was bigger than the loins of their predecessors. After this period Mr. Douglas appears to have resigned his charge as a minister of Edinburgh, and nothing more is learned respecting him till 1669, when the privy-council admitted him as an indulged clergyman to the parish of Pencaitland in East Lothian. The period of his death is unknown; nor is there any certain information respecting his family, except that he had a son, Alexander, who was minister of Logie, and a correspondent of Mr. Wodrow.

DOUGLAS, WILLIAM. William Douglas, Knight of Liddesdale, otherwise well known in Scottish history by the title of the "Flower of Chivalry," is reputed, on the authority of John de Fordun, to have been a natural son of Sir James Douglas, the companion in arms of Robert Bruce, and as such he is generally designated by our Scottish historians. Others, however, make him out to have been lawful son of Sir James Douglas of Loudon. It is in vain to inquire into the date of birth or the early life of the distinguished personages of this period, as the first notice we generally receive of them is in some historic action, when they had attained the age of manhood. Sir William became possessor of the lands of Liddesdale, through marriage with Margaret Graham, daughter of Sir John Graham, Lord of Abercorn. His first military exploit was the surprise and discomfiture of John Baliol at Annan, after the

battle of Dupplin. On this occasion the Knight of Liddesdale marched under the banner of Andrew Murray, Earl of Bothwell; and so successful was the small band of Scottish patriots, that the adherents of the usurper were completely routed by a sudden night attack, Baliol himself escaping with difficulty, and more than half-naked, upon an unsaddled and unbridled horse, into England. In the following year (1333) Sir William was not so fortunate. Having been appointed warden of the west marches, in consequence of his able conduct in the surprise at Annan, his district was soon invaded by the English, under Sir Anthony de Lucy; and in a battle which ensued near Lochmaben, towards the end of March, Douglas was taken prisoner, and carried to Edward III., by whose command he was put in irons, and imprisoned for two years. During this interval the battle of Halidon Hill occurred, in which the Scots were defeated with great slaughter, and their country again subdued. But in 1335 the Knight of Liddesdale was set free, on payment of a heavy ransom; and on returning to Scotland, he was one of the nobles who sat in the parliament held at Dairsie, near Cupar-Fife, in the same year. He had not long been at liberty when a full opportunity occurred of vindicating the liberties of his country, and the rightful sovereignty of his young king, now a minor, and living in France. Count Guy of Namur having crossed the sea to aid the English, invaded Scotland with a considerable body of his foreign men-at-arms, and advanced as far as Edinburgh, the castle of which was at that time dismantled. A furious conflict commenced, between these new invaders and the Scots on the Boroughmuir, in which the latter were on the point of being worsted, when the Knight of Liddesdale opportunely came down from the Pentlands with a reinforcement, and defeated the enemy, who retired for shelter to the ruins of the castle, where they slew their horses and made a rampart of their dead bodies. But hunger and thirst at last compelled these brave foreigners to capitulate, and they were generously allowed to return to England unmolested, on condition of serving no longer in a Scottish invasion.

This successful skirmish was followed by several others, in which the Knight of Liddesdale took an important share. He then passed over into Fife, and took in succession the castles of St. Andrews, Falkland, and Leuchars, that held out for the English. After this he returned to Lothian, and betook himself to his favourite haunts of the Pentlands, thence to sally out against the English as occasion offered. The chief object of his solicitude was Edinburgh Castle, which he was eager to wrest from the enemy. On one of these occasions, learning that the English soldiers in the town had become confident and careless, he at night suddenly rushed down upon them from his fastnesses, and slew 400 of their number, while they were stupified with sleep and drunkenness. It was to a warfare in detail of this description that the Scots invariably betook themselves when the enemy were in too great force to be encountered in a general action; and it was by such skirmishes that they generally recovered their national freedom, even when their cause seemed at the worst. After this, by a series of daring enterprises, William Douglas recovered Teviotdale, Annandale, Nithsdale, and Clydesdale from the English. These successes so raised his reputation, that Henry, Earl of Derby, who was appointed to the command of the English troops in Scotland, was eager to try his valour in single combat with the bold insurgent. They accordingly encountered on horseback at Berwick, but at the first career Douglas was so severely wounded in the hand

by accident with his own lance that the combat had to be stayed. Soon after the Knight of Liddesdale, in an encounter with Sir Thomas Barclay, was worsted, with the loss of all his followers except three, himself escaping with difficulty through the darkness of the night. But this mischance he soon retrieved by a series of skirmishes, in which, with greatly inferior numbers, he routed the English, and shook their possession of Scotland. But his most remarkable exploit of this nature was a desperate encounter, or rather series of encounters, which he had in the course of one day with Sir Laurence Abernethy, a leader of the party of Baliol. On this occasion Sir William Douglas was four times defeated; but with unconquerable pertinacity he still returned to the charge, and in the fifth was completely victorious. It was by these exploits, and especially the last, that he worthily won the title of the "Flower of Chivalry." After this he was sent by the High-steward, now governor of Scotland, to France, to communicate the state of affairs to his young sovereign, David, and obtain assistance from the French king. In this mission he was so successful, that he soon returned with a squadron of five French ships of war, that sailed up the Tay to aid the steward, at this time employed in the siege of Perth, which was held by the English. Sir William joined the besiegers, but was wounded in the leg by a javelin discharged from a springald, and unfitted for a time for further action. So opportune, however, was his arrival with the reinforcement, that the Scots, who were about to abandon the siege, resumed it with fresh vigour, and Perth was soon after taken.

The cause of Baliol was now at so low an ebb, and the country so cleared of the enemy, that little remained in their possession except the castle of Edinburgh, from which the Knight of Liddesdale was eager to expel them. But the garrison were so numerous, and the defences so strong, that an open siege was hopeless, and he therefore had recourse to stratagem. He prevailed upon a merchant sea-captain of Dundee, named Walter Curry, to bring his ship round to the Forth, and pretend to be an Englishman pursued by the Scots, and desirous of the protection of the castle, offering at the same time to supply the garrison with provisions. The stratagem succeeded. The commander of the castle bespoke a cargo of victuals on the following morning, and Douglas, who was lurking in the neighbourhood, at the head of 200 followers, at this intelligence disguised himself and twelve of his men with the gray frocks of the mariners thrown over their armour, and joined the convoy of Curry. The gates were opened, and the drawbridge lowered, to give entrance to the waggons and their pretended drivers; but as soon as they came under the gateway, they stabbed the warder, and blew a horn to summon the rest of their party to the spot. Before these could arrive, the cry of treason rang through the castle, and brought the governor and his soldiers upon the daring assailants, who would soon have been overpowered, but for their gallant defence in the narrow gateway, while they had taken the precaution so to arrange the waggons that the portcullis could not be lowered. In the meantime, the followers of Douglas rushed up the castle-hill, and entered the conflict, which they maintained with such vigour, that the whole garrison were put to the sword, except Limosin, the governor, and six squires, who escaped. After this important acquisition, the Knight of Liddesdale placed the castle under the command of Archibald Douglas, one of his relatives.

Scotland was thus completely freed from the enemy, and the people were impatient for the return

of their king from France, to which country he had been sent in boyhood, during the ascendancy of the Baliol faction. Accordingly, David II., now in his eighteenth year, landed at Innerberrie on the 4th of June, 1341, and was received with rapture by his subjects, who recognized in him the pledge of their national freedom, as well as the son of their "good King Robert." But this feeling was soon damped by the difficulties of the young sovereign's position, as well as the indiscretions of his government. As for the Knight of Liddesdale, he, like his compatriots, had so long been accustomed to independent military command during the interregnum, that he was unwilling to submit to royal authority when it opposed his own personal interests; and of this he soon gave a fatal proof, in the foul murder of Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalwolsie, as brave a leader and a better man than himself, because the latter was appointed keeper of Roxburgh Castle, and sheriff of Teviotdale, offices which Douglas thought should have been conferred upon himself, as he had recovered these places from the enemy with much toil and hazard. The particulars of this revolting atrocity are too well known, both from history and popular tradition, to require a further account. It is enough to state that after such a deed—as cowardly as it was cruel, even according to the principles of chivalry itself—the Knight of Liddesdale continued to be entitled, as well as esteemed, the "Flower of Chivalry;" and that David II., so far from being able to punish the murderer, was obliged to invest him with the office for the sake of which the crime had been committed.

After this action, and during the short interval of peace that continued between England and Scotland, the character of Sir William Douglas, hitherto so distinguished for patriotism, appears to have become very questionable. This has been ascertained from the fact, that Edward III. was already tampering with him to forsake the Scottish and join the English interests, and for this purpose had appointed Henry de Percy, Maurice de Berkeley, and Thomas de Lacy "his commissioners," as their missive fully expressed it, "with full powers to treat of, and conclude a treaty with William Douglas, to receive him into our faith, peace, and amity, and to secure him in a reward." Such a negotiation could scarcely have been thought of, unless Douglas even already had been exhibiting symptoms of most unpatriotic wavering. He held several meetings, not only with these commissioners, but also with Baliol himself, and appears to have fully accorded to their proposals, and agreed to accept the wages of the English king. But whether the promised advantages were too uncertain, or the risk of such a change of principle too great, the treaty was abruptly broken off; and Douglas, as if to quell all suspicion, made a furious inroad, at the head of a large force, across the English border, although the truce between the two countries still continued; burned Carlisle and Penrith; and after a skirmish with the English, in which the Bishop of Carlisle was unhorsed, he retreated hastily into Scotland. By this act the truce was at an end, and David II., believing the opportunity to be favourable for a great English invasion, as Edward III. with the flower of his army was now in France, assembled a numerous army, with which he advanced to the English border, and took the castle of Liddel after a six days' siege. It was now that the Knight of Liddesdale counselled a retreat. His experience had taught him the strength of the English northern counties, and the warlike character of their barons, and perhaps he had seen enough of the military character of David to question his fitness for such a

difficult enterprise. But his advice was received both by king and nobles with indignation and scorn. "Must we only fight for *your* gain?" they fiercely replied; "you have filled your own coffers with English gold, and secured your own lands by our valour, and now you would restrain us from our share in the plunder?" They added, that England was now emptied of its best defenders, so that nothing stood between them and a march even to London itself, but cowardly priests and base hinds and mechanics. Thus, even already, the moral influence of William Douglas was gone, the patriotic character of his past achievements went for nothing, and he was obliged to follow in a career where he had no leading voice, and for which he could anticipate nothing but disaster and defeat.

The Scottish army continued its inroad of merciless desolation and plunder until it came near Durham, when it encamped at a place which Fordun calls Beau-repair, but is now well known by the name of Bear-park. It was as ill chosen as any locality could have been for such a purpose; for the Scottish troops, that depended so much upon unity of action for success, were divided into irregular unconnected masses by the hedges and ditches with which the ground was intersected, so that they resembled sheep inclosed within detached hurdles, ready for selection and slaughter; while the ground surrounding their encampment was so undulating that an enemy could approach them before they were aware. And that enemy, without their knowing it, was now within six miles of their encampment. The English barons had bestirred themselves so effectually that they were at the head of a numerous force, and ready to meet the invaders on equal terms. On the morning of the day on which the battle occurred, the Knight of Liddesdale, still fearing the worst, rode out at the head of a strong body of cavalry, to ascertain the whereabouts of the English, and procure forage and provisions; but he had not rode far when he unexpectedly found himself in front of their whole army. He was instantly assailed by overwhelming multitudes, and, after a fierce resistance, compelled to flee, with the loss of 500 men-at-arms; while the first intelligence which the Scots received of the enemy's approach was from the return of Douglas on the spur, with the few survivors, who leaped the inclosures, and their pursuers, who drew bridle, and waited the coming of their main body. Into the particulars of the fatal conflict that followed, commonly called the battle of Durham, which was fought on the 17th of October, 1346, it is not our purpose at present to enter: it was to the Scots a mournful but fitting conclusion to an attempt rashly undertaken, and wise counsels scornfully rejected. Fifteen thousand of their soldiers fell; their king, and the chief of their knights and nobles, were taken prisoners; and among the latter was Sir William Douglas, who, along with the Earl of Moray, had commanded the right wing. He was again to become the inmate of an English prison! The capture of such an enemy, also, was reckoned so important, that Robert de Bertram, the soldier who took him prisoner, obtained a pension of 200 merks to him and his heirs, until the king, now absent in France, should provide him in lands of equal value.

The history of a prisoner is commonly a blank; but to this the captivity of Douglas forms an exception. He was still able to nurse his feuds and wreak his resentments, and of this Sir David Berkeley soon had fatal experience. This man, who had assassinated Sir John Douglas, brother of the Knight of Liddesdale, was himself assassinated by Sir John St. Michael, purchased, as was alleged, to commit this

deed by Sir William himself. This occurred in 1350, after the latter had been in prison nearly four years. In the meantime, Edward III., being in want of money for the prosecution of his French wars, endeavoured to recruit his empty coffers by the ransom of the prisoners taken at the battle of Durham, so that many of the Scottish nobles were enabled to return to their homes; but from this favour the Knight of Liddesdale was excepted. The King of England knew his high military renown and influence in Scotland; and it is probable that upon these qualities, combined with the knight's unscrupulous moral character, he depended greatly for the furtherance of a scheme which he had now at heart. This was the possession of Scotland, not, however, by conquest, which had been already tried in vain, or through the vice-royalty of Baliol, who was now thrown aside as a worthless instrument, but through the voluntary consent and cession of King David himself. David was a childless man; he was weary of his captivity, and ready to purchase liberty on any terms; and the High-steward of Scotland, who had been appointed his successor by the Scottish parliament, failing heirs of his own body, had shown little anxiety for the liberation of his captive sovereign. On these several accounts David was easily induced to enter into the purposes of the English king. The Knight of Liddesdale was also persuaded to purchase his liberty upon similar terms; and thus Scotland had for its betrayers its own king and the bravest of its champions. The conditions into which Douglas entered with Edward III. in this singular treaty were the following:—He bound himself and his heirs to serve the King of England in all wars whatever, except against his own nation; with the proviso annexed, that he might renounce, if he pleased, the benefit of this exception: that he should furnish ten men-at-arms and ten light horsemen, for three months, at his own charges: that, should the French or other foreigners join the Scots, or the Scots join the French or other foreigners, in invading England, he should do his utmost to annoy all the invaders "except the Scots:" that he should not openly, or in secret, give counsel or aid against the King of England or his heirs, in behalf of his own nation or of any others: that the English should do no hurt to his lands or his people, and his people do no hurt to the English, except in self-defence: that he should permit the English at all times to pass through his lands without molestation: that he should renounce all claim to the castle of Liddel: and that should the English, or the men of the estates of the Knight of Liddesdale, injure each other, by firing houses or stackyards, plundering, or committing any such offences, the treaty should not thereby be annulled; but that the parties now contracting should forthwith cause the damage to be mutually liquidated and repaired. To these strange terms Douglas was to subscribe by oath for their exact fulfilment, on pain of being held a disloyal and perjured man and a false liar (what else did such a treaty make him?); and that he should give his daughter and his nearest male heir as hostages, to remain in the custody of the King of England for two years. In return for all this he was to be released from captivity, and to have a grant of the territory of Liddesdale, Hermitage Castle, and certain lands in the interior of Annandale.

Sir William, having obtained his liberty at such a shameful price, returned to Scotland, and attempted to put his treasonable designs in execution. But during his absence another William Douglas had taken his place in influence and estimation. This was the nephew of the good Sir James, also his own god-son, who, having been bred to arms in the wars

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in France, had returned to Scotland, and assumed his place as the head of the Douglasses, a position which his valour was well fitted to maintain, for he quickly drove the English from Douglasdale, Ettrick Forest, and Teviotdale. To him the Knight of Liddesdale applied, in the hope of winning him over to the cause of Edward; but this nobleman not only rejected the base proposal, but, being made thus aware of the treachery on foot, assembled his vassals, broke into Galloway, and compelled the barons of that wild district to renounce the cause of England, and return to their rightful allegiance. Soon after, Annandale, which the treacherous knight had designed to make the head-quarters of his perfidious movements, was overrun and occupied by the High-steward and his son. Thus Sir William was foiled at every point, and that chiefly through the agency of his own god-son, whom he therefore hated with a deadly hatred. These failures were soon closed by a deadly termination. One day, while the Knight of Liddesdale was hunting in the depths of Ettrick Forest, he was set upon and slain at a place called Galford, by a band of armed men employed for that purpose by Lord William himself. The causes of such a deed—which in the estimation of the church was nothing less than spiritual parricide, on account of the religious relationship of the parties—can scarcely be found in the contending interests of the rivals, and the mutual injuries that had passed between them; and therefore it was alleged that the "Flower of Chivalry," whose morals were those of too many knights of the period, had seduced the affections of Lord William's wife, and was thus requited for his crime. Such was the report of the time, and Fordun has quoted the following verse from an ancient ballad upon the subject:—

"The Countess of Douglas out of her bower she came,
And loudly there did she call,
'It is for the Lord of Liddesdale
That I let the tears down fall.'"

The body, on being found, was carried to Linden Kirk, a chapel in Ettrick Forest, and afterwards interred in Melrose Abbey. But by his murder of Ramsay, as well as his subsequent treason, Sir William Douglas had obliterated the recollection of his great and gallant deeds, so that he died unregretted, and was soon forgot.

DOUGLAS, SIR WILLIAM, was the illegitimate son of Sir Archibald, Lord of Galloway, commonly called the Black Douglas; but in those days the bend sinister upon the shield of one who was otherwise a good knight and true, was not attended with the opprobrium that branded it in earlier or later periods. Of all the heroes of the illustrious house from which he sprung, Sir William appears to have been the most amiable; while in deeds of arms, although his career was cut short at an early period, he equalled the greatest of his name. His personal advantages, in an age when these were of highest account, corresponded with his reputation; for he was not only of a beautiful countenance, but a tall, commanding form; while his strength was such that few could cope with him on equal terms. His manners also were so gentle and engaging, that he was as much the delight of his friends as he was the terror of his enemies.¹ He was a young warrior, in

¹ John de Fordun thus sums up his qualities, both corporeal and mental:—"Hic homo niger colore; non multum carnosus, sed ososus; forma giganteus, erectus et procerus, strenuus et affabilis, dulcis et amabilis, liberalis et lætus, fidus et factus." The fidelity of this description may be relied upon, from the fact that De Fordun speaks of Sir William as one of his contemporaries.

short, whom Homer would have selected as his hero, or early Greece have exalted into a demigod. As his career was to be so brief, it was early commenced; for we find, that while still very young, he was distinguished not only by his personal feats of valour, but his abilities as a leader, so that in his many skirmishes with the English he was generally successful, even when the latter were greatly superior in numbers. Nor were the charms of romance wanting to complete his history. Robert II., his sovereign, had a beautiful daughter called Egidia, who was sought in marriage not only by the noblest of her father's court, but by the King of France, who, in the true fashion of chivalry, had fallen in love with her from the descriptions of his knights that had visited Scotland as auxiliaries, and who privately sent a painter thither, that he might obtain her picture. But to the highest nobility, and even to royalty itself, Egidia preferred the landless and illegitimate, but brave, good, and attractive Sir William Douglas, who had no inheritance but his sword. It was wonderful that in such a case the course of true love should have run smooth: but so it did. Robert II. approved of her affection, and gave her hand to the young knight, with the fair lordship of Nithsdale for her dowry.

Sir William was not permitted to rest long in peace with a beautiful princess for his bride; for the piracies of the Irish upon the coast of Galloway, in the neighbourhood of his new possession, summoned him to arms. Resolved to chastise the pirates upon their own territory, and in their own strongholds, he mustered a force of 500 lances and their military attendants, crossed the Irish Sea, and made a descent upon the coast in the neighbourhood of the town of Carlingford. Being unable to procure boats for the landing of his small army simultaneously, he advanced with a part of it, and made a bold assault upon the outworks of the town. Struck with terror, the inhabitants, even though their ramparts were still unscaled, made proposals for a treaty of surrender; and to obtain sufficient time to draw up the terms, they promised a large sum of money. Sir William Douglas received their envoys with courtesy, and trusting to their good faith in keeping the armistice, he sent out 200 of his soldiers, under the command of Robert Stuart, laird of Durriesdeer, to bring provisions to his ships. But it was a hollow truce on the part of the men of Carlingford, for they sent by night a messenger to Dundalk, where the English were in greatest force, representing the small number of the Scots, and the ease with which they might be overpowered. Five hundred English horse rode out of Dundalk at the welcome tidings, and came down unexpectedly upon the Scots, while the men of Carlingford sallied from their gates in great numbers, to aid in trampling down their enemies, who in the faith of the truce were employed in lading their vessels. But Douglas instantly drew up his small band into an impenetrable phalanx; their long spears threw off the attacks of the cavalry; and notwithstanding their immense superiority, the enemy were completely routed, and driven off the field. For this breach of treaty the town of Carlingford was burned to the ground, and fifteen merchant ships, laden with goods, that lay at anchor in the harbour, were seized by the Scots. On returning homeward, Douglas landed on the Isle of Man, which he ravaged; and after this his little armament, enriched with spoil, anchored safely in Loch Ryan, in Galloway.

As soon as he had stepped on shore, Sir William heard, for the first time, of the extensive inroad that had commenced upon the English border in 1388,

which ended in the victory of Otterburn; and eager for fresh honour, instead of returning home, he rode to the Scottish encampment, accompanied by a band of his bravest followers. In the division of the army, that was made for the purpose of a double invasion, Sir William was retained with that part of it which was destined for the invasion of England by the way of Carlisle, and thus he had not the good fortune to accompany James, Earl of Douglas, in his daring inroad upon Durham. After the battle of Otterburn, an interval of peace between England and Scotland succeeded, of which Sir William was soon weary; and, impatient for military action, he turned his attention to the Continent, where he found a congenial sphere of occupation. Of late years, the mingled heroism and devotion of the crusading spirit, which had lost its footing in Syria, endeavoured to find occupation in the extirpation or conversion of the idolaters of Europe; and the Teutonic knights, the successors of the gallant Templars, had already become renowned and powerful by their victories in Prussia and Lithuania, whose inhabitants were still benighted pagans. Sir William resolved to become a soldier in what he doubtless considered a holy war, and enlist under the banner of the Teutonic order. He accordingly set sail, and landed at Dantzic, which was now the head-quarters and capital of these military monks. It appears, from the history of the period, that the order at present was filled with bold adventurers from every quarter of Europe; but, among these, the deeds of the young Lord of Nithsdale were soon so pre-eminent, that he was appointed to the important charge of admiral of the fleet—an office that placed him in rank and importance nearest to the grand-master of the order. Two hundred and forty ships, such as war-ships then were, sailed under his command—an important fact, which Fordun is careful to specify. But even already the career of Sir William was about to terminate, and that too by an event which made it matter of regret that he had not fallen in his own country upon some well-fought field. Among the adventurers from England who had come to the aid of the Teutonic knights, was a certain Lord Clifford, whose national jealousy had taken such umbrage at the honours conferred upon the illustrious Scot, that he first insulted, and then challenged him to single combat. The day and place were appointed with the usual formalities; and as such a conflict must be at *outrance*, Sir William repaired to France to procure good armour against the approaching trial. His adversary then took advantage of this absence to calumniate him as a coward who had deserted the appointment; but hearing this rumour Sir William hastily returned to Dantzic, and presented himself before the set day. It was now Clifford's turn to tremble. He dreaded an encounter with such a redoubted antagonist; and to avoid it he hired a band of assassins, by whom Sir William was basely murdered. This event must have happened somewhere about the year 1390-91. In this way Sir William Douglas, like a gigantic shadow, appears, passes, and vanishes, and fills but a brief page of that history which he might have so greatly amplified and so brightly adorned. At his death he left but one child, a daughter, by the Princess Egidia, who, on attaining maturity, was married to William, Earl of Orkney.

DOUGLAS, WILLIAM. This excellent miniature painter was born in Fifeshire, April 14, 1780, and was a lineal descendant of the Douglasses of Glenbervie. His education was carefully conducted, and he was an accomplished scholar both in the ancient and modern languages. From childhood,

however, his principal inclination was for drawing; and while a boy at school, he would often leave his playfellows to their sport, that he might watch the effect of light and shade upon the landscape, or study the perspective of the furrows in a newly ploughed field. These early lessons in art, dictated by nature herself, and studied with enthusiastic affection, were afterwards of great service to the artist both in his landscapes and portraits. When a more formal education to his profession was necessary, he became a pupil of Mr. Robert Scott of Edinburgh, and was fellow-apprentice of Mr. John Burnet, the distinguished engraver, of whom mention has been made in this work.¹

Having adopted miniature painting as his profession, William Douglas soon exhibited such excellence in that department as to establish for himself a high and lasting reputation. His productions were not only distinguished by genius, fancy, taste, and delicacy, but by that higher quality of combination which indicated that he was no mere copyist, but an artist of true original power; and they speedily found their way into some of the finest collections both of England and Scotland. Many of the nobility and gentry of both kingdoms patronized him, among whom may especially be mentioned the Buccleuch family; and in July, 1817, he was appointed miniature painter for Scotland to the lamented Princess Charlotte, and her husband Prince Leopold, afterwards King of the Belgians. Correspondent also with his professional excellence was his general intellectual refinement, his varied knowledge, and reflective powers, which drew from George Combe, the distinguished phrenologist and ethical writer, the following encomium: "The author would take this opportunity of stating, that if he has been at all successful in depicting any of the bolder features of nature, this he in a great measure owes to the conversation of his respected friend, William Douglas, Esq., Edinburgh, who was no less a true poet than an eminent artist." It was a high eulogy from one not given to flatter, and upon a friend whose voice he should no longer hear.

In consequence of the numerous professional engagements which the celebrity of our miniature painter entailed upon him, he could not find time to contribute to the annual artistic exhibitions in Edinburgh; but his works were frequently to be seen upon the walls of the Royal Academy at Somerset House, where they were received with cordial welcome, and met with general admiration. In this tranquil character his life went onward, leaving little more to record except his social and domestic worth, by which he was equally endeared to his friends and his family. After a successful artistic career, William Douglas died at his house in Hart Street, Edinburgh, on the 30th of January, 1832, leaving a widow, a son, and two daughters.

DRUMMOND, GEORGE, provost of Edinburgh, was born on the 27th of June, 1687. He was the son of George Drummond of Newton—a branch of the noble family of Perth; and was educated at the schools of Edinburgh, where he early displayed superior abilities, particularly in the science of calculation, for which he had a natural predilection, and in which he acquired an almost unequalled proficiency. Nor was this attainment long of being called into use, and that on a very momentous occasion; for, when only eighteen years of age, he was requested by the committee of the Scottish parliament appointed to examine and settle the national accounts preparatory to the legislative union of the

two kingdoms, to afford his assistance; and it is generally believed that most of the calculations were made by him. So great was the satisfaction which he gave on that occasion to those at the head of the Scottish affairs, that on the establishment of the excise in 1707, he was appointed accountant-general, when he was just twenty years of age.

Mr. Drummond had early imbibed those political principles which seated the present royal family on the throne; hence he took an active part on the side of government in the rebellion of 1715. It was to him that the ministry owed their first intelligence of the Earl of Marr having reached Scotland to raise the standard of insurrection. He fought at the battle of Sheriff-muir, and was the first to apprise the magistrates of Edinburgh of Argyle's victory; which he did by a letter written on horseback, from the field of battle. On the 10th of February, 1715, Mr. Drummond had been promoted to a seat at the board of excise; and on the rebellion being extinguished, he returned to Edinburgh, to the active discharge of his duties. On the 27th April, 1717, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the board of customs. In the same year he was elected treasurer of the city, which office he held for two years. In 1722-23, he was dean of guild, and in 1725 he was raised to the dignity of lord-provost. In 1727 he was named one of the commissioners and trustees for improving the fisheries and manufactures of Scotland, and on the 15th October, 1737, he was promoted to be one of the commissioners of excise.

No better proof can be given of the high estimation in which Mr. Drummond was held by government, than his rapid promotion; although the confidential correspondence which he maintained with Mr. Addison on the affairs of Scotland was still more honourable to him.

The wretched state of poverty and intestine disorder in which Scotland was left by her native princes, when they removed to England, and which was at first aggravated by the union of the kingdoms, called forth the exertions of many of our most patriotic countrymen; and foremost in that honourable band stood George Drummond. To him the city of Edinburgh in particular owes much. He was the projector of many of those improvements, which, commenced under his auspices, have advanced with unexampled rapidity; inasmuch that Edinburgh, already a worn-out little capital, has risen, almost within the recollection of persons now alive, to be one of the finest and most interesting cities in the world.

The first great undertaking which Mr. Drummond accomplished for the benefit of his native city was the erection of the Royal Infirmary. Previous to the establishment of this hospital, the physicians and surgeons of Edinburgh, assisted by other members of the community, had contributed £2000, with which they instituted an infirmary for the reception of the destitute sick. But Mr. Drummond, anxious to secure for the sick poor of the city and neighbourhood still more extensive aid, attempted to obtain legislative authority for incorporating the contributors as a body politic and corporate. More than ten years, however, elapsed before he brought the public to a just appreciation of his plan. At last he was successful, and an act having been procured, a charter, dated 25th August, 1736, was granted, constituting the contributors an incorporation, with power to erect the *Royal Infirmary*, and to purchase lands and make bye-laws. The foundation-stone of this building was laid 2d August, 1738. It cost nearly £13,000, which was raised by the united con-

¹ See life of James Burnet, p. 250.

tributions of the whole country; the nobility, gentry, and the public bodies all over the kingdom, making donations for this benevolent establishment; while even the farmers, carters, and timber-merchants united in giving their gratuitous assistance to rear the building.

The rebellion of 1745 again called Mr. Drummond into active service in the defence of his country and its institutions; and although his most strenuous exertions could not induce the volunteer and other bodies of troops in Edinburgh to attempt the defence of the city against the rebels, yet, accompanied by a few of the volunteer corps, he retired and joined the royal forces under Sir John Cope, and was present at the unfortunate battle of Prestonpans. After that defeat, he retired with the royal forces to Berwick, where he continued to collect and forward information to government of the movements of the rebel army.

The rebellion of 1745 having been totally quelled in the spring of 1746, Drummond, in the month of November following, was a second time elected provost of Edinburgh. In the year 1750 he was a third time provost, and in 1752 he was appointed one of the committee for the improvement of the city.

The desire of beautifying their native city, so conspicuous among the inhabitants of Edinburgh, and which has engaged the citizens of later times in such magnificent schemes of improvement, first displayed itself during the provostship of Mr. Drummond. Proposals were then published, signed by Provost Drummond, which were circulated through the kingdom, calling upon all Scotsmen to contribute to the improvement of the capital of their country. These proposals contained a plan for erecting an exchange upon the ruins on the north side of the High Street; for erecting buildings on the ruins in the Parliament Close; for the increased accommodation of the different courts of justice; and for offices for the convention of the royal burghs, the town-council, and the advocates' library. A petition to parliament was also proposed, praying for an extension of the royalty of the town, in contemplation of a plan for opening new streets to the south and north; for building bridges over the intermediate valleys to connect these districts with the old town; and for turning the North Loch into a canal, with terraced gardens on each side. In consequence chiefly of the strenuous exertions of Provost Drummond, the success which attended these projects was very considerable. On the 3d of September, 1753, he, as grand-master of the freemasons in Scotland, laid the foundation of the Royal Exchange, on which occasion there was a very splendid procession. In 1754 he was a fourth time chosen provost, chiefly that he might forward and superintend the improvements. In the year 1755 he was appointed one of the trustees on the forfeited estates, and elected a manager of the select society for the encouragement of arts and sciences in Scotland. In the year 1758 he again held the office of provost; and in October, 1763, during his sixth provostship, he laid the foundation-stone of the North Bridge.

Mr. Drummond, having seen his schemes for the improvement of the city accomplished to an extent beyond his most sanguine expectations, retired from public life on the expiration of his sixth provostship; and after enjoying good health until within a short time of his death, he died on the 4th of November, 1766, in the eightieth year of his age.

DRUMMOND, CAPTAIN THOMAS. Among the many distinguished engineers of whom Scotland has

been so prolific in the present age, the subject of this notice will always hold a conspicuous place. He was born in Edinburgh, in October, 1797, and was the second of three sons; and being deprived of his father while still in infancy, the care of his education devolved upon his mother, who discharged her duty in that respect so effectually that the captain ever afterwards spoke of her with affectionate gratitude, and attributed much of his professional success to her careful and efficient training. After having undergone the usual course of a classical education at the high-school of Edinburgh, he was entered at Woolwich as a cadet in 1813; and such was the persevering energy and diligence with which his home-training had inspired him, that he soon distanced his school-fellows, and passed through the successive steps of the military college with a rapidity altogether unusual in that institution. It was not in mathematics alone also that he excelled, but in every other department of science to which he turned his attention; for such was his intellectual tenacity and power of application, that he never relinquished a subject until he had completely mastered it. Of this he once afforded a striking proof while still in one of the junior academies of the college. Not being satisfied with a difficult demonstration in conic sections contained in Hutton's *Course of Mathematics*, which formed the text-book of the class, young Drummond sought and discovered a solution of a more simple character, and on a wholly original principle. Such was the merit of this bold innovation, that it replaced the solution of Hutton among the professors of Woolwich College, who were proud of their young pupil, and entertained the highest hopes of his future success as a military engineer. The same reflective independent spirit characterized his studies after he had left Woolwich to follow out the practical instruction of his profession. On one occasion his attention was directed to the various inventions by which the use of the old pontoon was to be superseded; and he contrived a model, which was reckoned a masterpiece of ingenuity. "It was," says his friend Captain Dawson, who describes it, "like a man-of-war's gig or galley, sharp at both ends, and cut transversely into sections for facility of transport, as well as to prevent it from sinking if injured in any one part; each section was perfect in itself, and they admitted of being bolted together, the partitions falling under the thwarts or seats. The dockyard men, to whom he showed it, said it would row better than any boat except a gig; and it was light, and capable of being transported from place to place on horseback."

After having spent some time in training, both at Plymouth and Chatham, during which he embraced every opportunity of improving his professional knowledge, not only by books and the conversation of intelligent officers and scientific scholars, but also by a visit to France, to study its army of occupation and witness a great military review, Drummond was stationed at Edinburgh, where his charge consisted in the superintendence and repair of public works. But this sphere was too limited for his active spirit; and, finding little prospect of advancement in his profession, he had serious thoughts of abandoning it for the bar, and had actually enrolled his name as a student at Lincoln's Inn, when fortunately, in the autumn of 1819, he met in Edinburgh with Colonel Colby, at that time engaged in the trigonometrical survey of the Highlands. Eager to have such an associate in his labours, the colonel soon induced the disappointed engineer to abandon all further thoughts of the study of law, and join him in the survey. As these new duties required Drummond to reside in London during the winter, he availed himself of the

opportunity not only to improve himself in the higher departments of mathematics, but also to study the science of chemistry, which he did with his wonted energy and success. While attending, for this purpose, the lectures of Professors Faraday and Brande, his attention was called to the subject of the incandescence of lime; and conceiving that this might be made available for his own profession, he purchased, on his return from the lecture-room, a blow-pipe, charcoal, and other necessary apparatus, and commenced his course of experiments. These were prosecuted evening after evening, until he had attained the desired result. He found that the light derived from the prepared lime was more brilliant than that of the Argand lamp; and that it concentrated the rays more closely towards the focal point of the parabolic mirror, by which they were reflected in close parallel rays, instead of a few near the focus, as was the case with the Argands.

An opportunity was soon given to test this important discovery. In 1824, Colonel Colby was appointed to make a survey of Ireland, and took with him Lieutenant Drummond as his principal assistant. The misty atmosphere of Ireland made this survey a work of peculiar difficulty, as distant objects would often be imperceptibly seen under the old system of lighting; but the colonel was also aware of the improved lamp which Drummond had invented, and sanguine as to its results. His hopes were justified by a striking experiment. A station called Slieve Snaught, in Donegal, had long been looked for in vain from Davis' Mountain, near Belfast, about sixty-six miles distant, with the haze of Lough Neagh lying between. To overcome this difficulty, Drummond repaired to Slieve Snaught, accompanied by a small party, and taking with him one of his lamps. The night on which the experiment was made was dark but cloudless, and the mountain covered with snow, when the shivering surveyors left their cold encampment to make the decisive trial. The hour had been fixed, and an Argand lamp had been placed on an intermediate church tower, to telegraph the appearance of the light on Slieve Snaught to those on Davis' Mountain. The hour had passed and the sentry was about to leave his post, when the light suddenly burst out like a brilliant star from the top of the hitherto invisible peak, to the delight of the astonished spectators, who were watching with intense anxiety from the other station of survey. Another invention of almost equal importance with the Drummond's light was his heliostat, by which the difficulty arising from the rapid motion of the earth in its orbit round the sun, was obviated by the most simple means, and the work of survey made no longer dependent upon a complicated apparatus that required frequent shifting and removal; so that, while it could take observations at the distance of a hundred miles, a single soldier was sufficient to carry and plant the instrument upon the requisite spot.

The admirable scientific knowledge which Drummond possessed, and the valuable services he had rendered to the Irish survey, were not lost sight of, and demands soon occurred to call him into a higher sphere of duty. These were, the preparations necessary before the passing of the reform bill, by laying down the boundaries to the old and the new boroughs. This very difficult task he discharged so ably, and so much to the satisfaction of the public, as to silence the murmurs of cavillers, who complained because a young lieutenant of engineers had been appointed to so important a charge. After it was finished he returned to his work of surveying; but in the midst of it was appointed private secretary to Lord Spencer, in which office he continued till the dis-

solution of the government, when he was rewarded with a pension of £300 per annum, obtained for him through the interest of Lord Brougham. In 1835 he was appointed under-secretary for Ireland, where he was placed at the head of the commission on railways; but his incessant labour in this department, along with his other duties of a political nature, are supposed to have accelerated his death, which occurred April 15, 1840. His memory will continue to be affectionately cherished, not only by the distinguished statesmen with whom he acted, but by society at large; while the scientific will regret that public duties should have latterly engrossed a mind so admirably fitted for the silent walks of invention and discovery.

DRUMMOND, WILLIAM, of Hawthornden, a celebrated poet and historian, was born on the 13th of December, 1585. His father, Sir John Drummond of Hawthornden, was gentleman usher to King James VI., a place which he had only enjoyed a few months before he died. His mother, Susanna Fowler, was daughter to Sir William Fowler, secretary to the queen, a lady much esteemed for her exemplary and virtuous life.

The family of our poet was among the most ancient and noble in Scotland. The first of the name who settled in this country came from Hungary as admiral of the fleet which conveyed over Margaret, queen to Malcolm Canmore, at the time when sirmames were first known in Scotland. Walter de Drummond, a descendant of the original founder, was secretary, or, as it was termed, clerk-register, to the great Bruce, and was employed in various political negotiations with England by that prince. Annabella Drummond, queen of King Robert II. and mother of James I., was a daughter of the house of Stobhall, from which were descended the Earls of Perth. The Drummonds of Carnock at this early time became a branch of the house of Stobhall, and from this branch William Drummond of Hawthornden was immediately descended.

The poet was well aware, and indeed seems to have been not a little proud, of his illustrious descent. In the dedication of his history to John, Earl of Perth, whom he styles his "very good lord and chief," he takes occasion to expatiate at some length on the fame and honour of their common ancestors, and sums up his eulogium with the following words:—"But the greatest honour of all is (and no subject can have any greater), that the high and mighty prince Charles, King of Great Britain, and the most part of the crowned heads in Europe, are descended of your honourable and ancient family." His consanguinity, remote as that was, to James I., who was himself a kindred genius and a poet, was the circumstance, however, which Drummond dwelt most proudly upon; and to the feelings which this gave rise to we are to attribute his *History of the Five Jameses*. He indeed intimates himself that such was the case, in a manner at once noble and delicate:—"If we believe some schoolmen," says he, "that the souls of the departed have some dark knowledge of the actions done upon earth, which concern their good or evil; what solace then will this bring to James I., that after two hundred years, he hath one of his mother's name and race that hath renewed his fame and actions in the world?"

Of the early period of our author's life few particulars are known. The rudiments of his education he received at the high-school of Edinburgh, where, we are told, he displayed early signs of that worth and genius for which at a maturer age he became conspicuous. From thence in due time he

entered the university of the same city, where, after the usual course of study, he took his degree of Master of Arts. He was then well versed in the metaphysical learning of the period; but this was not his favourite study, nor was he ever after in his life addicted to it. His first passion, on leaving college, lay in the study of the classical authors of antiquity, and to this early attachment is to be attributed the singular purity and elegance of style to which he attained, and which set him on a level, in that particular, with the most classical of his English contemporaries.

His father intending him for the profession of the law, he was, at the age of twenty-one years, sent over into France to prosecute that study. At Bourges, therefore, he applied himself to the civil law, under some of the most eminent professors of the age, with diligence and applause; and it is probable, had a serious intention of devoting his after-life to that laborious profession. In the year 1610 his father, Sir John, died, and our author returned to his native country, after an absence from it of four years. To his other learning and accomplishments he had now added the requisites necessary to begin his course in an active professional life. That he was well fitted for this course of life is not left to mere conjecture. The learned President Lockhart is known to have declared of him, "that had he followed the practice of the law, he would have made the best figure of any lawyer in his time." The various political papers which he has left behind him, written, some of them, upon those difficult topics which agitated king and people during the disturbed period in which he lived, attest the same fact; as displaying, along with the eloquence which was peculiar to their author, the more forensic qualities of a perspicuous arrangement, and a judicious, clear, and masterly management of his argument.

It was to the surprise of those who knew him that our author turned aside from the course which, though laborious, lay so invitingly open; and preferred to the attainment of riches and honour the quiet obscurity of a country gentleman's life. He was naturally of a melancholy temperament; and it is probable that an over-delicate and refined turn of sentiment influenced him in his decision. His father's death at the same time leaving him in easy independency, he had no longer any obstruction to following the bent of his inclination. No poet in this state of mind, perhaps, ever enjoyed the possession of a retreat more favoured by nature than is that of Hawthornden—so well fitted to the realization of a poet's vision of earthly bliss. The place has been long known to every lover of the picturesque, and, associated as it has become with the poetry and life of its ancient and distinguished possessor, is now a classical spot. Upwards of a hundred years ago, it is pleasing to be made aware that this feeling was not new. The learned and critical Ruddiman, at no time given to be poetical, has yet described Hawthornden as being "a sweet and solitary seat, and very fit and proper for the Muses." It was here that our author passed many of the years of his early life, devoted in a great measure to literary and philosophical study, and the cultivation of poetry. We cannot now mark with any degree of precision the order of his compositions at this period. The first, and *only* collection published in his lifetime, containing the *Flowers of Stion*, with several other poems, and *A Cypress Grove*, appeared in Edinburgh in the year 1616; and to this publication, limited as it is, we must ascribe in great part the literary fame which the author himself enjoyed among his contemporaries.

Of the poems we shall speak afterwards; but the philosophical discourse which accompanies them it may be as well to notice in the present place. *A Cypress Grove* was written after the author's recovery from a severe illness; and the subject, suggested, we are told, by the train of his reflections on a bed of sickness, is *Death*. We have often admired the splendid passages of Jeremy Taylor on this sublimest of all earthly topics, and it is if anything but a more decided praise of these to say that Drummond at least rivalled them. The style is exalted, and classical as that of the distinguished churchman we have named; the conception, expression, and imagery scarcely inferior in sublimity and beauty. That laboured display of learning, a fault peculiar to the literary men of their day, attaches in a great measure to both. In this particular, however, Drummond has certainly been more than usually judicious. We could well wish to see this work of our author, in preference to all his others, more popularly known. It is decidedly of a higher cast than his other prose pieces; and the reading of it would tend, better than any comment, to make these others relished, and their spirit appreciated.

Not long after the publication of his volume, we find Drummond on terms of familiar correspondence with several of the great men of his day. Among them the principal were Ben Jonson, Michael Drayton, Sir Robert Kerr (afterwards Earl of Ancrum), Dr. Arthur Johnston, and Sir William Alexander (afterwards Earl of Stirling). For the last-mentioned of these our author seems to have entertained the most perfect esteem and friendship. Alexander was a courtier rather than a poet, though a man not the less capable of free and generous feelings. His correspondence with our author, which extends through many years, is of little interest, referring almost entirely to the transmission of poetical pieces, and to points of minor criticism. Michael Drayton, in an elogy on the English poets, takes occasion to speak of Drummond with much distinction. In the letters of this pleasing and once popular poet there is a frank openness of manner, which forms a refreshing contrast to the stiff form, and stiffer compliment, of the greater part of the "familiar epistles," as they are termed, which passed between the literary men of that period, not excepting many of those in the correspondence of the poet of Hawthornden. "My dear noble Drummond," says he, in one of them, "your letters were as welcome to me as if they had come from my mistress, which I think is one of the fairest and worthiest living. Little did you think how oft that noble friend of yours, Sir William Alexander, and I have remembered you, before we trafficked in friendship. Love me as much as you can, and so I will you: I can never hear of you too oft, and I will ever mention you with much respect of your deserved worth," &c. Only two of Drummond's letters in return to this excellent poet and agreeable friend have been preserved. We shall make a brief extract from one of them, as it seems to refer to the commencement of their friendship, and to be in answer to that we have first quoted of Drayton:—"I must love this year of my life (1618) more dearly than any that forewent it, because in it I was so happy as to be acquainted with such worth. Whatever were Mr. Davis' other designs, methinks some secret prudence directed him to those parts only: for this I will in love of you surpass as far your countrymen as you go beyond them in all true worth; and shall strive to be second to none, save your fair and worthy mistress." John Davis had, it would seem, in a visit to Scotland, become acquainted with Drummond, and on his return to

London did not fail to manifest the respect and admiration our poet had inspired him with. Drayton communicates as much to his friend in the following brief postscript to one of his letters:—"John Davis is in love with you." He could not have used fewer words.

Sir Robert Kerr was, like Sir William Alexander, a courtier and a poet, though, unlike him, he never came to be distinguished as an author. He is best known to posterity for his singular feat of killing in a duel the "giant," Charles Maxwell, who had provoked him to the combat. There is a letter from our poet to Sir Robert, on this occasion, in which philosophically, and with much kindness, he thus reprehends his friend's rashness and temerity:—"It was too much hazarded in a point of honour. Why should true valour have answered fierce barbarity; nobleness, arrogance; religion, impiety; innocence, malice;—the disparagement being so vast? And had ye then to venture to the hazard of a combat, the exemplar of virtue and the Muses' sanctuary? The lives of twenty such as his who hath fallen, in honour's balance would not counterpoise your one. Ye are too good for these times, in which, as in a time of plague, men must once be sick, and that deadly, ere they can be assured of any safety. Would I could persuade you in your sweet walks at home to take the prospect of court-shipwrecks."

Sir Robert Kerr was indeed a character for whom Drummond might well entertain a high respect. In the remarkable adventure above alluded to, and for which he became very famous, he was not only acquitted of all blame by his own friends, but even Lord Maxwell, the brother of the gentleman killed, generously protested that they should never quarrel with nor dislike him on that account.

The most remarkable incident which has descended to us, connected with the literary life of our poet, was the visit with which the well-known English dramatist Ben Jonson honoured him, in the winter of 1618-19. Upon this, therefore, we would desire to be somewhat particular, and the materials we have for being so are not so barren as those which refer to other passages. Ben Jonson was a man of much decision, or what, on some occasions, might no doubt be termed obstinacy of purpose; and to undertake a journey on foot of several hundred miles, into a strange country, and at an unfavourable season of the year, to visit a brother poet whose fame had reached his ears, was characteristic in every way of his constitutional resoluteness, and of that sort of practical sincerity which actuated his conduct indifferently either to friendship or enmity. There is much occasion to mark this humour throughout the whole substance of the conversations which passed between Drummond and his remarkable visitor. The curious document which contains these is in itself but a rough draught, written by Drummond when the matters contained in it were fresh in his recollection, and intended merely, it would seem, as a sort of memorandum for his own use. Several of the incidents of Ben Jonson's life, as they were communicated by him to Drummond, have been given. These we have not occasion to notice; but we cannot pass over, as equally out of place, some of the opinions entertained by that remarkable man of his literary contemporaries. They are for the most part sweeping censures, containing some truth, but oftener much illiberality; pointed, and on one or two occasions coarse—Jonson being at all times rather given to lose a friend than a jest. Spenser's stanzas, we are told, "pleased him not, nor his matter."—"Samuel Daniel was a good honest man, had no children, and was no poet; that he had wrote the

Civil Wars, and yet hath not one battle in his whole book."—Michael Drayton, "if he had performed what he promised in his *Polyolbion* (to write the deeds of all the worthies), had been excellent."—"Sir John Harrington's *Ariosto*, of all translations was the worst. That when Sir John desired him to tell the truth of his epigrams, he answered him, that he loved not the truth, for they were narrations, not epigrams."—"Donne, for not being understood, would perish. He esteemed him the first poet in the world for some things; his verses of *Ohadine* he had by heart, and that passage of *the calm that dust and feathers did not stir, all was so quiet*." He told Donne that his "Anniversary was profane and full of blasphemies; that if it had been written on the Virgin Mary it had been tolerable." To which Donne answered, "that he described the *idea* of a woman, and not as she was."—"Owen was a poor pedantic schoolmaster, sweeping his living from the posteriors of little children, and has nothing good in him, his epigrams being bare narrations."—"Sir Walter Raleigh esteemed more fame than conscience: the best wits in England were employed in making his history. He himself had written a piece to him of the Punic war, which he altered and set in his book."—"Francis Beaumont was a good poet, as were Fletcher and Chapman, whom he loved."—"He fought several times with Marston. Marston wrote his father-in-law's preachings, and his father-in-law his comedies, &c." The most singular of all to the modern reader, is what follows regarding Shakspeare, who is introduced with fully as little respect as is shown to any of the others mentioned:—He said, "Shakspeare wanted art and sometimes sense; for in one of his plays he brought a number of men, saying they had suffered shipwreck in Bohemia, where is no sea near by one hundred miles." Shakspeare, it may be remarked, though two years dead at the time of this conversation, was then but little known out of London, the sphere of his original attraction. The first and well-known folio edition of his plays, which may be said to have first shown forth our great dramatist to the world, did not appear till 1623, several years after. Drummond merely refers to him as the author of *Venus and Adonis* and the *Rape of Lucretia*—pieces as little popularly known now as his plays were then.

It is to Ben Jonson's honour that, when he spared so little the absent poets of his country, he did not altogether pass over the poet of Hawthornden to his face. Our author's verses he allowed, were all good, especially his epitaph on Prince Henry; save that they smelled too much of the schools, and were not after the fancy of the times: for a child, said he, may write after the fashion of the Greek and Latin verses, in running;—yet, that he wished for pleasing the king, that piece of *Forth Feasting* had been his own."

We now come to a circumstance in the life of our poet which was destined, in its consequences, to interrupt the quiet course in which his existence had hitherto flowed, and to exercise over his mind and future happiness a deep and lasting influence. This was the attachment which he formed for a young and beautiful lady, daughter to Cunningham of Barnes, an ancient and honourable family. His affection was returned by his mistress; the marriage-day appointed, and preparations in progress for the happy solemnization, when the young lady was seized suddenly with a fever, of which she died. His grief on this event he has expressed in many of those sonnets, which have given to him the title of this country's Petrarch; and it has well been said, that with more passion and sincerity he celebrated his

dead mistress, than others use to praise their living ones.

The melancholy temperament of Drummond, we have before said, was one reason of his secluding himself from the world, and the ease and relief of mind which he sought, he had probably found in his mode of life; but the rude shock which he now received rendered solitude irksome and baneful to him. To divert the train of his reflections, he resolved once more to go abroad, and in time, distance, and novelty, lose recollection of the happiness which had deluded him in his own country. He spent eight years in prosecution of this design, during which he travelled through the whole of Germany, France, and Italy; Rome and Paris being the two places in which he principally resided. He was at pains in cultivating the society of learned foreigners; and bestowed some attention in forming a collection of the best ancient Greek and Latin authors, and the works of the esteemed modern writers of Spain, France, and Italy. He afterwards made a donation of many of these to the college of Edinburgh, and it formed, at the time, one of the most curious and valuable collections in that great library. The catalogue, printed in the year 1627, is furnished with a Latin preface from the pen of our author, upon "the advantage and honour of libraries."

After an absence of eight years, Drummond returned to his native country, which he found already breaking out into those political and religious dissensions which so unhappily marked, and so tragically completed, the reign of Charles I. It does not appear that he took any hand whatever in these differences till a much more advanced period of his life. It would seem rather that other and quieter designs possessed his mind, as he is said about this time to have composed his history, during a stay which he made in the house of his brother-in-law, Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet. The *History of the Reigns of the Five Jameses*, as a piece of composition, is no mean acquirement to the literature of this country; and for purity of style and elegance of expression it was not surpassed by any Scottish author of the age. In an historical point of view, the spirit of the work varies materially from that of preceding authors, who had written on the same period, and especially from Buchanan, though in a different way. It is certainly as free from bias and prejudice as any of these can be said to be, and on some occasions better informed. The speeches invented for some of the leading characters, after the fashion of the great Roman historian and his imitators, are altogether excellent, and, properly discarded as they are from modern history, add much grace and beauty to the work. In short, as an old editor has expressed himself, "If we consider but the language, how florid and ornate it is, consider the order, and the prudent conduct of the story, we will rank the author in the number of the best writers, and compare him even with Thuanus himself." This work was not published till some years after Drummond's decease.

We have no reason to believe that at this time he had relinquished the cultivation of poetry, but can arrive at no certainty regarding the order of his compositions. Our author seems throughout his life, if we except the collection which he made of his early poems, to have entertained little concern or anxiety for the preservation of his literary labours. Many of his poems were only printed during his lifetime upon loose sheets; and it was not till 1650, six years after his death, that Sir John Scot caused them to be collected and published in one volume. An edition of this collection was published at London in 1659, with the following highly encomiastic title:

—"The most elegant and elaborate Poems of that great court wit, Mr. William Drummond, whose labours both in verse and prose, being heretofore so precious to Prince Henry and to King Charles, shall live and flourish in all ages, while there are men to read them, or art and judgment to approve them." Some there were of his pieces which remained in manuscript, till incorporated in the folio edition of his works in 1711. The most popular of those detached productions, printed in Drummond's lifetime, was a macaronic poem entitled *Polemo-Madidinia, or the Battle of the Dunghill*. This was meant as a satire upon some of the author's contemporaries, and contains much humour in a style of composition which had not before been attempted in this country. It long retained its popularity in the city of Edinburgh, where it was almost yearly reprinted; and it was published at Oxford in 1691, with Latin notes and a preface by Bishop Gibson.

He had carefully studied the mathematics, and in the mechanical part of that science effected considerable improvements. These consisted principally in the restoring and perfecting some of the warlike machines of the ancients, and in the invention of several new instruments for sea and land service, in peace and war. The names of the machines in English, Greek, and Latin, and their descriptions and uses, may be found detailed in a patent granted to our author by King Charles I., in the year 1626, for the sole making, vending, and exporting of the same. This document has been published in the collection of Drummond's works, and is worthy of notice, as illustrating that useful science, though then a neglected object of pursuit, was not overlooked by our author in the midst of more intellectual studies. Perhaps we might even be warranted in saying, farther, that the attention which he thus bestowed on the existing wants and deficiencies of his country, indicated more clearly than any other fact, that his mind had progressed beyond the genius of the age in which his existence had been cast.

Drummond lived till his forty-fifth year a bachelor, a circumstance which may in great part be ascribed to the unfortunate issue of his first love. He had, however, accidentally become acquainted with Elizabeth Logan, grand-daughter to Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, in whom he either found, or fancied he had found, a resemblance to his first mistress; and this impression, so interesting to his feelings, revived once more in his bosom those tender affections which had so long lain dormant. He became united to this lady in the year 1630. By his marriage he had several children. William, the eldest son, lived till an advanced age, was knighted by Charles II., and came to be the only representative of the knights-baronets formerly of Carnock, of whom, in the beginning of this article, we have made mention. We learn little more of the private life of our author after this period; but that he lived retiredly at his house of Hawthornden, which he repaired; an inscription to this effect, bearing date 1638, is still extant upon the building.

Drummond has left behind him many political papers written between the years 1632 and 1646, in which, if he has not approved himself a judicious supporter of King Charles, and his contested rights and authority, he has only failed in a cause which could not then be supported, and which has never since been approved. "Irena, or a remonstrance for concord among his majesty's subjects," is the first of these political tracts; and the picture which it draws of civil strifes and disorders, and of men given to change, is set forth with much eloquence and persuasive force. Though the doctrine of obedience is

enforced throughout, it is neither dogmatically nor offensively insisted upon. This and other papers of a similar tendency, Drummond wrote in the years 1638-39, "but finding," as he informs us in one of his letters, "his majesty's authority so fearfully eclipsed, and the stream of rebellion swelled to that height, that honest men without danger dared hardly speak, less publish their conceptions in write, the papers were suppressed."

We shall only notice one other of these compositions, on account of some passages contained in it, which have been adduced as evidence of the political foresight and sagacity of the writer. It is entitled "An address to the noblemen, barons, gentlemen, &c., who have leagued themselves for the defence of religion and the liberties of Scotland," and is dated 2d May, 1639, ten years previous to the trial and execution of the king, to which, and to events following, it has prophetic reference:—"During these miseries," says he, "of which the troublers of the state shall make their profit, there will arise (perhaps) one, who will name himself PROTECTOR of the liberty of the kingdom: he shall surcharge the people with greater miseries than ever before they did suffer: he shall be protector of the church, himself being without soul or conscience, without letters or great knowledge; under the shadow of piety and zeal shall commit a thousand impieties; and in end shall essay to make himself king; and under pretext of reformation, bring in all confusion." "Then shall the poor people suffer for all their follies: then shall they see, to their own charges, what it is to pull the sceptre from their sovereign, the sword from the lawful magistrate, whom God hath set over them, and that it is a fearful matter for subjects to degrade their king. This progress is no new divining, being approved by the histories of all times." The general truth of this vaticination is amazing.

It was a saying of Drummond, "That it was good to admire great hills, but to live in the plains;" and, as in the earlier part of life he had resisted the temptations of courtly or professional celebrity, which birth and talent put alike in his way, so afterwards he as carefully eschewed the more easily attained, though more perilous, distinctions of political faction. His heart lay more towards private than public virtues; and his political writings, it is probable, were intended by their author as much for the instruction and satisfaction of a few intimate friends, as to serve (which they never did) the more important ends for which they were ostensibly written. He was a cavalier, and his principles, early prejudices, and inclinations led him to espouse the royal cause; but his patriotism and good sense informed him correctly how far his support should be extended. His prudential forbearance was indeed sometimes put to the test; but though reputed a malignant, and more than once summoned before the circular tables at Edinburgh for satirical verses, discourses, and conversations, it does not appear that he ever seriously compromised his safety or property. Being obliged to furnish men to the parliamentary army, it so happened that, his estate lying in three different shires, he had not occasion to send one entire man from any of the parts of it. Upon his quota, therefore, of fractions, as they might be called, he composed the following lines addressed to his majesty:—

"Of all these forces raised against the king,
'Tis my strange hap not one whole man to bring:
From diverse parishes, yet diverse men,
But all in halves and quarters; great king, then,
In halves and quarters if they come 'gainst thee,
In halves and quarters send them back to me."

The year 1649, in its commencement, witnessed the tragical end of Charles I., that first great and

ominous eclipse of the Stuart dynasty. On the 4th December of the same year, Drummond died, wanting only nine days to the completion of his sixty-fourth year. His body had long been weakened by disease induced by sedentary and studious habits, and the shock which the king's fate gave him is said to have affected his remaining health and spirits. His body was interred in the family aisle in Lasswade Church, in the neighbourhood of the house of Hawthornden.

In respect of his virtues and accomplishments, Drummond is entitled to rank high among his contemporaries, not in Scotland only, but in the most civilized nations of that day in Europe. Endowed with parts naturally excellent, and fitted for almost every species of improvement, his philosophic temperament and habits, and peculiar incidents of his life, tended to develop these in a manner advantageous as it was original. His early education imbued his mind deeply with the genius and classical taste of ancient Greece and Rome, perfection in which studies then formed the almost exclusive standard of literary excellence. A long residence in the more polished countries of the Continent familiarized his mind with those great works of modern enlightenment, the knowledge of which had as yet made but obscure progress in Britain. He not only read the works of Italian, French, and Spanish authors, but spoke these different languages with ease and fluency. He occasionally visited London, and was upon familiar terms, as we have seen, with the men of genius of his own and the sister kingdom. He added to his other high and varied acquirements, accomplishments of a lighter kind, well fitted to enhance these others in general society, and to add grace to a character whose worth, dignity, and intelligence have alone gone down to posterity. "He was not much taken up (his old biographer informs us) with the ordinary amusements of dancing, singing, playing, &c., though he had as much of them as a well-bred gentleman should have; and when his spirits were too much bended by severe studies, he unbended them by playing on his lute." One of his sonnets may be considered as an apostrophe, and it is one of singular beauty, to this his favourite instrument: it adds to the effect of the address to know, that it was not vainly spoken.

Of the private life and manners of the poet of Hawthornden, we only know enough to make us regret the imperfection of his biography. Though he passed the greater part of his life as a retired country gentleman, his existence never could be, at any time, obscure or insignificant. He was related to many persons of distinguished rank and intimate with others. Congeniality, however, of mind and pursuits alone led him to cultivate the society of men of exalted station; and, such is the nature of human excellence and dignity, the poet and man of literature, in this case, conferred lustre upon the peer and the favourite of a court. He was not a courtier, and he was, as he has himself expressed it, even "careless and negligent about fame and reputation." His philosophy was practical, not assumed; and we cannot fail to be impressed with its pure and noble spirit in the tenor of his life, no less than in the tone of many of his writings.

We have already alluded to several of Drummond's productions—his *Cypress Grove*, his *History*, and his *Irena*—and must now briefly refer to those on which his fame as a poet is founded. They consist principally of sonnets of an amatory and religious cast; a poem of some length, entitled *The River of Forth Feasting*; and *Tears on the Death of Mahiades*, anagrammatically Miles a Deo, the name assumed in

challenges of martial sport by Henry, Prince of Wales, eldest son of King James VI. This last piece was written so early as 1612. As a panegyric it is turgid and overcharged; but it has been referred to by more than one critic as displaying much beauty of versification.

The sonnet, about this time introduced into our literature, must be supposed to owe somewhat of the favour it received to the elegant and discriminating taste of Drummond. He had a perfect knowledge of Italian poetry, and professed much admiration for that of Petrarch, to whom he more nearly approaches in his beauties and his faults than, we believe, any other English writer of sonnets. This, however, refers more particularly to his early muse, to those pieces written before his own better taste had dared use an unshackled freedom. We shall give two specimens, which we think altogether excellent, of what we consider Drummond's matured style in this composition. The first is one of six sonnets entitled *Urania, or Spiritual Poems*; and the second, already transiently alluded to, is a sonnet addressed by the poet to his lute. The first perhaps refers to what Drummond considered the political unhappiness or degradation of his country, though, in truth, it may be made answerable to the state of humanity at all times; the second, to the well-known catastrophe of his first love, and accordingly it has its place among the sonnets professedly written on that topic.

I.

"What hapless hap had I for to be born
In these unhappy times, and dying days
Of this now dotting world, when good decays:—
Love's quite extinct and Virtue's held a scorn!
When such are only priz'd, by wretched ways,
Who with a golden fleece can them adorn;
When avarice and lust are counted praise,
AND BRAVEST MINDS LIVE ORPHAN-LIKE FORLORN!
Why was not I born in that golden age,
When gold was not yet known! and those black arts
By which base worldlings vilely play their parts,
With horrid acts staining earth's stately stage?
To have been then, O heaven, 't had been my bliss,
But bless me now, and take me soon from this."

II.

"My lute, be as thou wert when thou did grow
With thy green mother in some shady grove,
When immelodious winds but made thee move,
And birds their ramage did on thee bestow.
Since that dear voice which did thy sounds approve,
Which wont in such harmonious strains to flow,
Is reft from earth to tune the spheres above,
What art thou but a harbinger of woe?
Thy pleasing notes be pleasing notes no more,
But orphan's wailings to their fainting ear,
Each stroke a sigh, each sound draws forth a tear,
For which be silent as in woods before:
Or if that any hand to touch thee deign,
Like widowed turtle still *her* loss complain."

The *Forth Feasting* is a poem of some ingenuity in its contrivance, designed to compliment King James VI., on the visit with which that monarch favoured his native land in 1617. Of the many effusions which that joyous event called forth, this, we believe, has alone kept its ground in public estimation, and indeed as a performance professedly panegyric, and possessing little adventitious claim from the merit of its object, it is no ordinary praise to say that it has done so. It attracted, Lord Woodhouselee has remarked, "the envy as well as the praise of Ben Jonson, is superior in harmony of numbers to any of the compositions of the contemporary poets of England, and in its subject one of the most elegant panegyrics ever addressed by a poet to a prince."

DRUMMOND, SIR WILLIAM, a distinguished scholar and philosopher. The date of his birth seems not to be ascertained, nor does any memoir of which we are aware describe his early education.

He became first slightly known to the world in 1794, from publishing *A Review of the Government of Sparta and Athens*. It was probably a juvenile performance, which would not have been recollected but for the later fame of its author, and it is not now to be met with in libraries. In 1795 he was elected representative of the borough of St. Mawes; and in 1796 and 1801 he was chosen for the town of Lostwithiel. In the meantime he was appointed envoy-extraordinary to the court of Naples, an office previously filled by a countryman celebrated for pursuits not dissimilar to some of his own—Sir William Hamilton; and he was soon afterwards ambassador to the Ottoman Porte. Of his achievements as an ambassador little is known or remembered, excepting perhaps an alleged attempt, in 1808, to secure the regency of Spain to Prince Leopold of Sicily. Nor as a senator does he appear to have acquired much higher distinction; from being a regular and zealously-labouring political partizan, his studious habits and retired unbending disposition prevented him, but such political labours as he undertook were on the side of the government. In 1798 he published a translation of the *Satires of Perseus*, a work which, especially in fidelity, has been held to rival the contemporaneous attempts of Gifford, and it established him in the unquestioned reputation of a classical scholar. In 1805 appeared his *Academical Questions*, the first work in which he put forward claims to be esteemed a metaphysician. Although in this work he talks of the dignity of philosophy with no little enthusiasm, and gives it a preference to other subjects, more distinct than many may now admit; yet his work has certainly done more for the demolition of other systems than for instruction in any he has himself propounded. He perhaps carried the sceptical philosophy of Hume a little beyond its first bounds, by showing that we cannot comprehend the idea of simple substance, because, let the different qualities which, arranged in our mind, give us the idea of what we call an existing substance, be one by one taken away,—when the last is taken nothing at all will remain. To his doctrine that the mind was a *unity*, and did not contain *separate* powers and faculties, Locke's demolition of innate ideas must have led the way; but that great philosopher has not himself been spared from Sir William's undermining analysis, with which he attempted indeed to destroy the foundations of most existing systems.

In 1810 Sir William, along with Mr. Robert Walpole, published *Herculanensia*, containing archaeological and etymological observations, partly directed towards a MS. found in the ruins of Herculaneum. During the same year he published an *Essay on a Punic Inscription found in the island of Malta*. The inscription was interesting from its twice containing the name Hanni-Baal, or Hannibal; but it seems to have been merely used by Sir William as a nucleus round which he could weave an extensive investigation into the almost unknown and undiscoverable language of the Carthaginians. He proposed two methods of analytically acquiring some knowledge of this obscure subject; first, through the Phœnician and Punic vocables scattered through the works of Greek and Roman authors; and second, through the dialects cognate to the Phœnician, viz., the Arabic or ancient Syriac, the Samaritan, the Ethiopian, the fragments of Egyptian to be found in the modern Coptic, and the Hebrew.

In 1811 he printed the most remarkable of all his works, the *Edipus Judaicus*. It was not published, and probably had it been so it would have brought on the author, who did not entirely escape criticism by his concealment, a torrent of censure which might

have rendered life uncomfortable. It was Sir William Drummond's object to take the parts of the Old Testament commonly commented on by divines as purely historical, and prove them to be allegories. Perhaps the following extract contains a greater portion of the meaning which the author had in view than any other of similar brevity:—"When we consider the general prevalence of Tsabaism among the neighbouring nations, we shall wonder less at the proneness of the Hebrews to fall into this species of idolatry. Neither shall we be surprised at the anxious efforts of their lawgiver to persuade and convince them of the vanity of the superstitions, when we recollect that, though he could command the elements, and give new laws to nature, he could not impose fetters on the free-will of others. With such a power as this he was by no means invested; for the Almighty, in offering to the Hebrews the clearest proofs of his existence, by no means constrained their belief. It cannot be doubted that by any act of power God might have coerced submission, and have commanded conviction; but had there been no choice, there could have been no merit in the acceptance of his law.

"Since then Jehovah did not compel the people to acknowledge his existence, by fettering their free will; it was natural for his servant Moses to represent, by types and by symbols, the errors of the Gentile nations; and it is in no manner surprising that the past, the existing, and the future situation of the Hebrews, as well as the religious, moral, and political state of their neighbours, should be alluded to in symbolical language by a historian who was also a teacher and a prophet.

"Above all things, however, it is evident that the establishment of the true religion was the great object of the divine legation of Moses. To attain this purpose it was not enough that he performed the most surprising miracles. His countrymen acknowledged the existence of Jehovah; but with him they reckoned, and were but too willing to adore, other gods. Is it then surprising that the false notions of religion entertained by the Gentiles should be pointed out in the writings of Moses, and that their religious systems should be there made to appear what they really are—the astronomical systems of scientific idolaters?"

To institute a critical investigation of the points discussed in such a book as the *Œdipus* would require more learned investigation than is expected to be met with in a casual memoir. But with deference, we believe a mere ordinary reader may take it on him to say that Sir William has run riot on the dangerous and enticing ground of philology. It will be difficult to convince ordinary minds that the book of Joshua allegorically represents the reform of the calendar, or that the name Joshua is a type of the sun in the sign of the Ram; and when he finds the twelve labours of Hercules and the twelve tribes of Israel identified with the twelve signs of the zodiac, one feels regret that he did not improve the analogy by the addition of the twelve Caesars. It was with some truth that D'Oyly, in his *Remarks on Sir William Drummond's Œdipus Judaicus*, thus characterized the species of philology in which Sir William indulged:—"It is in the nature of things impossible to *disprove* any proposed method of deducing the etymology of a word, however absurd, fanciful, and strained it may appear to every considerate mind. We may give reasons for rejecting it as highly improbable, and for receiving another, perhaps as drawn from a far more obvious source; but this is all that we can do; if any person should persevere in maintaining that his own is the

best derivation, the question must be left to the judgment of others: it is impossible to prove that he is wrong. In some old monkish histories the word Briton is derived from Brutus, a supposed descendant of Æneas: now, we may produce reasons without end for disbelieving any connection to have subsisted between Britain and a person named Brutus, and for either acquiescing in our inability to derive the word at all, or for greatly preferring some other mode of deriving it; but we can do no more; we cannot *confute* the person who maintains that it certainly *is* derived from Brutus, and that every other mode of deriving it is comparatively forced and improbable. Precisely in the same manner, when our author affirms that the word 'Amorites' is derived from a Hebrew word signifying a ram, the astronomical sign of Aries; that 'Balaam' comes from a word signifying 'to swallow,' with allusion to the celestial Dragon; 'Deborah' from Aldebaran, the great star in the Bull's-eye—so we cannot possibly *confute* him, or positively *prove* that he is wrong: we can only hint that these derivations are not *very* obvious or probable, and refer the matter to the common sense of mankind."

Sir William was not likely to create friends to his views by the tone he adopted, which was occasionally (especially in the introduction) such as he should not have used till the world had acknowledged his own system, and should not have been applied to anything held in reverence.

In 1818 Sir William Drummond published the first part of a poem, entitled *Odin*, which was never popular. The first of the three volumes of his *Origines, States, or Remarks on the Origin of several Empires, States, and Cities*, appeared in 1824. Of the varied contents of this very eminent historio-critical work, we shall spare our readers any analysis, as it is well known to the reading world, preferring to refer to the article on Sir William Drummond in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Towards the latter period of his life Sir William was a martyr to gout. His habits were retired, and by some considered reserved. For instance, when on a visit he would seldom make his appearance after dinner, spending the afternoon in the library or study. But while he was in company his manners were bland and courteous, and his conversation was enriched by classical and elegant information. He died in the year 1828.

DUNBAR, WILLIAM, "the darling of the Scottish Muses," as he has been termed by Sir Walter Scott, was born about the middle of the fifteenth century. Mr. David Laing suggests the year 1460 as about the date of his birth. The place of his nativity is not more accurately known. In the *Flying of Dunbar and Kennedy*, a series of satires which these two poets interchanged with each other, the former speaks of the "Carrick lips" of his antagonist, a *bona fide* allusion to the provincial vernacular of that poet, and, within three lines, he uses the adjective *Lothian* in the same way, respecting a part of his own person; thereby, apparently, indicating that he was a native of that district. Unless Dunbar here meant only to imply his habitual residence in Lothian, and his having consequently contracted its peculiar language, he must be held as acknowledging himself a native of the province. The early events of the poet's life are unknown. In 1475, when he must have reached his fifteenth or sixteenth year, he was sent to the university of St. Andrews, then the principal seat of learning in Scotland. The name of William Dunbar is entered in the ancient registers of the university, in 1477, among the *Determinantes*, or Bachelors of Arts, in St. Salvator's Col-

lege, a degree which students could not receive till the third year of their attendance. His name again occurs in 1479, when he had taken his degree of Master of Arts, in virtue of which he was uniformly styled *Maister* William Dunbar, a designation which was exclusively appropriated till a late period to persons who had taken that degree at a university. Of his subsequent history, from 1480 to 1499, no trace remains. He became an ecclesiastic at an early age, having entered the mendicant order of St. Francis, which had an establishment of Grey Friars at Edinburgh.

In his poem entitled *How Dunbar was desyred to be ane Frier*, he gives the following intimation on this subject, as reduced to prose, by Dr. Irving:—"Before the dawn of day, methought St. Francis appeared to me with a religious habit in his hand, and said, 'Go, my servant, clothe thee in these vestments, and renounce the world.' But at him and his habit I was scared like a man who sees a ghost. 'And why art thou terrified at the sight of the holy weed?' 'St. Francis, reverence attend thee. I thank thee for the good-will which thou hast manifested towards me; but with regard to these garments, of which thou art so liberal, it has never entered into my mind to wear them. Sweet confessor, thou needs not take it in evil part. In holy legends have I heard it alleged that bishops are more frequently canonized than friars. If, therefore, thou wouldest guide my soul towards heaven, invest me with the robes of a bishop. Had it ever been my fortune to become a friar, the date is now long past. Between Berwick and Calais, in every flourishing town of the English dominions, have I made good cheer in the habit of thy order. In friars' weed have I ascended the pulpit at Dernton and Canterbury; in it have I crossed the sea at Dover, and instructed the inhabitants of Picardy. But this mode of life compelled me to have recourse to many a pious fraud, from whose guilt no holy water can cleanse me."

It is probable that he did not long continue his connection with this order, as he informs us that the studies and life of a friar were not suited to his disposition. It is no doubt to his having been a travelling novice of the Franciscan order that his poetical antagonist Kennedy alludes, when he taunts Dunbar with his pilgrimage as a pardoner, begging in all the churches from Etrick Forest to Dumfries. His poems do not inform us how he was employed after relinquishing the office of a friar, nor how he became connected with the Scottish court, where we find him residing about the beginning of the sixteenth century, under the patronage of James IV. From some allusions in his writings, at a subsequent period of his life, to the countries he had visited while in the king's service, it is not improbable that he was employed as secretary, or in some kindred capacity, in connection with the embassies to foreign states which were maintained by the reigning monarch. In 1491 he was residing at Paris, in all likelihood in the train of the Earl of Bothwell and Lord Monypenny, then on an embassy to the court of France.

In the books of the treasurer of Scotland, we find that Dunbar enjoyed a pension from his sovereign. Under date May 23, 1501, occurs the following entry:—"Item, to Maister William Dunbar, in his pension of Martymes by past, 5*l*." Another entry occurs December 20, "quhilk was payit to him eftir he com furth of England." If these were half-yearly payments, the pension must have been one of ten pounds, which cannot be deemed inconsiderable, when we take into account the resources of the king, the probable necessities of the bard, and the value of money at that time. In March, 1504, he first

performed mass in the king's presence. In 1507 we find that his pension was *newly eiked*, or augmented, to the sum of twenty pounds a year; and in 1510, to eighty pounds. On the marriage of James IV. to Margaret of England, Dunbar celebrated that event, so auspicious of the happiness of his country, in a poem entitled *The Thistle and the Rose*, in which he emblemized the junction and amity of the two portions of Britain. In the plan of this poem, he displays, according to Dr. Irving, "boldness of invention and beauty of arrangement, and, in several of its detached parts, the utmost strength and even delicacy of colouring." Dunbar seems to have afterwards been on as good terms with the queen as he had previously been with the king, for he addresses several poems in a very familiar style to her majesty. In one, moreover, "on a daunce in the queene's chalmer," where various court personages are represented as coming in successively and exhibiting their powers of saltation, he thus introduces himself:—

"Than in cam Dunbar the Makar:¹
On all the flure there was nane fracar,
And thair he dauncet the Dirry-duntoun:
He hopet, like a filler wantoun,
For luft of Musgraeffe men fulis me.
He trippet quhile he tur his pantoun:
A mirrear daunce nicht na man see."

The next person introduced was Mrs. Musgrave, probably an English attendant of the queen, and, as the poet seems to have admired her, we shall give the stanza in which she is described:—

"Then in cam Maestres Musgraeffe:
Scho nicht haf lernit all the laeffe.
Quhen I saw her sa trimlye dance,
Hir gud convoy and contenance,
Than for hir saek I wissit to be
The grytast erle, or duke, in France:
A mirrear dance nicht na man see."

Notwithstanding the great merit of Dunbar as a poet, he seems to have lived a life of poverty, with perhaps no regular means of subsistence but his pension. He appears to have addressed both the king and the queen for a benefice, but always without success. How it came to pass that King James, who was so kind a patron to men professing powers of amusement, neglected to provide for Dunbar is not to be accounted for. The poet must have been singularly disqualified, indeed, to have been deemed unfit in those days for church preferment. It appears that the queen became more disposed to be his patron than the king, for he writes a poem in the form of a prayer, wishing that the king were *John Thomson's man*, that is, subservient to the views of his consort, so that he might obtain what the queen desired his majesty to bestow upon him. The poor poet tells the king that his hopes were in reality very humble:—

"Greit abbais graith I nill to gather,
Bot ane kirk scant covertit with hadder;
For I of lytil wald be fane:
Quhilk to consider is ane pane."

His poetry is full of pensive meditations upon the ill division of the world's goods—how some have too much without meriting even little, while others merit all and have nothing. He says—

"I knaw nocht how the kirk is gydit,
Bot benefices are nocht leil drydit:
Sum men hes sevin, and I nocht ane:
Quhilk to consider is ane pane."

He also reflects much upon the vanity of all sublunary affairs. At the beginning, for instance, of the above poem, he thus moralizes on "the world's instabilitie":—

"This waverand warldis wretchednes,
The failyand and fruitles bissenes,

¹ Writers of verses were so termed in the sixteenth century.

The mispent tyme, the service vane,
For to consider is ane pane.

The slydan joy, the glaidness schort,
The feinyand luif, the fals comfort,
The sueit abayd, the fichtful trane,
For to consider is ane pane.

The sugarit mouthis, with myndis thairfra;
The figurit speiche, with faces twa;
The pleasand toungis, with harts unplane,
For to consider is ane pane."

Next to *The Thistle and the Rose*, the most considerable poem by Dunbar was *The Golden Targe*, a moral allegorical piece, intended to demonstrate the general ascendancy of love over reason: the golden targe, or shield, of reason, he shows to be an insufficient protection to the shafts of Cupid. He is also supposed to be the author of an exquisitely humorous tale, entitled *The Freirs of Berwick*, which has supplied the ground-work of a well-known poem of Allan Ramsay, designated *The Monk and the Miller's Wife*. Another composition, styled *The Two Marri'd Women and the Wedo*, contains much humorous sentiment, and many sarcastic reflections upon the fair sex; but of all Dunbar's poems, it is most open to the charge of immodest description. The poem, however, displaying the highest powers of mind, is certainly that entitled *A Dance*, which presents pictures of the *seven deadly sins*, equally expressive, perhaps, with any that could have been delineated by the pen of Milton himself.

Dunbar had the fortune, rare in that age, of seeing some of his works printed in his own lifetime. In 1508, among the very first efforts of the Scottish press, Chepman and Millar published his *Golden Turge*, his *Two Marri'd Women and the Wedo*, and several other poems. Three years after the poet's pension had been increased to £80 came the fatal disaster of Flodden, involving the destruction of the king and his nobles. How the fortunes of the bard were affected by this sad national event does not appear. Mr. Laing thinks it probable that he at last succeeded in obtaining preferment in the church. "The queen dowager, whom, during the king's life, our poet styled his 'advocate bayth fair and sweet,' could have no difficulty, during her regency, in providing for his wants; and we cannot believe that she would allow his old age to pine away in poverty and neglect. Even were it otherwise, we are not to suppose that he had no other friends in power who would be willing to assist in procuring some adequate and permanent provision for an individual who had so long contributed, by his writings, to the amusement of the court." The poet is supposed to have survived till 1520, and died at the age of sixty. The first complete collection of his works was published by Mr. David Laing in 1834. Although Dunbar received from his contemporaries the homage due to the greatest of Scotland's early *makars*, his name and fame were doomed to a total eclipse during the period from 1530, when Sir David Lyndsay mentions him among the poets then deceased, to the year 1724, when some of his poems were revived by Allan Ramsay. Mr. Laing observes that, "if any misfortune had befallen the two nearly coeval manuscript collections of Scottish poetry by Bannatyne and Maitland, the great chance is, that it might have been scarcely known to posterity that such a poet as Dunbar ever existed."

DUNCAN, LORD VISCOUNT, one of the comparatively few naval heroes of whom Scotland can boast, was a younger son of Alexander Duncan, Esq., of Lundie, in the county of Forfar. He was born in Dundee, on 1st July, 1731; in which town he also received the rudiments of his education. The family

of Lundie, which had for centuries been distinguished for its peaceful and domestic virtues, seems at this time to have had an inclination directed towards the more active business of war—the eldest son having gone into the army, while the younger, the subject of the present sketch, joined the navy at the aspiring age of sixteen. In 1747 he took the humble conveyance of a carrier's cart to Leith, whence he sailed to London; and beginning his career in a manner so characteristic of the unostentatious but settled views of his countrymen, he did not revisit the place of his birth until his genius, his virtues, and his courage had secured for him the honour of an admiral's commission and the gratitude of his country.

In the year last mentioned young Duncan went on board the *Shoreham* frigate, Captain Haldane, under whom he served for three years. He was afterwards entered as a midshipman on board the *Centurion*, of 50 guns, then the flag-ship of Commodore Keppel, who had received the appointment of commander-in-chief on the Mediterranean station. While on this station Mr. Duncan attracted the attention and regard of the commodore, no less by the mildness of his manners and the excellence of his disposition, which, indeed, distinguished his character through life, than by the ability and intrepidity which he uniformly displayed in the discharge of his arduous though subordinate duties. How true it is that the sure foundations of future fame can be laid only during that period of youth which precedes the commencement of manhood's more anxious business! His submission to the severity of naval discipline, the diligence with which he made himself acquainted with the practical details of his professional duties, and the assiduity with which he cultivated an intellect naturally powerful, formed the true germs whence his greatness afterwards sprang. The amiable and excellent qualities which so soon and so conspicuously manifested themselves in his mind and character, gained for him, at an early period of his life, the affection of many whose friendship proved useful to him in the subsequent stages of his professional advancement.

As Keppel, himself a hero, had been the first to discover kindred qualities in his young friend, so he was also the first who had the honour to reward the rising genius of Mr. Duncan. In January, 1755, the commodore was selected to command the ships of war destined to convey the transports which had been equipped for the purpose of carrying out troops under General Braddock to North America, where the French had made various encroachments on British territory; and it was then that Keppel paid a compliment no less creditable to his own discrimination than flattering to Duncan's merits, by placing his name at the head of the list of those whom he had the privilege of recommending to promotion. Mr. Duncan was accordingly raised to the rank of lieutenant, in which capacity he went on board the *Norwich*, Captain Barrington. Soon after the arrival of the fleet in Virginia, the commodore removed Mr. Duncan on board his own ship the *Centurion*, whereby he was placed not only more immediately under the friendly eye of his commander, but in a more certain channel of promotion. With the *Centurion* he returned to England, and remained unemployed (still the shipmate of Keppel, now on the home station) for three years. He was soon afterwards, however, called into active service, having been present at the attack on the French settlement of Goree on the coast of Africa; and the expectations which his commander had formed of him were amply realized by the bravery which he displayed in the attack on the fort. Before the return of the expedi-

tion he rose to the first lieutenantcy of the commodore's ship, the *Torbay*.

In September, 1759, he was promoted to the rank of commander, and in February, 1761, being then in his thirtieth year, he obtained a post-captaincy. The ship to which on this occasion he was appointed was the *Valiant*, of 74 guns, on board of which Keppel hoisted his flag, as commodore in command of the fleet which carried out the expedition to Belleisle. Here the critical duty of commanding the boats to cover the disembarkation of the troops devolved on Captain Duncan, and in this, as in various other difficult and important services in which he was employed during the siege, he greatly distinguished himself. He had the honour, also, of taking possession of the Spanish ships when the town surrendered to the English.

In the year following, he sailed with the *Valiant* in the expedition under Admiral Pocock, which reduced the Havannah; and he remained in command of the same vessel till the conclusion of the war in 1763. The powers of Europe, notwithstanding the exhausting conflicts in which they had for many years been engaged, were still too heated to remain long at peace, and the war which followed again called into active operation all the energies of the British navy. No opportunity, however, occurred that enabled Duncan, now commander of the *Suffolk*, of 74 guns, to distinguish himself. On returning to England on the temporary cessation of hostilities, he had the singular fortune of being called to sit as a member of the court-martial which was held on his brave and injured friend Admiral Keppel, whose unanimous and most honourable acquittal was immediately followed by votes of thanks from both houses of parliament for his distinguished services. He discharged perhaps a less irksome but a not less impartial duty, on the trial of Keppel's accuser, Sir Hugh Palliser, who, suffering under the censure of the court, and the resentment of the nation, was forced to relinquish all his public offices.

In the summer of 1779, Captain Duncan commanded the *Monarch*, 74, attached to the Channel fleet under Sir Charles Hardy; and towards the conclusion of the year he was placed under the orders of Sir George Rodney, who sailed with a powerful squadron to attempt the relief of Gibraltar. This armament, besides effecting the purpose for which it had been sent out, had the good fortune to capture a fleet of fifteen Spanish merchantmen and their convoy, a sixty-four gun-ship and four frigates. The admiral had scarcely regulated the distribution of the prizes, when, on 16th January, off Cape St. Vincent, he came in sight of a Spanish squadron of eleven ships of the line, commanded by Don Juan Langara. The English admiral immediately bore down with his whole force, and Captain Duncan, although his ship was one of the worst sailers in the fleet, had the honour, as it had been his ambition, to get first into action. His gallant impetuosity having been observed by his no less daring commander, the captain was warned of the danger of rushing unsupported into a position where he would be exposed to the fire of three of the enemy's largest ships. "Just what I want," he coolly replied; "I wish to be among them,"—and the *Monarch*, dashing on, was in an instant alongside of a Spanish ship of much larger dimensions, while two others of the same rate and magnitude lay within musket-shot to leeward of him. In this perilous position—one, however, in which every true British sailor glories to be placed—the *Monarch* had to contend against fearful odds; but then Duncan knew that allowance was to be made for the difference between British and Spanish skill

and bravery, and he calculated rightly, for though the Spaniards defended themselves with great gallantry, the two ships to leeward soon perceived that there was more safety in flight than in maintaining the contest, and they accordingly made off with all the sail they could carry, leaving their companion, who had no opportunity of escape, to make the best defence in his power. Duncan had now comparatively easy work; and directing all his fire against his antagonist, he had the satisfaction, in less than half an hour, of seeing the *St. Augustin* of 70 guns strike her colours to the *Monarch*. This engagement afforded little opportunity for a display of scientific tactics; it was, in seaman's language, a fair stand-up fight, gained by the party who had the stoutest heart and the strongest arm. But it distinguished Captain Duncan as a man of the most dauntless intrepidity, and of judgment competent to form a correct estimate of his own strength as compared with that of his adversaries. After beating the *St. Augustin*, Captain Duncan pushed forward into the heart of the battle, and, by a well-directed fire against several of the enemy's ships, contributed greatly to the victory which was that day achieved over the Spanish flag. The *St. Augustin* proved a worthless prize. So much had she been shattered by the *Monarch's* tremendous fire, that it became necessary to take her in tow; but, taking water rapidly, her captors were obliged to abandon her, in consequence of which she was repossessed by her original crew, and carried into a Spanish port.

On Captain Duncan's return to England in the same year he quitted the *Monarch*, and in 1782 was appointed to the *Blenheim*, of 90 guns. With this ship he joined the main or Channel fleet, under Lord Howe. He shortly afterwards accompanied his lordship to Gibraltar, and bore a distinguished part in the engagement which took place in October, off the mouth of the straits, with the combined fleets of France and Spain, on which occasion he led the larboard division of the centre, or commander-in-chief's squadron. Here he again signalized himself by the skill and bravery with which he fought his ship.

After returning to England he enjoyed a respite for a few years from the dangers and anxieties of active warfare. Having removed to the *Edgar*, 74, a Portsmouth guardship, he employed his time usefully to his country, and agreeably to himself, though he would have preferred the wider sphere of usefulness which a command on the seas would have afforded him, in giving instructions in the science of naval warfare to a number of young gentlemen, several of whom subsequently distinguished themselves in their profession.

Overlooked for several years by an administration who did not always reward merit according to its deserts, he was now destined to receive that promotion to which, by his deeds, he had acquired so just a claim. On 14th September, 1787, he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue; and three years afterwards he was invested with the same rank in the white squadron. On 1st February, 1793, he received promotion as vice-admiral of the blue, and on 12th April, 1794, as vice-admiral of the white. On 1st June, 1795, he was appointed admiral of the blue, and of the white on 14th February, 1799. At none of these successive steps of advancement, except the two last, was he in active service, although he had frequently solicited a command.

In February, 1795, he received the appointment of commander-in-chief of all the ships and vessels in the north seas; he first hoisted his flag on board the *Prince George*, of 90 guns, but afterwards removed

to the *Venerable*, of 74, a vessel of a more suitable size for the service in which he was about to engage, and one in which he afterwards rendered so glorious a service to his country.

History does not perhaps record a situation of more perplexing difficulty than that in which Admiral Duncan found himself placed in the summer of 1797. For a considerable period he had maintained his station off the Dutch coast, in the face of a strong fleet, and in defiance of the seasons, and when it was known with certainty that his opponents were ready for sea, and anxious to effect a landing in Ireland, where they expected the co-operation of a numerous band of malcontents. At this most critical juncture, he was deserted by almost the whole of his fleet, the crews of his different ships having, with those of the Channel fleet, and the fleet at the Nore, broken out into a mutiny, the most formidable recorded in history. With the assistance of a foreign force, Ireland was prepared for open rebellion; Scotland had its united societies; and England, too, was agitated by political discontent, when a spirit of a similar kind unhappily manifested itself in the British fleet. Early in the year of which we speak, petitions on the subject of pay and provisions had been addressed to Lord Howe from every line-of-battle ship lying at Portsmouth, of which no notice whatever was taken. In consequence, on the return of the fleet to the port, an epistolary correspondence was held throughout the whole fleet, which ended in a resolution that not an anchor should be lifted until a redress of grievances was obtained. Accordingly, on the 15th of April, when Lord Bridport ordered the signal for the fleet to prepare for sea, the sailors on board his own ship, the *Queen Charlotte*, instead of weighing anchor, took to the shrouds, where they gave him three cheers, and their example was followed by every ship in the fleet. The officers were astonished, and exerted themselves in vain to bring back the men to a sense of their duty. Alarmed at the formidable nature of this combination, which was soon discovered to be extensively organized, the lords of the admiralty arrived on the 18th, and various proposals were immediately made to induce the men to return to their duty, but all their overtures were rejected. They were informed, indeed, that it was the determined purpose of the crews of all the ships to agree to nothing but that which should be sanctioned by parliament, and by the king's proclamation. In circumstances so alarming to the whole nation, government was compelled to make some important concessions, and a promise of his majesty's pardon to the offenders. These, after much deliberation, were accepted, and the men returned to their duty with apparent satisfaction. The ringleaders of the mutiny were still, however, secretly employed in exciting the men to fresh acts of insubordination; and, taking hold of some parliamentary discussions which had recently been published, the mutiny was, in the course of fourteen days, revived at Spithead with more than its original violence; and, under pretence that government did not mean to fulfil its engagements, the Channel fleet, on the 7th of May, refused to put to sea. Such officers as had become objects of suspicion or dislike to their crews were put on shore. Flags of defiance were hoisted in every ship; and a declaration was sent on shore, stating that they knew the Dutch fleet was on the point of sailing, but, determined to have their grievances redressed, they would bring matters to a crisis at once by *blocking up the Thames*! At this dreadful crisis, an act was hurried through parliament, increasing their wages; but, so far from satisfying them, this conciliatory and liberal measure

served only to increase their insolence, and to render them the more extravagant in their demands. Four ships of Duncan's fleet, from Yarmouth, were now moored across the mouth of the Thames. Trading vessels were prevented alike from entering and leaving the river, and all communication with the shore was prohibited. A regular system was adopted for the internal management of each ship, and Richard Parker, a person who had recently employed himself as a political agitator in Scotland, was placed at the head of the disaffected fleet. On the part of government, preparations were made for an attack on the mutineers. All farther concession was refused; the eight articles submitted to government by Parker were rejected; and it was intimated, that nothing but unconditional submission would be accepted by the administration. This firmness on the part of government had, at length, the desired effect, Dismayed at their own rashness and folly, the ships escaped one by one from Parker's fleet, and submitted themselves to their commanders; and the apprehension, trial, and execution of Parker and others of the mutineers, which speedily followed, closed this most disgraceful and formidable mutiny. The anxiety of the nation all this time was intense; that of Duncan, deserted as he was by the greater part of his fleet, while in the daily expectation of an enemy coming out, must have been extreme. On the 3d of June, when thus forsaken, he called together the faithful crew of his own ship the *Venerable*, and gave vent to his feelings in a speech, which has been admired as one of the finest specimens of simple eloquence—"My lads," said he, "I once more call you together with a sorrowful heart, from what I have lately seen of the disaffection of the fleets: I call it disaffection, for they have no grievances. To be deserted by my fleet, in the face of an enemy, is a disgrace which I believe never before happened to a British admiral, nor could I have supposed it possible. My greatest comfort, under God, is that I have been supported by the officers and seamen of this ship, for which, with a heart overflowing with gratitude, I request you to accept my sincere thanks. I flatter myself much good may result from your example, by bringing these deluded people to a sense of the duty which they owe not only to their king and country, but to themselves. The British navy has ever been the support of that liberty which has been handed down to us by our ancestors, and which, I trust, we shall maintain to the latest posterity, and that can be done only by unanimity and obedience. The ship's company, and others who have distinguished themselves by their loyalty and good order, deserve to be, and doubtless will be, the favourites of a grateful country. They will also have, from their inward feelings, a comfort which will be lasting, and not like the fleeting and false confidence of those who have swerved from their duty. It has often been my pride to look into the Texel, and see a foe which decided on coming out to meet us. My pride is now humbled indeed! My feelings are not easily to be expressed. Our cup has overflowed and made us wanton. The all-wise Providence has given us this check as a warning, and I hope we shall improve by it. On Him then let us trust, where our only security can be found. I find there are many good men among us; for my own part, I have had full confidence of all in this ship, and once more beg to express my approbation of your conduct. May God, who has thus far conducted you, continue to do so; and may the British navy, the glory and support of our country, be restored to its wonted splendour, and be not only the bulwark of Britain, but the terror of the world. But this can only be effected by

a spirit of adherence to our duty, and obedience; and let us pray that the Almighty God may keep us in the right way of thinking. God bless you all!" The crew of the *Venerable* were so affected by this simple but impressive address, that on retiring there was not a dry eye among them.

Thus Admiral Duncan, by acts of mildness and conciliation, and by his uniform firmness, contrived, when every other British admiral, and even the government itself, failed in the attempt, to keep his own ship, as well as the crew of the *Adamant*, free from the contagion of the dangerous evil that then almost universally prevailed.

Fortunately for Great Britain, the enemy was not aware of the insubordination that existed throughout the fleet. At a time, however, when Duncan had only two line-of-battle ships under his control, his ingenuity supplied the place of strength, and saved this country from the disgrace of a foreign invasion; for it cannot be doubted, that had the Dutch commander known the state of helplessness in which the nation was placed, when its right arm was so effectually bound up by the demon of rebellion, they would have chosen that moment to run for our shores. It was then that the happy thought occurred to the anxious mind of Duncan, that by approaching the Texel with his puny force, and by making signals as if his fleet were in the offing, he might deceive the wary De Winter into the belief that he was blocked up by a superior squadron. This stratagem was employed with entire success, nor indeed was it known to De Winter that a deception had been practised upon him until he had become his antagonist's prisoner. This manœuvre, so singular in its conception, so successful in its execution, and performed at a moment of such extreme national difficulty, stands unparalleled in naval history, and alone gave to him who devised it as good a claim to the honour of a coronet, and to his country's gratitude, as if he had gained a great victory.

On the termination of the mutiny, Admiral Duncan was joined by the rest of his fleet, very much humbled, and anxious for an opportunity to wipe away, by some splendid achievement, the dishonour they had incurred. The two rival fleets were now placed on an equal footing, and all anxiety for the event of a collision was completely removed. Having blockaded the Dutch coast till the month of October, Duncan was under the necessity of coming to Yarmouth Roads to refit, leaving only a small squadron of observation under the command of Captain Trollope. But scarcely had he reached the Roads when a vessel on the back of the sands gave the spirit-stirring signal that the enemy was at sea. Not a moment was lost in getting under sail, and early on the morning of the 11th of October he was in sight of Captain Trollope's squadron, with a signal flying for an enemy to leeward. He instantly bore up, made signal for a general chase, and soon came up with them, forming in line on the larboard tack, between Camperdown and Egmont, the land being about nine miles to leeward. The two fleets were of nearly equal force, consisting each of sixteen sail of the line, exclusive of frigates, brigs, &c. As they approached each other, the British admiral made signal for his fleet, which was bearing up in two divisions, to break the enemy's line, and engage to leeward, each ship her opponent. The signal was promptly obeyed; and getting between the enemy and the land, to which they were fast approaching, the action commenced at half-past twelve, and by one it was general throughout the whole line. The *Monarch* was the first to break the enemy's line. The *Venerable* was frustrated in her attempt to pass astern of De Winter's flag-ship; but pouring a de-

structive broadside into the *States-General*, which had closed up the interval through which the *Venerable* intended to pass, she compelled that vessel to abandon the line. The *Venerable* then engaged De Winter's ship the *Vryheid*, and a terrible conflict ensued between the two commanders-in-chief. But it was not a single-handed fight. The enemy's *Leyden*, *Mars*, and *Brutus*, in conjunction with the *Vryheid*, successively cannonaded the *Venerable*, and she found it expedient to give ground a little, though not forced to retreat. In the meantime the *Triumph* came up to her relief, and, along with the *Venerable*, gave a final blow to the well-fought and gallantly defended *Vryheid*, every one of whose masts were sent overboard, and herself reduced to an unmanageable hulk. The contest throughout the other parts of the line was no less keenly maintained on both sides; but with the surrender of the admiral's ship the action ceased, and De Winter himself was brought on board the *Venerable* a prisoner of war. His ship and nine other prizes were taken possession of by the English. Shortly after the *States-General* had received the fire of the *Venerable* she escaped from the action, and, along with two others of Rear-admiral Storey's division, was carried into the Texel, the admiral having afterwards claimed merit for saving a part of the fleet. The British suffered severely in their masts and rigging, but still more so in their hulls, against which the Dutch had mainly directed their fire. The loss of lives also was great, but not in proportion to that suffered by the enemy. The carnage on board of the two admirals' ships was particularly great, amounting to not less than 250 men killed and wounded in each. The total loss of the British was 191 killed and 560 wounded, while the loss of the Dutch was computed to have been more than double that amount. At the conclusion of the battle the English fleet was within five miles of the shore, from whence many thousands of Dutch citizens witnessed the spectacle of the utter discomfiture of their fleet. When the conflict was over, Admiral Duncan ordered the crew of his ship together, and falling down upon his knees before them, returned solemn thanks to the God of battles for the victory he had given them, and for the protection he had afforded them in the hour of danger. This impressive act of pious humility affected the Dutch admiral to tears.

Naval tacticians accord to Admiral Duncan great merit for this action. It stands distinguished from every other battle fought during the war by the bold expedient of running the fleet between the enemy and a lee shore, with a strong wind blowing on the land—a mode of attack which none of his predecessors had ever hazarded. The admiral also evinced great judgment in the latter part of the contest, and in extricating his fleet and prizes from a situation so perilous and difficult, while the Dutch sustained all the character of their best days. The battle of Camperdown, indeed, whether we view it as exhibiting the skill and courage of its victor, the bravery of British seamen, or as an event of great political importance, will ever stand conspicuous among the many naval victories that adorn our annals.

On the arrival of Admiral Duncan at the Nore, on 17th October, he was created a peer of Great Britain, by the title of Viscount Duncan of Camperdown and Baron Duncan of Lundie, to which estate he had succeeded by the death of his brother; and a pension of £2000 a year was granted his lordship for himself and the two next heirs of the peerage. The thanks of both houses of parliament were unanimously voted to the fleet; and the city of London presented Lord Duncan with the freedom of the city

and a sword of two hundred guineas value. Gold medals were also struck in commemoration of the victory, which were presented to the admirals and captains of the fleet. The public, too, by whom the benefits of no action during that eventful war were more highly appreciated than the one of which we have been speaking, paid Lord Duncan a flattering mark of respect by wearing, the women gowns and ribands, and the men vests of a particular kind, which were named "Camperdowns," after the victory.

Lord Duncan continued in the command of the North Sea squadron till the beginning of the year 1800, when, there being no longer any probability of the enemy venturing to sea, and having now arrived at his sixty-ninth year, he finally retired from the anxieties of public to the enjoyment of private life; which he adorned as eminently by his virtues, as he had done his public station by his energy and talents.

In 1777 his lordship married Miss Dundas, daughter of Lord-president Dundas, of the Court of Session in Scotland, by whom he had several children. He did not long enjoy his retirement, having been cut off in the seventy-third year of his age by a stroke of apoplexy at Cornhill, on his way from London, in the summer of 1804. He was succeeded in his estates and titles by his eldest son,—in elevating whom to an earldom, William IV. not only paid an honourable tribute of respect to the memory of the father, but a just compliment to the talents, public spirit, and worth of the son.

We close this sketch in the words of a late writer: "It would perhaps be difficult to find in modern history another man in whom, with so much meekness, modesty, and unaffected dignity of mind, were united so much genuine spirit, so much of the skill and fire of professional genius; such vigorous and active wisdom; such alacrity and ability for great achievements, with such indifference for their success, except so far as they might contribute to the good of his country. Lord Duncan was tall, above the middle size, and of an athletic and firmly proportioned form. His countenance was remarkably expressive of the benevolence and ingenuous excellencies of his mind."

DUNCAN, ANDREW, Sen., M.D., an esteemed physician and professor of the institutions of medicine in the university of Edinburgh, was born at St. Andrews, on the 17th October, 1744. His father, who was formerly a merchant and shipmaster in Crail, was descended from a younger branch of the Duncans of Ardownie, in the county of Angus; and his mother, a daughter of Professor Villant, was related to the Drummonds of Hawthornden. He received his preliminary education for the profession of medicine at St. Andrews, from the university of which city he obtained the degree of Master of Arts in May, 1762. He then transferred his residence to Edinburgh, where he pursued his medical studies under the happiest auspices, being the pupil, as he was afterwards the friend, of Dr. Cullen, Dr. John Gregory, Dr. Monro the second, Dr. John Hope, and Dr. Black. The university of Edinburgh was at this period beginning to hold a prominent position in the scientific and literary world; for although the many discoveries that have since been made, were then unknown and unsuspected, yet the advancement of the progressive sciences which were here taught and cultivated began to be duly appreciated both at home and abroad. The professors, who held not their offices as sinecures, toiled to advance the interests and extend the known boundaries of science; and the students, emulating their examples, were

likewise animated by a zeal which in turn reflected back honour on the university. It is not, then, to be supposed that our young candidate for medical honours, who had already distinguished himself by his talents and acquirements at St. Andrews, would be less active than his fellow-students; and accordingly, we find that he was soon elected a president of the Royal Medical Society in the session of 1764, the second year after the commencement of his medical studies in Edinburgh. In the welfare of this society he ever afterwards took a warm interest, nor did he hesitate to declare that he considered it an essential part of the medical school of Edinburgh. In the year 1768-9, having completed his studies, he went a voyage to China, in the capacity of surgeon to the Honourable East India Company's ship *Asia*, under the command of Captain (afterwards Sir Robert) Preston; and so well did he discharge his professional duties, that when the vessel returned to England, the captain offered him the sum of 500 guineas to go out with him a second time. But this offer, however complimentary, he declined, for the purpose of pursuing a different and more congenial tenor of life. In the October, therefore, of the same year (1769), he received the diploma of Doctor of Medicine from the university of St. Andrews, and in the month of May following was admitted a licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh. Dr. Duncan in 1770 came forward as a candidate for the professorship of medicine in the university of St. Andrews; but his application proved unsuccessful, the rival candidate being duly elected. In the four sessions succeeding that of 1769-70, he was annually re-elected one of the presidents of the Royal Medical Society, and during this period exerted himself in completing the arrangements for the erection of the medical hall, now occupied by the society. About this time he married a lady, with whom he enjoyed an uninterrupted union of upwards of fifty-seven years, and by whom he had twelve children. She was a Miss Elizabeth Knox, the daughter of Mr. John Knox, surgeon in the service of the East India Company, who, it may be added, was the eldest son of the Rev. William Knox, minister of Dairsie, in the county of Fife, and great-grand-nephew to the illustrious reformer.

On the death of Dr. John Gregory, professor of the theory of medicine in the university of Edinburgh, which occurred in February, 1773, Dr. Drummond was appointed to that chair; but, being absent from the country, Dr. Duncan was chosen to supply the temporary vacancy. He, accordingly, during the sessions 1774-5 and 1775-6, delivered lectures on the theory of medicine; in addition to which he revived the judicious plan adopted by Dr. Rutherford, of illustrating the select cases of indigent patients labouring under chronic complaints, by clinical lectures. Dr. Drummond still failing to return, the magistrates and town council, on the 12th June, 1776, declared the chair to be again vacant, and on the 19th of the same month elected Dr. James Gregory, the son of the late professor, to the professorship, the duties of which had been for two years discharged by Dr. Duncan. Mortified by this rejection from an office to which he thought himself entitled, Dr. Duncan immediately determined on delivering an independent course of lectures on the theory and practice of physic, without the walls of the university; besides which, as his clinical lectures had been so numerously attended, he also announced his intention of continuing them. "While these lectures," said he, in announcing his intention, "are more immediately intended for the instruction of students, they will be also the means of furnishing

the indigent with advice and medicines gratis, when subjected to chronic diseases." He soon found that the number of sick poor who applied to him for relief was so considerable, that he was induced to project a scheme for the establishment of a dispensary for the purpose of alleviating the sufferings of those whose diseases were not of a nature to entitle them to admission into the Royal Infirmary. When the objects of this institution, by the unwearied exertions of Dr. Duncan, were brought fully and fairly before the public, a sufficient fund was raised to carry his views into effect. In Richmond Street, on the south side of the city, a commodious building for this charity was erected, and in 1818 the subscribers were incorporated by royal charter. Notwithstanding the increasing number of similar institutions, this dispensary continues to flourish; and a picture of the venerable founder is placed in its hall.

In the same year that Dr. Duncan commenced lecturing (1773), he also undertook the publication of a periodical work, entitled *Medical and Philosophical Commentaries*, which was avowedly on the plan of a similar publication at Leipsic—the *Commentarii de Rebus in Scientia Naturali et Medicina gestis*, which obviously could only be a very imperfect channel for the communication of British medical literature. The *Medical and Philosophical Commentaries* contained an account of the best new books in medicine, and the collateral branches of philosophy; medical cases and observations; the most recent medical intelligence, and lists of new books: it appeared in quarterly parts, forming one volume annually, and continued until the year 1795 under his sole superintendence, when it had extended to twenty volumes. It was afterwards continued by him under the title of *Annals of Medicine*, until the year 1804, when it consisted of eight volumes more, after which Dr. Duncan ceased to officiate as editor, and changing its appellation, it became the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, which, under the care of his son, became subsequently one of the most influential medical journals in Europe.

In the year 1790 Dr. Duncan was elected president of the College of Physicians in Edinburgh, and in the same year his venerable friend Dr. Cullen having resigned the professorship of the practice of medicine, Dr. James Gregory was translated to that chair. The object of Dr. Duncan's former ambition he now obtained, for after having lectured with increasing reputation for fourteen years without the walls of the college, he was elected successor to Dr. James Gregory as the professor of the institutions of medicine.

In 1792, perceiving how destitute was the condition of those unhappy beings suffering under the bereavement of reason, he brought forward a plan for the erection and endowment of a lunatic asylum, which he laid before the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh. It is said that the idea of such an institution was suggested to him by the death of the poet Fergusson, who, in 1774, a few years after Dr. Duncan had settled in Edinburgh, expired in the cells of the common charity workhouse, in a state of the most abject and appalling wretchedness. After much time had elapsed, and many difficulties been surmounted, a petition was presented to the king, who granted a royal charter, dated the 11th April, 1807, under which a lunatic asylum was erected and opened at Morningside. In September, 1808, the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh presented Dr. Duncan with the freedom of the city, as a public acknowledgment of the sense they entertained of the services he had rendered the community by the establishment of the public dispensary and

lunatic asylum; and assuredly this honour was never more deservedly conferred.

In 1809 Dr. Duncan brought forward a scheme for another public association for the purpose of contributing to the interests and happiness of society. He observed that the study of horticulture had been too much neglected in Scotland, and proposed therefore the institution of a society which should receive communications and award prizes to those who distinguished themselves by making discoveries, or promoting the interests of this science. His proposal and exertions in accomplishing this favourite object he lived to see amply rewarded; for the horticultural society soon attaining considerable importance in the estimation of the public, was incorporated by royal charter, and among the number of its members will be found the names of many who are an ornament and an honour to their country. "The latest public object undertaken by Dr. Duncan," says his friend Dr. Huie, "was connected with this society, in the success of which he ever took the warmest interest. This was the establishment of a public experimental garden, for the purpose of putting to the test various modes of horticulture, and also for collecting specimens and improving the method of cultivating every vegetable production, from every quarter of the globe, which could either be agreeable to the palate or pleasing to the eye. By means of private subscriptions, assisted by a loan from government, this object was at last attained; and the venerable promoter of the scheme had the satisfaction, before his death, of seeing his views on the subject in a fair way of being realized."¹ On the death of Dr. James Gregory, which happened in 1821, Dr. Duncan, who had long served his majesty when Prince of Wales in that capacity, was appointed first physician to the king for Scotland.

The Royal College of Physicians in 1824, as a signal mark of respect and favour, re-elected Dr. Duncan president; but he had now attained that advanced age when men find it necessary to retire from the more active cares and anxieties of the world. He however continued, so long as he could command bodily strength, to participate in the business of those institutions which had been his pride in earlier life. More especially it was his pride to continue his physiological lectures in the university; and to pay that attention to his pupils which always showed the natural kindness of his heart. He made a point, like his venerable preceptor Dr. Cullen, of inviting them to his house, and cultivating a friendly and confidential intercourse with them. It was his custom to invite a certain number to be with him every Sunday evening, which he intimated by little printed circulars, twenty or thirty of which he would issue at a time, taking his pupils in the order they entered to his class, until every one had been invited. On these occasions he conversed cheerfully and freely with them on all subjects; a practice which is surely encouraging to the pupil, and calculated to increase rather than diminish his respect and attachment towards the professor. His kindness of heart was indeed unbounded. He never heard of a pupil having to struggle against the ills of poverty, or being in any kind of distress, that he did not exert himself to emancipate him from such difficulty; and many now live whose feelings of silent gratitude are the most appropriate homage to his memory. "While his benevolence fell with the warmth of a sunbeam on all who came within the sphere of its influence, it was more especially experienced," says Dr. Huie,

¹ *Harveian Oration for 1829*, by R. Huie, M.D., who succeeded Dr. Duncan as secretary to the Harveian Society.

"by those students of medicine who came from a distance, and had the good fortune to attract or be recommended to his notice. Over them he watched with paternal solicitude. He invited them when in health to his house and his table. He attended them when in sickness with assiduity and tenderness, and when they sunk the victims of premature disease, the sepulchre of his family was thrown open for their remains."¹

He was in some respects eccentric; but there was not an eccentricity or custom he adopted which did not indicate that some generous or good feeling was the ruling principle of his actions. In addition to the institutions to which we have alluded, of a grave character, Dr. Duncan established the Esculapian and Gymnastic clubs, at which, by assembling round the social and convivial board, it was intended to soften down those asperities and inimical feelings which, proverbially and from the most ancient time, have been imputed to medical men. With the same object in view, and to encourage a taste for experimental research, in the year 1782 he founded the Harveian Society, to which, for a period of forty-seven years, he discharged the duties of secretary. This society, which still flourishes, proposes annually a question, or the subject for an essay; and an honorary reward, consisting of a gold medal and a copy of the works of the great exemplar, is awarded to the successful candidate. The adjudication takes place publicly on the anniversary of Harvey's birth-day, which is afterwards commemorated by an elegant convivial entertainment. Before adjudging the prize, the secretary is appointed to pronounce an *éloge* on some deceased ornament of the profession; and among others, those read by Dr. Duncan on the lives of Alexander Monro, *primus*, Alexander Monro, *secundus*, and Sir Joseph Banks, merit particular notice. Dr. Duncan occasionally stepped aside from the ordinary avocations of his profession to indulge in effusions—both prose and verse—little consonant with the more general tenor of his occupations. Among these we may notice a work he published, entitled "*Elogiorum Sepulchralium Edinensium delectus*—Monumental Inscriptions selected from Burial-grounds near Edinburgh;" in the preface of which, speaking as the editor, he observes: "Since the death of an amiable son, the editor has made it a religious duty to pay a visit to his grave every Christmas-day, the period of his death. This visit he has also extended to other churchyards, where the dust of several of his best friends is now deposited. His meditations during these mournful visits have led him to imagine that he was invited by the calls of gratitude to take this method of promulgating commemorations of departed worth." He then adds that he has selected the inscriptions and printed them in that form for the benefit of "an able scholar, who, depressed by accidental misfortunes in the mercantile line, now supports a young family by his knowledge of ancient and modern languages." This is peculiarly characteristic both of the affectionate and charitable disposition of his nature. He always, even to the very latest period of his life, looked back with satisfaction and pride at the period when he participated in the proceedings of the Royal Medical Society; and it was his custom to go down to the medical hall one night or more every season, for the purpose of hearing the discussions, in which he always expressed great interest. In the winter of 1827 he visited it for the last time, being then in the eighty-third year of his age. The members of that society had two years previously testified the high esteem in

which they held his memory, by subscribing for a full-length portrait of him, which was admirably executed by Mr. Watson Gordon, and now adorns the hall of the institution. It had been Dr. Duncan's custom for more than half a century to pay an annual visit to the summit of Arthur's Seat every May-day morning. This feat of pedestrianism he accomplished as usual on the 1st of May, 1827; but he was obliged, from a feeling of physical infirmity, to relinquish the attempt in May, 1828, on which day he had invited some friends to dine with him; finding himself rather unwell in the morning, he was under the necessity of retiring and confining himself to his chamber. From this period he was never able to go abroad. His appetite and flesh failed him, and, without having suffered any acute pain, he expired on the 5th of July, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

His funeral was attended by the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh; the principal and professors of the university, the Royal College of Physicians, the managers and medical officers of the Royal Public Dispensary, the Royal Medical Society, the Royal Physical Society, the Caledonian Horticultural Society, and a large assemblage of private gentlemen and friends of the venerable deceased.

He published numerous works during the course of his life; among which, *Elements of Therapeutics—Medical Commentaries—Heads of Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Physic—Annals of Medicine—Essay on Consumption—Medical Cases and Observations*, may be regarded as important additions to the medical literature of that period. To the Royal College of Physicians he bequeathed seventy volumes of M.S. notes from the lectures of the founders of the Edinburgh school of medicine, Drs. Munro *primus*, Rutherford, Alston, St. Clair, and Plummer; together with one hundred volumes of practical observations in his own hand-writing, which he had employed as notes for his clinical lectures. His exertions in his profession, and in the general cause of humanity, obtained for him the highest respect of his contemporaries, both at home and abroad. He was elected a corresponding member of the Medical Society of Denmark in 1776, and of the Royal Medical Society of Paris in 1778; he was chosen a member of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia in 1786, and of the Medical Society of London in 1787; he was appointed an honorary member of the Cæsarian university of Moscow in 1805, and first president of the Medico-chirurgical Society of Edinburgh at its institution in 1821. As a professor in the university of Edinburgh he was deservedly esteemed. His lectures were written in a perspicuous and unadorned style, and the physiological doctrines he promulgated were those which were considered the best established at that period; and these he explained in so clear a manner that his course of lectures may even yet be regarded as valuable, notwithstanding the additions that have been since made to our knowledge in this department of medical science. His style of lecturing was simple and unaffected, and no man could discharge more conscientiously the duties of his office. Both as a professor and a man, in his public and private career, his many estimable qualities endeared him to society, and especially to all who had the good fortune personally to know him.

DUNCAN, ANDREW, junr., M.D., the son of the excellent physician whose memoir we have given above, is entitled to a prominent rank among those who have distinguished themselves in the history of medicine. He was born in Edinburgh on the 10th August, 1773. At an early age he showed a predi-

¹ *Harveian Oration for 1829*, p. 24.

lection for medical science, being, when yet very young, often found in his father's library poring over medical books; to gratify which inclination he would often rise at an early hour before the rest of the family. His father naturally therefore destined him for the profession, and after going through the preliminary course of education prescribed for youth, he commenced its study in 1787. That he might become acquainted with the science in all its practical details, he served a regular apprenticeship for five years with Messrs. Alexander and George Wood, fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons; during which probation he toiled assiduously in laying the foundation of his future reputation. He then went through a complete course of literature and philosophy at the university, where, in 1793, he was admitted Master of Arts, and in 1794 received the degree of Doctor of Medicine.

With the view of acquiring a still more competent knowledge of his profession, he spent the ensuing winter, 1794-95, in London, where he attended the lectures on anatomy and surgery, then delivered in Windmill Street, by Dr. Baillie and Mr. Cruickshank; and dissected under the superintendence of Mr. Wilson. He there also became a pupil of Dr. George Pearson in chemistry, materia medica, and medicine, and received unusual advantages and opportunities of improvement from the attention and kindness of his father's numerous friends. He then proceeded to the Continent. After spending some time in Hamburg, Brunswick, and Hanover, for the purpose of acquiring the German language, seeing the hospitals of those cities, and becoming personally acquainted with the distinguished individuals at the head of the profession there, he entered himself a student in the university of Gottingen. There he attended the hospital under Richter, and resided with Professor Grellman, and had the good fortune to enjoy the intimate acquaintance of Blumenbach, Torisberg, Gmelin, Arnemann, Stromeyer, and Heine, gaining besides the friendship of many of the most distinguished students, who afterwards filled chairs in the universities of Germany.

From Gottingen he went to Vienna, visiting the hospitals and most of the celebrated men in the various universities and capitals through which he passed; after which he proceeded to Italy through the Tyrol, and having seen the hospitals at Milan, resided during the winter at Pisa, in the house of Brugnatelli, the professor of chemistry. He there attended the lectures and hospital practice of Scarpa, whose friendship and correspondence he had ever afterwards the honour of retaining; and also clinical medicine under Joseph Frank, and natural history under Spallanzani. He then made the tour of Italy as far as Naples, remained some time at Rome, and returned by Padua, Venice, and Trieste, to Vienna, where he attended the clinical lectures of John Peter Frank, then at the head of the profession in Germany. From Vienna he returned home, through Prague, Leipsic, Halle, Dresden, and Berlin, remaining in each long enough to see the public institutions and become acquainted with the most celebrated men. During this tour, not only did he acquire a more accurate and more extensive knowledge concerning the medical institutions and the state of medical science abroad than was at that time possessed by other medical men in this country; but he attained a proficiency in foreign languages, and an erudition in literature, which added all the accomplishments of a scholar to his qualifications as a physician. Here, too, in leisure hours snatched from severer studies, he cultivated his taste for the fine arts, more especially for painting and music, in which he ever after-

wards found a charm to relieve him from the fatigues he had to encounter in the laborious and anxious discharge of his professional and professorial duties.

On his return to Edinburgh he assisted his father in editing the *Medical Commentaries*, which, as we have already stated, extended to twenty volumes, and was succeeded by the *Annals of Medicine*, on the title-page of which the name of Dr. Duncan, junior, first appeared along with that of his father as joint-editors. But, at the request of Lord Selkirk, he was again induced to leave his native city to visit the Continent, for the purpose of attending his lordship's son, who was suffering under ill health. On his arrival, however, he found that this young nobleman had expired; but the attainments of Dr. Duncan having attracted considerable notice on the Continent, and being already signalized by a portion of the fame he afterwards enjoyed, he was solicited to prolong his stay in Italy, where he was by many invalids professionally consulted, and again enjoyed the opportunity of prosecuting his favourite pursuits. No man, perhaps, was ever more thoroughly imbued with the love of knowledge. It was in him an innate desire, urging him on with increasing restlessness to constant mental activity. He now remained chiefly in Florence and Pisa nine months, where he lived on habits of intimacy with the celebrated Fontana and Fabroni; and having afterwards visited many places in Switzerland and Germany, which he had not passed through during his former tour, he again returned to Edinburgh. He there settled as a medical practitioner, and was elected a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and shortly afterwards one of the physicians of the royal public dispensary, founded by the exertions of his father in 1773.

While actively engaged in the practical department of his profession, he did not neglect the application of his erudition and talents to the diffusion and advancement of medical science among his professional brethren. In 1805 he undertook the chief editorship of the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, which long sustained the high reputation of being one of the most valuable and influential medical journals in Europe. He acted from the commencement as the chief editor, although for some time he was assisted by Dr. Kellie of Leith, Dr. Balteman of London, Dr. Reeve of Norwich, and afterwards by Dr. Craigie. But his chief and most valuable contribution to medical science was the *Edinburgh Dispensatory*, the first edition of which appeared in 1803. A similar work had been published by Dr. Lewis in London, in 1753, under the title of the *New Dispensatory*, but the advancement of chemistry and pharmacy since that period had rendered a complete revision of it absolutely necessary. This task, which required no ordinary extent and variety of knowledge, and no slight assiduity, he executed with so much skill, judgment, and fidelity, that his work, immediately on publication, commanded the most extensive popularity, and became a standard authority in every medical school in Europe. Notwithstanding, indeed, that it has had to encounter the rivalry of other meritorious works on pharmaceutical chemistry and materia medica, it still maintains its pre-eminence. By Sir James Wylie it was made great use of in his *Pharmacopœia Castrensium Russicam*, published at Petersburg in 1808, for the use of the Russian army. It has been since translated into German by Eschenbach, with a preface by Professor Kuhn; into French by Couverchel, and has been several times republished by different editors in America.

He next conferred an essential service not only on the university, but on the general interests of the

community, by calling, in a strong and emphatic manner, attention to that branch of science denominated by the Germans state medicine, which comprehends the principles of the evidence afforded by the different branches of medicine in elucidating and determining questions in courts of law. This study, to which the more appropriate term of medical jurisprudence was applied, had been chiefly confined to the Germans, nor had the advantages resulting from their labours been sufficiently communicated to other countries. This Dr. Duncan fully perceived. He laid before the profession the substance of a few medico-legal works which had then been published on the Continent; he pointed out, and advocated ably, the necessity of this department of medical science being systematically studied in this country; and, after combating many prejudices, and overcoming many difficulties, succeeded in the cause he defended, and was rewarded by seeing the chair of medical jurisprudence instituted in the university. To his exertions the profession—we should rather say the public—is indebted for the institution of this important professorship; and when we look at the current of public events, and the numerous complex and momentous cases that are continually agitated in our judiciary and civil courts, often implicating the liberty, fortunes, and even lives of our fellow-creatures, we cannot remain insensible of the great good he has achieved. The chair of medical jurisprudence and police was instituted in the Edinburgh university in 1807, and Dr. Duncan was considered the most proper person to discharge its duties. He was therefore appointed the professor, and commenced his lectures the following session. He soon, by the lectures he delivered, and the numerous papers he published in his journal, impressed on the public mind the importance of the science he taught; and the interest he excited in its cultivation, both among his pupils and medical practitioners generally, gave in this country the first impetus to the progress of medical jurisprudence.

He repeatedly, during this time, was called upon to assist his father in officiating as physician in the clinical wards, and occasionally delivered clinical lectures. He also had at times the charge of the fever hospital at Queensberry House; to which, on the resignation of Dr. Spens, he was elected physician. But his introduction into the university brought on him an accumulation of labours, for he was shortly afterwards appointed secretary and also librarian; offices, the duties of which required at that period no ordinary exertions to discharge. Already it may have been gathered from the lives of Drs. Cullen and Duncan, senior, that the Edinburgh university was at this time only just emerging from that original infantine state which must precede the maturer glory of all institutions, on however grand a scale; and although Pitcairn, M'Laurin, the Monroes, Plummer, St. Clair, Alston, and Cullen, had thrown over it a lustre which was recognized by men of science throughout Europe, yet its internal state and economy required the most assiduous attention and careful management. The library, which from the charter of the college was entitled to every published work, was at this time, as may readily be supposed, a mass of confusion, which to reduce to anything like order was little less than an Herculean task. Added to this, the building of the university was yet unfinished, and every possible inconvenience opposed the duties of the librarian. Still the labours of Dr. Duncan were incessant. He was then appointed one of the commissioners for superintending the completion of the building of the college; and the services which in both capa-

cities he rendered to the public cannot be too highly estimated.

Having officiated for his father and Dr. Rutherford in the clinical wards of the Royal Infirmary during the winter of 1817-18 and the summer of 1818, he published at the end of that year reports of his practice, for the purpose of preserving a faithful record of the epidemic which at that time spread its ravages through Edinburgh. His labours did not go unrewarded. In 1819 the patrons of the university appointed him joint professor with his father in the chair of the theory of medicine. His skill as a lecturer on physiology was duly estimated by his pupils; but he did not retain this office long, for in 1821, Dr. Home, being translated to the chair of the practice of physic, he was elected in his place professor of materia medica and pharmacy. It is worthy of observation, that so highly were the qualifications of Dr. Duncan appreciated, and so obviously did they entitle him to this honour, that when it was understood that he had come forward as a candidate, no person ventured to compete with him for the vacated chair. He commenced his lectures at considerable disadvantage, being at the time in ill health, owing to an accident he had recently met with; but his abilities as a lecturer and his profound knowledge of materia medica, with all its collateral branches, being well known, attracted crowds to his class, whose sanguine expectations of the excellence of his teaching were amply redeemed. In the discharge of his duties as a professor he laboured most conscientiously, sacrificing his own comforts and health for the instruction of his pupils. During this season, and indeed ever after, says one who had every opportunity of knowing his domestic habits, "he was often seated at his desk at three in the morning, for his lectures underwent a continual course of additions and improvements." When, by the tender solicitude of his own relatives, he was often entreated to relax his incessant toils, and told that surely his task must be finished, he would reply, that to medical knowledge there was no end, and that his labours must be therefore infinite; and so, truly, they were, for it was one of the peculiar traits of his character to be ever investigating, which he did with unwearied patience, every new improvement and every new discovery that was announced in this country or on the Continent. His lectures on materia medica were most comprehensive and profound, and attracted so great a number of students to his class that the expectations which had been formed of the good which the university would derive from his promotion were amply fulfilled. He discharged the duties of this professorship with unwearied zeal and assiduity for eleven years. We have now arrived at the saddest period of his life. His constitution was never strong. It was constantly preyed upon by the exertions of an over-active mind, which allowed itself no repose. Had he been less solicitous about the discharge of his duties and less zealous in the pursuit of science, his health might have been invigorated and his life prolonged. But there was that disparity between the powers and energies of his mind and the limited vigour of his body, which generally proves fatal to men of superior attainments. He had for years toiled incessantly, bearing up against the consciousness of ill health and physical suffering. His anxiety to discharge his duties, indeed, absorbed every other consideration, and prompted him to endure until endurance itself could no longer obey its own high resolves. His strength, which had been severely impaired by an attack of fever in 1827, contracted in the discharge of his hospital duties, gradually declined. After persevering in delivering

his lectures until nearly the end of the session, he took to his bed in April, 1832, and having endured a lingering illness, during which he displayed all that patience and moral courage which are characteristic of a highly-gifted mind, he died on the 13th of the following May, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. His funeral, according to his own directions, was intended to be strictly private; but the members of numerous institutions, anxious to show their affection for his memory, met in the burial-ground to attend the obsequies of their lamented friend.

Great energy and activity of mind, a universality of genius that made every subject, from the most abstruse to the most trivial, alike familiar to him, and a devoted love of science, which often led him to prefer its advancement to the establishment of his own fame, were his distinguishing traits. So well was he known and appreciated on the Continent, that he received, unsolicited on his part, honorary degrees and other distinctions from the most famous universities; and few foreigners of distinction visited Edinburgh without bringing introductions to him. He had the honour of being in the habit of corresponding with many of the most distinguished persons in Europe, whether celebrated for high rank or superior mental endowments. He had a great taste for the fine arts in general, and for music in particular, and from his extensive knowledge of languages was well versed in the literature of many nations. His manners were free from pedantry or affectation, and were remarkable for that unobtrusiveness which is often the peculiar characteristic of superior genius. He possessed a delicacy of feeling and a sense of honour and integrity amounting in the estimation of many to fastidiousness, but which were the elements of his moral character. He was indeed as much an ornament to private as to public life.

Among his contributions to medical science deserving especial notice may be enumerated his experiments on Peruvian bark, whereby he discovered cinchonin, and paved the way for the discovery of the vegetable alkaloids, which has so essentially contributed to the advancement of pharmaceutical science; his examination of the structure of the heart and the complicated course of its fibres; his paper on diffuse inflammation of the cellular tissue; and more recently his *Experiments on Medicine*, communicated to the Royal Society of Edinburgh in December, 1830. In addition to these, and besides the numerous essays written in his own journal, he contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* the articles on the "Pharmacopoeia of the Royal College of Physicians," on "Vaccination," and on "Dr. Thomson's System of Chemistry;" and to the *Supplement of the Encyclopædia Britannica* those on "Aqua Toffana," "Digestion," and "Food."

DUNCAN, Rev. HENRY, D.D. This excellent divine, whose life was so distinguished by active practical usefulness, was born at Lochrutton manse, on the 8th of October, 1774. His father, the Rev. George Duncan, was minister of the parish of Lochrutton, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and his grandfather had also held the same parochial charge. Indeed both by father and mother Henry Duncan traced his descent from a line of ministers that almost reached to the days of the covenant, so that he was wont to compare his family to the tribe of Levi. It was not wonderful, therefore, that not only himself, but his younger brother, Thomas, should direct their choice and their studies to the ministry. After a careful home education at the manse of Lochrutton, and subsequently a public one at the academy of Dumfries, Henry Duncan went to the university of

St. Andrews in 1778. Two years after a temporary interruption in his college studies occurred, in consequence of his near relation Dr. Currie, the biographer of Burns, inviting him to enter a banking establishment in Liverpool with a view to becoming a merchant. Henry, whose purposes were not as yet very definite, complied, and in 1790 exchanged the occupations of a student for those of a banker's clerk.

During the three years which Henry Duncan thus spent in Liverpool, his time was not wholly employed in the details of business and banking calculations. From his natural bias, talents, and previous education, he could not be happy without the enjoyments of literary exercise, and therefore he not only sought every opportunity of frequenting intellectual society, but renewed his old studies, and wrote poetry. All these were significant tokens that he would not voluntarily become a banker: his choice was to be a parish minister rather than a *millionaire*; and this, too, not at the time from religious considerations, but the opportunities which he would enjoy for those literary pursuits which, in his eyes, formed the best occupation of life. After much reluctance his wishes were complied with, and he returned to Scotland in 1793, and continued his studies for five years, partly at the university of Edinburgh and partly at that of Glasgow. Having completed the required courses, he was taken upon trial by the presbytery of Dumfries, and licensed as a preacher of the gospel in 1798, after which, like many other licentiates, he betook himself to the occupation of a family tutor, until a presentation should introduce him into a settled charge. The place of his sojourn on this occasion was the Highlands; and as the whole heather was in a blaze of patriotic ardour at this period, from the threat of a French invasion, the young enthusiastic preacher caught the general spirit, and carried it so far, that besides girding himself with the usual weapons of military exercise, he assumed the Highland garb, to the great astonishment and mirth of its legitimate wearers, who had never seen theology so habited. It was as well that all this should speedily terminate, and accordingly, in 1799, not less than two presentations and one popular call offered themselves at the same period to his acceptance: these were to the parishes of Lochmaben and Ruthwell, and to a congregation of Presbyterians in Ireland. Mr. Duncan made his election in favour of Ruthwell, although it was the least tempting of the two parishes. It presented however, what he considered of chief account—the best opportunity of a life of clerical usefulness.

The first act of Mr. Duncan after receiving the presentation was well fitted to endear him to the affections of his future parishioners. By law he was entitled to the crop upon the glebe, should his settlement take place before its removal, by merely paying the expenses for seed and labour. This right, however, he waived in favour of the widow and daughter of the late incumbent, allowing her in the meantime to put into the ground what crop she pleased; and, in order that she might reap it undisturbed by legal technicalities, he delayed his settlement till the 19th of September, when he was solemnly inducted into his parish at the age of twenty-five, with a pastoral charge delivered to him by the aged minister who presided, from the text, "Let no man despise thy youth." On being settled, he entered into his clerical duties, so far as he understood them, with all the warmth of his affectionate heart, and all the energy of his active spirit, visiting and catechising from house to house, in addition to his public labours on the Sabbath. But the deep

ignorance, and somewhat lawless border character of his flock—for the parish lies on the shores of the Solway, and within the border district—were not the only difficulties with which he had to contend; for to these impediments were added the extreme poverty of the people occasioned by a course of scanty harvests, while the landlords were at their wits' end and knew not what remedy to devise. Finding that something must be done, and that speedily, Mr. Duncan, at his own risk, and through his two brothers settled in Liverpool, procured a cargo of Indian corn, which was retailed by his orders at prime cost, and in several cases where no money could be forthcoming, upon credit. But while comfort was thus introduced into the cottages of Ruthwell, and himself the only loser, he rejoiced in the expense and trouble he had undergone, as his plan was adopted by many. Another public case equally urgent, although of a less clerical character, arose from the threats of an invasion of Britain, which the French government still continued to hold out. Justly conceiving it to be his duty to set an example of Christian patriotism on this occasion, he roused his parishioners to resistance, and in consequence of this a corps, called the Ruthwell Volunteers, was soon embodied, with the minister for their captain. This office, indeed, whether willing or not, it was necessary that he should accept, otherwise his parishioners would scarcely have cared to come forward. Mr. Duncan, although perhaps the first clerical captain of this period, did not long stand alone, as many of the other parishes of Scotland followed the instance of Ruthwell, so that the same voice which uttered the military commands of to-day, was often employed in the public religious ministrations of to-morrow. It was the old spirit of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge come back again, and no Protestant country but Scotland could perhaps have given such an example.

Thus far Mr. Duncan had gone on, beloved by his people, to whom he was a fair example of all that is dignified and amiable in the natural man, as well as zealous in the discharge of all those general duties with which his office was connected. Something more, however, was still necessary to bring him into vital contact with the spiritual life of his sacred calling, and show how much as yet was wanting in his endeavours to promote the eternal welfare of those committed to his charge. His example and his efforts, excellent though they were, had still fallen short of the mark. But in 1804 the time had come when those spiritual perceptions were to be vouchsafed to him under which he would continue his ministerial career with new ardour and redoubled efficacy. This new light, too, under which such a happy change was to be accomplished, was neither to arise from the study of the works of the great masters of theology, nor yet from the reasonings or example of his learned co-presbyters; but from a despised people, as yet almost new in Scotland, and whose names were seldom mentioned except for purposes of ridicule and merriment. One man and two women of the society called Friends, or Quakers, had arrived at Annan, and announced their intention of holding a meeting in the evening for worship. Induced by curiosity, Mr. Duncan, who was in the town, attended the meeting, and was struck by the warmth and simplicity with which these strange preachers enunciated those Christian doctrines that had long been familiar to his mind, but to which the new style wherein they were now embodied, imparted the charm and power of novelty. An interview with the Quakers followed, and the impression was deepened; the minister gradually began to perceive

that he had something still to learn before he could become an effective Christian teacher. The lesson abode with him until, through a course of years, its fruits were ripened and matured; and ever after he was wont to revert with pleasure to this visit of the "Friends," and the benefits he had derived from them. In the same year which so powerfully influenced him for the future, he married Miss Agnes Craig, the only surviving daughter of his predecessor, in whose energy of character, refined taste, and active practical disposition, he found a mind congenial to his own in the work of life that still lay before him, and a counsellor to whom he could refer in every difficulty.

And now that the stirring enterprising mind of the minister of Ruthwell had received a new impulse, as well as a fit companion and assistant, his career was to be traced in a series of benevolent parochial plans from which he never desisted until they were realized. Ruthwell was not only a very poor parish, but subject to periodical visits of extreme destitution; and for such a population, amounting to 1100 souls, the fund for the poor, which was collected at the church-door, amounted annually to only about £25. As this constitutional poverty threatened to grow with the changes of modern living, and as Mr. Duncan dreaded the establishment of that artificial and compulsory charity called a poor's-rate, by which idleness would be encouraged and the honourable independent spirit of the poor broken down, he had set in earnest from the beginning to make them a self-supporting people. A friendly society, indeed, had been established among them so early as 1796; but from the imperfection of its plan, and the inexperience of its supporters, it had come to nothing. Undismayed by the evil omen of such a failure, and the despondency it had occasioned, Mr. Duncan brought the whole strength and experience of his mind to a revival of the plan under better arrangements; and the result was, that several friendly societies were originated in Ruthwell, having 300 members independent of the "parish box," and happy with each other in their public meetings and temperate soirees. Coincident with this was Mr. Duncan's concern for the intellectual as well as physical and moral elevation of his people; and therefore he endeavoured, by conversational lectures which he held on the Sunday evenings, to illustrate the Divine attributes, as manifested in the sciences of astronomy, physics, and history. This, however, unfortunately staggered the people, who as yet were neither prepared for such Sabbath ministrations, nor to believe that the earth turns round, and that the stars are of such prodigious magnitude. With the same purpose of elevating the lower orders, and inspiring them with the capacities as well as right feelings of industrious manly independence, he next commenced, in 1808, a serial work, of great efficacy in its day, under the title of the *Scotch Cheap Repository*. This periodical, consisting of short tracts and stories, was formed upon the plan of Mrs. Hannah More's *Cheap Magazine*; and both were the precursors of penny magazines, Chambers' journals, and the other economical popular literature of the present day. In supplying the materials for his *Repository*, Mr. Duncan was assisted by five of his clerical brethren, and by Miss Hamilton, the justly-famed authoress of the *Cottagers of Glenburnie*; while his own principal contribution, entitled *The Cottage Fireside, or Parish Schoolmaster*, afterwards published in a separate form, was thus eulogized by that Aristarchus of modern criticism, the *Quarterly Review*.—"In point of genuine humour and pathos, we are inclined to think that it fairly merits a place by the side of the *Cottagers of Glenburnie*, while the

knowledge it displays of Scottish manners and character is more correct and more profound." Without going out of his way to seek it, Mr. Duncan's talents as an author were now so highly appreciated, that his pen was in demand both from the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia* and the *Christian Instructor*—to the former of which he supplied the articles "Blair" and "Blacklock," and to the latter several valuable contributions extending over many years. His next principal object was the establishment of a provincial newspaper, the *Weekly Journal* of Dumfries being but a poor production, while the important events of the day, and the growing wants of the public mind, if not supplied with adequate sustenance, would have only opened the way for the publications of political discontent, false philosophy, and infidelity. Aware of this danger, and eager to avail himself of the opportunities of such a season for indoctrinating the public with substantial, healthy, and purified intelligence, Mr. Duncan had recourse to his brothers in Liverpool for the pecuniary means of action, and with their aid was enabled, at the close of 1809, to start the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, a weekly newspaper, to which, without announcing the fact, he officiated as editor for the first seven years. In this way he originated the best and most influential of all our Scottish provincial journals, and happily its reputation did not deteriorate under the able management of Mr. M'Diarmid, who, in 1817, succeeded Mr. Duncan in the editorship. All this while the wonderful activity which the minister of Ruthwell displayed, and the amount of versatile intelligence he brought to a great variety of action, cannot be too widely known. While he was careful in all his pulpit preparations, and enriching the columns of his journal with powerful and original articles, he was conducting as secretary the business of the Dumfries Auxiliary Bible Society, which he had formed in 1810; and, as president, that of the Dumfries Missionary Society. But this was not all. He was surrounding the manse of Ruthwell with a rich picturesque garden, and so effectually cultivating his fifty-acre glebe, that while a new scenery at length rose beneath his hand out of a bleak waste, his labours were the most instructive models that could have been presented to his own people and neighbourhood of what might be achieved in horticulture and agriculture, by one's own taste and industry, independent of a plentiful capital. Within the manse, too, there was no elbow-chair repose after such out-door occupation; on the contrary, it was a fit beehive for such a scenery, and resounded from morning till night with the hum of happy, active industry—for a domestic school was there, composed of a few boarders whom Mr. Duncan taught in addition to his own family, and in whose training he was the most careful, as well as most affectionate, of fathers and teachers. Even if we were to combine Pope's *Man of Ross* and Goldsmith's *Country Clergyman* into one, we would still have to search for a third person, learned and able in authorship, to complete a parallel picture.

But the greatest and most important of Mr. Duncan's public labours remains still to be mentioned: this was the establishment of savings-banks, by which his name will be best remembered by posterity. Mention has already been made of his desire to foster a spirit of independence among the lower orders, by cherishing the principles of provident economy through the establishment of friendly societies. In his researches, to which this attempt led, he found a paper, written by Mr. John Bone, of London, containing a plan for the abolition of poor's-rates in England; and among its complicated

devices, which for the most part were too ingenious to be practical, the idea was thrown out of the erection of an economical bank for the savings of the working-classes. Upon this suggestion Mr. Duncan fastened; although occurring as a pendeic, it contained the real pith and marrow of the whole subject, and might be easily reduced to working operation. He drew up a plan for the establishment of savings-banks throughout the country, which he published in his Dumfries journal; and, knowing that this would be regarded as a mere theory until it was verified by at least one substantial illustrative fact, he proceeded to the establishment of one of these banks in his own parish. Its working was soon sufficient to convince the most sceptical. The Ruthwell savings-bank commenced its existence in May, 1810; and although the poverty of this parish was beyond that of most in Scotland, the deposits during a course of four years were £151, £176, £241, and £922. This success was announced, and the plan of action he had drawn up in the *Dumfries Courier* was republished in several of the leading journals of Scotland; and the natural consequence was that savings-banks, established upon the model of that of Ruthwell, were opened not only in Edinburgh, but the principal towns throughout the kingdom. It was well for such a provident scheme that it had found Scotland for its birth-place and first field of action. From Scotland the example passed into England, and afterwards into Ireland; and with what happy results the superior economy of the industrious poor throughout the three kingdoms, and the immense amount of capital that has now accumulated, can bear full testimony. During this course of operation the honoured founder of the scheme was not forgot, chiefly however that he might lend his gratuitous labours to the furtherance of the good work; and for this purpose applications for counsel and suggestion poured in upon him from every quarter, the answers to which would have tasked a state-secretary and whole staff of assistants, instead of an already overlaid country minister. But, cheered with this evidence of the success of his benevolent mission, Mr. Duncan confronted the epistolary torrent, and had an answer for every inquirer. "Happily for himself and his cause," thus writes his amiable biographer, "his readiness as a letter-writer was one of his most remarkable characteristics. Whole days, indeed, were frequently consumed in this laborious occupation; but the amount of work accomplished while thus engaged was indeed astonishing. This may be understood when it is remembered that, among his correspondents in a scheme so entirely new, there must have been, as there were, many desirous of minute information and special explanations; many suggesting difficulties, and demanding their solution; many persevering and insatiable letter-writers, making small allowance for the overburdened and weary individual on whom had thus at once devolved the care of a thousand infant institutions. Add to this, that the soundness of some of the principles on which he was most decided was disputed by a few of the warmest friends of the measure, and that he had to maintain on these topics a tedious controversy, not the less necessary because those with whom it was carried on were among his best friends and coadjutors." While thus engaged, he also published, at the beginning of 1815, an essay *On the Nature and Advantages of Parish Banks; together with a Corrected Copy of the Rules and Regulations of the Parent Institution in Ruthwell*, for which production a new and enlarged edition was in demand in the following year. Thus it will be seen that Mr. Duncan was no mere benevolent

dreamer, even as a savings-bank was no mere "devout imagination." He was a man of fearless daring and incessant labour, and therefore in his hands the theory became a great substantial and national reality. And well was his benevolent disinterested heart rewarded in its own best fashion. To few of those who would teach truths "to save a sinking land" is the happy lot accorded to witness these truths in full operation, and producing their happiest results.

After the general adoption of the principle of savings-banks throughout the three kingdoms, from which it gradually diffused itself throughout the different countries of Europe, where it was adopted as the true "cheap defence of nations," it would have been contrary to all past experience, since the days of Triptolemus, if Mr. Duncan had been allowed to sit down as a public benefactor, and no angry wind had blown to shake the laurels that grew around him. Carping questions rose as to the fitness of his scheme, either in whole or in part; and when these were satisfactorily answered, attempts were made to bereave him of the honour of its paternity. A more difficult as well as more important step was to obtain for it the advantages of legislative protection, and for this purpose he repaired to London in the spring of 1819. After much negotiation with some of the leading financiers and statesmen, whom he converted to his views, the measure was introduced, and successfully carried through parliament. "You may carry with you," said a friend to him on that occasion, "the satisfaction of knowing that the savings-bank bill would not have been carried except by your visit to London." During the same year, and while the political discontent of the lower orders was daily threatening to merge into French infidelity and republicanism, Mr. Duncan published his *Young South Country Weaver*, a tale admirably suited to the times, as well as the classes for which it was especially written, being full of Scottish humour, and vigorous descriptions of such popular meetings and noisy demagogues as were in vogue among the rabble during this stormy period. In 1823 the degree of D.D. was conferred upon him by the university of St. Andrews. In 1826, stimulated by the example of Sir Walter Scott's novels, as well as offended with the tone of the tale of *Old Mortality*, in which our Presbyterian ancestors are held up to ridicule, Dr. Duncan attempted a work in the same style, but of an opposite tendency, in which he resolved to place the characters of the Covenanters in their proper light. For this purpose he wrote *William Douglas, or the Scottish Exiles*, a three-volume tale, which, however excellent in its way, was by no means a match for the powerful antagonist which it attempted to confront. But *non omnia possumus omnes*; and perhaps it was not altogether fitting or desirable that the minister of Ruthwell and founder of savings-banks should be as able and popular a novelist as the "author of Waverley."

In a life so active and so full of incidents as that of Dr. Duncan, it would be impossible, within our narrow limits, to give even a brief detail of his many occupations and their results. We are therefore obliged to dismiss the labours of years, filled as they were with his plans for the better instruction of the lower classes—with his attempts to avert, or at least retard, the imposition of a poor's-rate in Ruthwell, and over the country at large—and the active exertions he made in favour of the Roman Catholic relief bill, and afterwards in behalf of negro emancipation. We must even pass over his researches among the footprints of animals, which he was the

first to detect in the strata of old red sandstone; by which, according to Dr. Buckland, his discovery was "one of the most curious and most important that has been ever made in geology." In all these there was abundance of literary correspondence and authorship, in which he bestirred himself with his wonted activity and success. But events were now occurring in the church of sufficient import to absorb the attention and task the utmost energies of every zealous minister, let him be of what party he might; and, under the influence of these, Dr. Duncan was summoned to abandon his favourite pursuits, and throw his whole heart into a conflict in which the very existence of the national church itself appeared to be at stake.

This controversy, which finally led to the disruption, commenced with the popular hostility towards patronage. In a mere political point of view, indeed, patronage had fully lasted its day. The people of Scotland had now become so divested of their old feudal veneration for rank and place, and withal so intelligent and inquiring, that they were no longer in the mood of implicitly submitting their spiritual guidance to any earthly patron whatever. This palpable fact, however, it was not the interest of the aristocracy to recognize, and therefore they could not see it; so that, instead of gracefully conceding a privilege which in a few years more would have been worn-out and worthless, they preferred to cling to it until it should be torn from their grasp. On the subject of patronage Dr. Duncan had meditated long and anxiously; and, being convinced that it was an evil, he joined in the great popular movement that sought its suppression.

The proceedings of Dr. Duncan in the subsequent measures of the church may be easily surmised. In the most important of these he bore an active part; and when the convocation was assembled in Edinburgh, in 1842, he attended as one of the fathers of the church, and gave the benefit of his experience to its deliberations. On the 18th of May, 1843, the General Assembly met, and on that occasion 474 ministers abandoned their livings, and departed, that they might constitute a church in conformity with those principles for which they had made the sacrifice. Dr. Duncan, who had been present on the occasion, and joined the solemn exodus, returned to Ruthwell, to gather together that portion of his flock which still adhered to him. They constituted nearly the half, though the least wealthy part, of the church-going population of the parish; but their exertions, as well as their sacrifices, in behalf of the cause which they had embraced, even already consoled him for the loss both of church and manse. A new place of worship was soon erected, and as for a place of residence, this also was found in one end of a cottage, which the tenant resigned, for the occupation of the minister and his family. It was, indeed, a different habitation from that beautiful manse which he had so amplified, and the gardens of which he had so tastefully laid out and planted, during a residence of forty years, but the change was made in the name of Him who "had not where to lay his head."

The remainder of Dr. Duncan's career, after he left the Established Church, may be briefly told. It was that long-confirmed spirit of activity, which had become the chief element of his being, struggling as bravely as ever against new obstacles, and surmounting them, but struggling under the growing frailties of years, through which the trial must be all the more quickly ended. To such a man there could be but one resting-place, and to this his failing footsteps were hastening. It was also in

harmony with his character, that the summons calling him to enter into his rest should find him in the midst of active duty, with his loins girt, and his lamp burning. After a journey into England, chiefly connected with the interests of the church and his own flock, he resumed, at his return home, the work of clerical visitation, and for this purpose had repaired to Cockpool, about two miles from Ruthwell, to preside at an evening prayer-meeting. In the course of the religious services on this occasion he read a text of Scripture, and was employed in illustrating it, when he was suddenly struck with paralysis, and after a short illness died on the evening of the 11th of February, 1846, in the seventy-second year of his age.

Dr. Duncan was twice married; his second wife having been the widow of the Rev. Mr. Lundie, of Kelso, to whom he was united in 1836. In mentioning the varied authorship of Dr. Duncan, we omitted the work on which his literary reputation will chiefly depend. This was *The Sacred Philosophy of the Seasons*, in four volumes, written upon the plan of the well-known work of Sturm, and furnishing a paper for every day in the year. Of this work several editions have already been published. But the savings-banks will constitute Dr. Duncan's most abiding monument, and will continue, throughout the world at large, to be connected with his name as their founder, when the best literary productions of the present day have ceased to be remembered.

DUNCAN, JOHN. Of all the enterprises of travel, none perhaps are so dangerous or difficult as the exploration of that vast and mysterious *terra incognita*, the interior of Africa, and none have been more tempting to Scottish perseverance and intrepidity. The names of Bruce, Park, Clapperton, and others, who either perished in the journey, or returned home only to die after their expectations had been crushed and their constitutions broken, will here occur to the memory of the reader. One of this intrepid, self-devoted forlorn hope, was Mr. John Duncan.

This African traveller was born in humble circumstances, being the son of a small farmer in Wigtonshire; but the precise date of his birth we have been unable to ascertain. At an early period he enlisted in the 1st regiment of life-guards, where he served eighteen years with an excellent character, and was discharged about the year 1840 with the highest testimonials of good conduct. After having left the army, he was attached as armourer to the unfortunate expedition sent out to explore the Niger in 1842. His office on this occasion was one peculiarly trying under a vertical African sun; for in all the treaties made with the native chiefs, he marched at the head of the English party, encumbered with the heavy uniform of a life-guardsman, and burning within the polished plates of a tightly buckled cuirass. He was thus made an imposing pageant, to strike the eyes of the astonished Africans, and impress them with a full sense of the grandeur and military power of Britain. But it was a delusive show; for in such a climate all this glittering harness was an intolerable burden, and the wearer would in reality have been more formidable in the linen-quilted armour of the soldiers of Cortez, or even in a tanned sheepskin. He survived to return to England with such of his companions as remained, but with a shattered constitution, and a frightful wound in his leg, under which he was long a sufferer.

After John Duncan had recovered from the effects of such a journey, instead of being daunted by the toils and dangers he had so narrowly escaped, he only felt a keener desire than ever to attempt new

discoveries in the African interior. The excitement of peril had become his chief pleasure, while the do-or-die determination to resume his half-finished adventure, and prosecute it to the close, must be gratified at whatever price. It is of such stuff that the hearts of our African travellers are composed, and how seldom therefore are they satisfied with *one* expedition, however dangerous it may have been? Duncan announced his desire to Mr. Shillinglaw, then librarian to the Geographical Society, and the latter, delighted to find one so well qualified for such a journey, introduced him to the council. The arrangements were soon made, and in the summer of 1844 Duncan set off upon his pilgrimage, under the auspices of the society, and liberally furnished with everything that could minister to his comfort or facilitate his means of exploration. On reaching Africa, his first attempt was to explore the kingdom of Dahomey, the wealthiest and most civilized—or, perhaps, we should say, the least savage—of all those marvellous African realms which Europeans have as yet reached; and of this country he traversed a large portion, laying open sources of information concerning it which had hitherto been inaccessible to our travellers. But the sufferings he underwent in this journey were excruciating, chiefly owing to the old wound in his leg, that broke out afresh under the burning climate that had first occasioned it; and so serious at one time were his apprehensions of a mortification supervening, that in the absence of all medical aid, he had actually made preparations for cutting off the limb with his own hand. Happily, a favourable turn made such a desperate resource unnecessary; but the mere resolution shows of what sacrifices he was capable in the prosecution of his purpose. On returning to Cape Coast, much impaired in constitution, he resolved to start afresh on a new journey to Timbuctoo, but continuing ill health obliged him to forego his purpose, and return to England.

Our admiration of Duncan's persevering intrepidity is heightened by the fact, that he was neither a man of science, nor even a tolerable scholar, his early education having been both brief and defective; and thus he was deprived of those sources of enthusiasm which cheered onward such travellers as Bruce and Park to the source of the Nile or the parent streams of the Niger. But he had keen observation and solid sound sense, by which he was enabled materially to enrich our African geography, without the parade of learning; and as such his communications were so justly appreciated, that after his return to England, her majesty's government appointed him to the office of British vice-consul at Whydah, in the kingdom of Dahomey. Nothing could be more grateful to his feelings, for besides being an honourable attestation to his services in behalf of science and humanity, the appointment furnished him with ample means for a third African expedition, in which all his previous attempts as a traveller might be perfected. He set sail accordingly, in H.M.S. *Kingfisher*, but was not destined to reach the expected port; for he sickened during the voyage, and died when the vessel had reached the Bight of Benin, on the 3d of November, 1849.

DUNCAN, MARK. It is a fact gratifying to our national pride, that so great a number of the learned men in France during the sixteenth and earlier part of the seventeenth centuries were not natives of that country, but Scotsmen. Scottish professors were to be found in all the universities and seminaries of learning throughout that kingdom, and from them a large portion of that impulse was derived under

which French learning and civilization grew and flourished. It was thus that Scottish students amply repaid those continental universities in which their learning was matured. It was there also that they could enjoy that consideration and literary tranquillity which the poverty, ignorance, and unsettled state of their own country were unable to bestow.

Among these Scottish benefactors and instructors of France may be included Mark Duncan. It has been stated, but erroneously, that he was born in London, and that his father was a native of Yorkshire. There is sufficient proof however from family testimonials to show that he was a Scotsman, and the son of Thomas Duncan of Maxpoffle, in the county of Perth; and that both by father and mother he was descended from old and respectable Scottish families. In what year Mark Duncan was born we are unable to ascertain, but it is supposed to have been about or nigh 1570. Of his early history also we have no positive information, and can only conclude, that, according to the custom of Scottish students at that period, he acquired the elements of learning in his own country, and afterwards matured his scholarship at some university on the Continent. Through the patronage of Du Plessis-Mornay, governor of the city of Saumur, and one of the most influential of the Protestant leaders, he was appointed professor of philosophy in the university of Saumur, at that time distinguished not only as a seminary of the reformed doctrines in religion, but by the accomplished scholars who taught in it. In this chair Mark Duncan obtained high reputation, and educated several distinguished pupils, among whom was Jean Daillé, one of the most eminent theologians of the seventeenth century. In this situation he also published several learned works, the chief of which was his *Institutio Logica*, which extended his reputation as an acute and accurate logician. Of this work, which is dedicated to Du Plessis-Mornay, at least three editions are known to have been published; and Burgersdick, himself a distinguished writer and teacher in the science of logic, declared that he had derived more aid from it in compiling his *Institutions* than from any other source. But besides discharging the duties of his chair both as a professor and author, Duncan added to these the practice of physic, in which his fame became so high, that James I., after his accession to the English throne, invited him to settle in England; and to show the sincerity of his wish, he sent to him a patent appointing him his own physician. But Mark Duncan had married at Saumur a lady of good family, and on account of her reluctance to leave her native country, relatives, and friends, he was induced to remain in the country of his adoption. Such was the esteem in which he was held in France, and the emolument that must have flowed from his practice as a physician, that he doubtless acted prudently even in refusing the appointment of physician in ordinary to the King of Great Britain, encumbered with the court jealousies and changes with which it was likely to be accompanied.

One of the most notable events in the life of Mark Duncan originated in the alleged case of the devil-possession of the nuns of Loudun. Urbain Grandier, curate and canon of Loudun, was so popular as a preacher that the Capuchins of the place resolved to effect his ruin, and for this purpose trumped up accusations against him suited to the superstitions of the age. After charging him with several flagrant acts of incontinence with women under his spiritual guidance, from which however, after several strict examinations, he was cleared, they had recourse to an accusation from which, on account of its very absurdity, it was not so easy to escape. He was

accused of having bewitched the Ursuline nuns of Loudun, and these silly women, either tutored by the Capuchins, or persuaded of the reality of the charge, confirmed it by those frantic demonstrations which were usually accepted as the tokens of Satanic possession. Grandier was arrested in December, 1633, and after long examination and trial, was in the following year condemned and committed to the flames. In such a strange inquest Duncan, along with other physicians, had attended at the exorcisms of the nuns, and being convinced that the whole affair was an imposture devised for an unjust and cruel purpose, he wrote an anonymous tract detecting and exposing the fraud. It was so daring an act against the incredulity of the age and the interests of a powerful ecclesiastical order, that inquiries were certain to be set on foot for the detection of the author; and as the pamphlet was suspected to be his production, he would soon have experienced the vengeance of the prosecutors, and suffered the same fate as Grandier, had he not been protected by Madame le Maréshale de Brezé, who esteemed him as a physician, and whose husband was governor of the province.

The year in which Mark Duncan died is supposed to have been 1640, and so much had he been beloved that his demise was followed by the regret of all parties, whether Papist or Protestant. His literary reputation did not rest on his acquirements in philosophy and medicine alone, as he was also well skilled in divinity and mathematics. He had three sons and three daughters, of which family his sons, according to the custom of France, assumed territorial names, although, in the words of Dr. Irving, "their only territorial possessions were castles in the air." Of these the eldest, Mark, who was named Cerisantes, was a poet, soldier, and diplomatist, and distinguished by a life of varied adventures. In 1641 he was an envoy to Constantinople; in 1645 he was resident ambassador of Christina, Queen of Sweden, at the court of France; and finally, having renounced the Protestant religion, he was sent by the French king to watch the conduct of the Duke of Guise during his expedition to Naples, and fell in an attack on the Spaniards in 1648. The chief poem of this erratic genius was *Carmen Gratulatorium in Nuptias Caroli R. Ang. cum Henrietta Mariæ filii Henrici IV. R. Fr.*—a union from which all kinds of blessings were to accrue to the world at large, and a millennium of universal peace to be established on earth. It is needless to add that, however beautiful the poetry, its predictions were sadly belied.

DUNCAN, THOMAS, R.S.A., A.R.A. This distinguished portrait and historical painter was born at Kinclaven, Perthshire, on the 24th of May, 1807. In early life his parents removed to Perth, and there the education of the future artist was chiefly conducted. As the tendency towards painting, like that of poetry or music, is natural, not acquired, Thomas Duncan at an early age gave distinct indications of his future walk in life, by drawing likenesses of his young companions, or such objects as struck his fancy; and on one occasion, when himself and his school-fellows had resolved to perform the play of "Rob Roy" in a stable loft, he painted the whole of the scenery that was needed for the occasion. As it is not always that these juvenile predilections find favour in the eyes of prudent parents and guardians, the father of Thomas took the alarm, and hastened to remove his idle boy, as he reckoned him, to an occupation that would ultimately be more profitable; and, with this view, bound him as apprentice to a provincial lawyer; but such uncongenial drudgery only fostered the tendency which it was meant to cure, so that

when Thomas Duncan had finished his time of servitude, there was less chance than ever of his becoming a country lawyer. A painter he would be, and his father was obliged to consent to his choice by allowing him to remove to Edinburgh, that he might cultivate the profession for which nature had designed him. He was so fortunate as to obtain Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Allan for his preceptor. Under his guidance he not only rapidly mastered the rules of art, and acquired artistic skill, but soon outstripped his class-fellows in that most difficult of all departments, the drawing of the human figure. In 1828 he became an exhibitor at the Scottish Academy, and his first picture which brought him into general notice was the "Milkmaid;" the "Braw Wooer" soon followed, the last being exhibited in 1830; and these early productions were so highly appreciated, that although under the usual age of those who had hitherto held such important offices, he was first appointed to be professor of colouring, and soon afterwards he succeeded Sir W. Allan as chief director of the Trustees' Academy. He was also elected a member of the Royal Scottish Academy. From this time onward his career was one of steady advancement, and he speedily gained for himself the position of one of the most prominent artists in Scotland. Devoting himself at first principally to portraiture, a department in which he greatly excelled, he produced *genre* and historical pictures from time to time. In 1831 he exhibited his "Lucy Ashton at the Mermaid's Fountain," and "Jeanie Deans on her Journey to London;" in 1834, "Cuddie Headrigg visiting Jenny Dennison;" in 1835, "Queen Mary Signing her Abdication;" in 1836, "Old Mortality," and "A Covenantant;" in 1837, "Anne Page inviting Master Slender to Dinner" (now in the Scottish National Gallery), a picture which obtained the enthusiastic approbation of such men as Etty and Landseer; and in 1838, "Isaac of York visiting his Treasure Chest," and "The Lily of St. Leonards."

Having thus won for himself such high distinction, Mr. Duncan was resolved that it should not be merely local or temporary: he loved art for its own sake, as well as for its emoluments, and longed to paint for immortality rather than the easily-won celebrity of the passing day. For this purpose he turned his attention to the Royal Academy, and sent thither, in 1840, his well-known painting of "Prince Charles Edward and the Highlanders entering Edinburgh after the Battle of Prestonpans," a truly national production, the value of which was enhanced to the present generation of Scotchmen by the portraits of several eminent living characters whom he has introduced into the scene. It was purchased by the late Alexander Hill, Esq., for £500. In the London exhibition he had a more formidable ordeal to pass than the limited one of Edinburgh; but he triumphantly went through it, and the historical painting of the young Scottish artist was spoken of in terms of the highest commendation. This he successfully followed, in 1841, by his picture of the "Waefu' Heart," a scene from the beautiful ballad of *Auld Robin Gray*, in which it is enough to say, that the conception of the painter does not fall short of that of the poet; in 1842 by the picture of "Deerstalking;" and in 1843 by "Charles Edward asleep after the Battle of Culloden, protected by Flora Macdonald," also purchased by Alexander Hill, Esq., for £400. By this time his reputation was so well established, that, in the same year, he was elected an associate of the Royal Academy. In 1844 Mr. Duncan sent to the exhibition his ideal painting of "Cupid," and his historical one of "The Martyrdom of John Brown, of Priesthill, in 1685." These were his principal

productions, many of which are now widely known through the medium of engravings; and to the list might be added his admirable portraits of several eminent Scottish contemporaries, whose features he has perpetuated with a felicity that has been universally acknowledged. But of these, we should especially mention his portraits of Professor Miller, Lord Robertson, Dr. Gordon, and Dr. Chalmers, and his own portrait, now the property of the Royal Scottish Academy; the last, one of the noblest modern portraits in existence.

Such was the artistic career of Thomas Duncan, which was now to be brought to a premature close. His constitution had always appeared a sound one, giving promise of a long and healthy life; but an internal tumour had gradually been forming in his head, near the optic nerves, which at last nearly reduced him to a state of blindness. By skilful medical treatment the malady was almost entirely removed, when it fixed itself upon the brain, producing all the appearances of brain-fever, under which he sank. His death occurred on the 30th of April, 1845, at the age of thirty-eight; and he was survived by a widow and six children, who were not left unprovided. His remains were followed to the place of interment by the Royal Academicians; by his venerable friends Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Gordon, Professor Wilson, &c.; and by the whole of the pupils of the Edinburgh School of Art. A short time before his last illness he had received an order from the Marquis of Breadalbane for a picture, to commemorate the Queen's visit to Taymouth, for which he was to be paid £600. For this picture he had prepared a finished sketch in oil colours, and this, together with an unfinished sketch for a large historical picture of "George Wishart, on the Day of his Martyrdom, dispensing the Sacrament in the Prison of the Castle of St. Andrews," appeared after his decease in the Royal Scottish Academy's exhibition of the year 1846. To this brief sketch we can only add the following summary of his character, as given by a brother-artist and friend of Thomas Duncan:—"Had his life been prolonged, there is no question he would have achieved a lofty position in historical painting; nor must we omit to mention his portraits, which were faithfully and skilfully rendered. As a colourist, indeed, he had few superiors. As an instructor of his art he was kind, conciliatory, and anxious for the improvement of his pupils; and in every relation of domestic life he contrived to secure the esteem and affection of all around him."

DUNCAN, WILLIAM, a learned writer, was born at Aberdeen, in July, 1717. He was the son of William Duncan, a tradesman in that city, and of Euphemia Kirkwood, the daughter of a farmer in Haddingtonshire. He received the rudiments of his education partly at the grammar-school of Aberdeen, and partly at a boarding-school at Foveran, kept by a Mr. George Forbes. In 1733 Mr. Duncan entered the Marischal College at Aberdeen, and applied himself particularly to the study of Greek under Dr. Blackwell. At the end of the usual course he took the degree of M.A. His first design was to become a clergyman; but, after studying divinity for two years, he abandoned the intention, and, removing to London, became a writer for the press. The greater part of his literary career was of that obscure kind which rather supplies the wants of the day, than stores up fame for futurity. Translations from the French were among his mental exertions, and he was much beloved and respected by the other literary men of his day, especially those who were of the same nation with himself, such as George Lewis Scott and Dr. Armstrong.

"The principal work of Mr. Duncan was his translation of select orations of Cicero, which is still a book of standard excellence, and constantly used in our schools. He contributed the department of "Logic" to Mr. Dodsley's *Modern Preceptor*, which appeared in 1748, and was one of the most useful and popular books published during the eighteenth century. In 1752 appeared his last work, the translation of *Cæsar's Commentaries*, which is decidedly the best in our language. Duncan has in a great measure caught the spirit of the Roman writer, and has preserved his turn of phrase and expression as far as the nature of our language would permit. In this year Mr. Duncan received a royal appointment to a philosophical chair in the Marischal College; and in 1753 commenced lecturing on natural and experimental philosophy. Before leaving London he had engaged to furnish a bookseller with a new translation of Plutarch; but his health proved inadequate to the task. His constitution had been considerably injured by the sedentary nature of his employments in London, and he was now content to discharge the ordinary duties of his chair. After a blameless life he died (unmarried) May 1, 1760, in the forty-third year of his age. Mr. Duncan cannot so much be said to have possessed genius, as good sense and taste; and his parts were rather solid than shining. His temper was social, his manners easy and agreeable, and his conversation entertaining and often lively. In his instructions as a professor he was diligent and very accurate. His conduct was irreproachable, and he was regular in his attendance on the various institutions of public worship. Soon after his settlement in the Marischal College, he was admitted an elder in the church-session of Aberdeen, and continued to officiate as such till his death.

DUNDASES OF ARNISTON. This family holds a very conspicuous place in the legal and political history of Scotland for a period extending almost to a century and a half; and to the biographical student nothing can be more interesting than to trace the merited elevation of the successive heads of the family to the highest judicial appointments in the country. The Arniston family is sprung from that of Dundas of Dundas, one of the most ancient in Scotland. Sir James Dundas, the first of Arniston, who received the honour of knighthood from James VI., and was governor of Berwick, was the third son of George Dundas of Dundas, the sixteenth in descent from the Dunbars, Earls of March, a family which, according to Sir James Dalrymple, can trace its origin from the Saxon Kings of England. The mother of Sir James Dundas was Catherine, daughter of Lawrence, Lord Oliphant. Having premised this much of the origin of the family, we proceed to give short biographical notices of its most distinguished members.

DUNDAS, SIR JAMES, of Arniston, eldest son of the first Sir James, by Mary, daughter of George Hume of Wedderburn, had the honour of knighthood conferred on him by Charles I. After receiving a liberal education, he spent a considerable time abroad, visiting the principal courts of Europe. On his return he was chosen one of the representatives of the county of Mid-Lothian in the Scottish parliament, and during a period of great danger and difficulty he maintained the character of a steady patriot and a loyal subject—an enemy alike to slavish subserviency and to treasonable turbulence. He greatly disapproved of the measures proposed by Charles I., at the instigation of Laud, for establishing Episcopacy in Scotland, and did not think it inconsistent with a sincere principle of loyalty to sub-

scribe the national covenant, entered into for the purpose of resisting that innovation.

After the Restoration, when the English judges who had officiated in Scotland during the usurpation were expelled, and the Court of Session re-established, Sir James Dundas was, in 1662, appointed one of the judges, and took his seat on the bench under the title of Lord Arniston. His high character and great natural abilities were thought sufficient to counterbalance the disadvantage arising from the want of a professional education. But he held this appointment only for a short time. For Charles II. having been induced by the unsettled state of Scotland to require that all persons holding office should subscribe a declaration importing that they held it unlawful to enter into leagues or covenants, and abjuring the "national and solemn league and covenant," the judges of the Court of Session were required to subscribe this *test* under pain of deprivation of office. The majority of them complied; but Sir James Dundas refused, unless he should be allowed to add, "in so far as such leagues might lead to deeds of actual rebellion." Government, however, would consent to no such qualification; and Lord Arniston was consequently deprived of his gown. The king himself had proposed as an expedient for obviating the scruples of the recusant judges, that they should subscribe the test publicly, but should be permitted to make a *private* declaration of the sense in which they understood it. Most of them availed themselves of this device, but Lord Arniston rejected it, making the following manly answer to those of his friends who urged him to comply—"I have repeatedly told you, that in this affair I have acted from conscience; I will never subscribe that declaration unless I am allowed to qualify it; and if my *subscription* is to be public, I cannot be satisfied that the *salvo* should be *latent*." His seat on the bench was kept vacant for three years, in the hope apparently that he might be prevailed on to yield to the solicitations which, during that interval, were unceasingly, but in vain, addressed to him, not only by his friends and brother judges, but by the king's ministers. He had retired to his family seat of Arniston, where he spent the remainder of his life in the tranquil enjoyment of the country, and in the cultivation of literature and the society of his friends. He died in the year 1679, and was succeeded in his estates by his eldest son Robert, the subject of the immediately succeeding notice.

DUNDAS, ROBERT, of Arniston, son of Sir James, by Marion, daughter of Lord Boyd, was bred to the profession of the law, and for many years represented the county of Edinburgh in the Scottish parliament. In the year 1689, immediately after the Revolution, he was raised to the bench of the Court of Session by King William, and took the title of Lord Arniston. He continued to fill that station with great honour and integrity during the long period of thirty-seven years; and died in the year 1727, leaving his son Robert, by Margaret, daughter of Robert Sinclair of Stevenston,¹ to succeed him in his estates, and to follow his footsteps in the legal profession.

DUNDAS, ROBERT, of Arniston, F.R.S. Edinburgh, third lord of session of the family, and first lord-president, was born on the 9th December, 1685. Although at no time distinguished for laborious application to study, yet he had obtained a general acquaintance with literature, while his remarkable acuteness, and very extensive practice, rendered him a profound lawyer. He became a member of the

¹ It is from this lady, familiarly termed Meg Sinclair, that the peculiar talent of the family is said to have been derived.

Faculty of Advocates in 1709, and in 1717, while the country was recovering from the confusion occasioned by the rebellion of 1715, he was selected, on account of his firmness and moderation, to fill the responsible office of solicitor-general for Scotland, which he did with much ability and forbearance. In 1720 he was presented to the situation of lord-advocate; and in 1722 was returned member to the British parliament for the county of Edinburgh. In parliament he was distinguished by a vigilant attention to Scottish affairs, and by that steady and patriotic regard to the peculiar interests of his native country, which has been all along one of the most remarkable characteristics of his family. When Sir Robert Walpole and the Argyle party came into power in the year 1725, Mr. Dundas resigned his office, and resumed his place as an ordinary barrister; soon after which he was elected by his brethren dean of the Faculty of Advocates; a dignity which confers the highest rank at the bar, it being even at this day a question whether, according to the etiquette of the profession, the dean is not entitled to take precedence of the lord-advocate and the solicitor-general. In 1737 Mr. Dundas was raised to the bench; when, like his father and grandfather, he took the title of Lord Arniston. He held the place of an ordinary or puisne judge until the year 1748, when, on the death of Lord-president Forbes of Culloden, he was raised to the president's chair, and continued to hold that high office until his death. He died in 1753, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

As a barrister Mr. Dundas was a powerful and ingenious reasoner. To great quickness of apprehension he added uncommon solidity of judgment; while, as a public speaker, he was ready, and occasionally impressive without being declamatory. His most celebrated display was made in 1728, at the trial of Carnegie of Finhaven, indicted for the murder of the Earl of Strathmore. Mr. Dundas, who was opposed on that occasion to Duncan Forbes of Culloden, then lord-advocate, conducted the defence with great ability, and had the merit, not only of saving the life of his client, but of establishing, or rather *restoring*, the right of a jury in Scotland to return a general verdict on the guilt or innocence of the accused. An abuse, originating in bad times, had crept in, whereby the province of the jury was limited to a verdict of finding the facts charged *proven*, or *not proven*, leaving it to the court to determine by a preliminary judgment on the relevancy, whether those facts, if proved, constituted the crime laid in the indictment. In this particular case the fact was, that the Earl of Strathmore had been accidentally run through the body, and killed, in a drunken squabble; the blow having been aimed at another of the party, who had given great provocation. The court, in their preliminary judgment on the relevancy, found that the facts, as set forth in the indictment, if proved, were sufficient to infer the "*pains of law*,"—or, in other words, that they amounted to *murder*;—and therefore they allowed the public prosecutor to prove his case before the jury, and the accused to adduce a proof in exculpation. Had the jury confined themselves to the mere question whether or not the facts stated in the indictment were *proved*, the life of Mr. Carnegie would have been forfeited. But Mr. Dundas, with great acuteness and intrepidity, exposed and denounced this encroachment on the privileges of the jury, which he traced to the despotic reigns of Charles II. and his brother James II.; and succeeded in obtaining a verdict of not guilty. Since that trial, no similar attempt has been made to interfere with juries. The trial, which is in other respects interest-

ing, will be found reported in Arnot's *Collection of Celebrated Criminal Trials*; and in preparing that report, it appears that Mr. Arnot was favoured, by the second Lord-president Dundas, with his recollections, from memory, of what his father had said, together with the short notes from which Mr. Dundas himself spoke. These notes prove, that, in preparing himself, he merely jotted down, in a few sentences, the heads of his argument, trusting to his extemporaneous eloquence for the illustrations.

In his judicial capacity Lord Arniston was distinguished no less by the vigour of his mind and his knowledge of the law, than by his strict honour and inflexible integrity. It has been said of him, that his deportment on the bench was forbidding and disagreeable; but although far from being affable or prepossessing in his manners, he was much liked by those who enjoyed his friendship; and was remarkable throughout his life for a convivial turn approaching occasionally to dissipation. Some allowance, however, must be made for the manners of the time, and for the great latitude in their social enjoyments, which it was the fashion of the Edinburgh lawyers of the last century to allow themselves. It is to be regretted that Lord Arniston was not raised to the president's chair earlier in life. He succeeded Lord-president Forbes, one of the most illustrious and eminent men who ever held that place; and it is not therefore very wonderful, that, far advanced in life as President Dundas was, he should not have been able to discharge the duties of his important office with all the dignity and energy of his highly-gifted predecessor.

Lord Arniston was twice married; first, to Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Watson of Muirhouse, by whom he left Robert, afterwards lord-president of the Court of Session, and two daughters; and secondly, to Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Gordon of Invergordon, Bart., by whom he left four sons and one daughter. One of the sons of this second marriage was Henry, afterwards raised to the peerage under the title of Lord Viscount Melville.

DUNDAS, ROBERT, of Arniston, lord-president of the Court of Session, the eldest son of the first Lord-president Dundas, by Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Watson of Muirhouse, was born on the 18th of July, 1713. When at school and at college he was a good scholar, but afterwards was never known to read through a book, and seldom even to look into one, unless from curiosity, when he happened to be acquainted with the author. It was the custom at the period when the subject of this memoir received his education for Scottish gentlemen, intended for the higher walks of the legal profession, to study the Roman law at the schools on the Continent, where that law was then taught with much celebrity. Young Dundas, therefore, after acquiring the elementary branches of his education under the care of a domestic tutor, and at the schools and university of Edinburgh, proceeded to Utrecht towards the close of the year 1733, in order to prosecute his legal studies at that famous university. He remained abroad during four years, spending his academical vacations in visiting Paris and several of the principal towns and cities in France and the Low Countries.

He returned to Scotland in the year 1737, and in the year following became a member of the Faculty of Advocates. His first public appearances sufficiently proved that he had inherited the genius and abilities of his family: his eloquence was copious and animated; his arguments convincing and ingenious, while even his most unpremeditated pleadings were distinguished by their methodical arrangement. In

consultation his opinions were marked by sound judgment and great acuteness, while his tenacious memory enabled him with facility and readiness to cite precedents and authorities. Although endowed by nature with very considerable talents for public speaking, yet he not only neglected the study of composition, but contemned the art of elocution. In his pleadings, however, as well as in his conversation, he displayed a great deal of fancy and invention, which the strength and soundness of his judgment enabled him to restrain within due bounds. In spite of his want of application, and a strong propensity to pleasure and dissipation, he rose rapidly into practice at the bar. But from the course which he adopted it seems to have been his intention, without rendering himself a slave to business, to attain such a high place in his profession as should entitle him to early promotion. Acting on this principle he usually declined, except in very important cases, to prepare those written pleadings and arguments which at that time, and until lately, were so well known in the Court of Session. The labour attending this part of his professional duty he felt to be irksome. For the same reason he was accustomed to return many of the briefs which were sent to him, confining his practice to noted cases, or such as excited general interest. In this manner, without undergoing the usual drudgery of the bar, he acquired a degree of celebrity and distinction, which opened to him, at a period remarkably early in his career, the highest honours of his profession. In September, 1742, when he had just entered his twenty-ninth year, he was appointed solicitor-general for Scotland. He had obtained this appointment under the Carteret administration, and therefore, in 1746, when the Pelham party gained the ascendancy, he resigned this office along with the ministry; but in the same year (as had happened to his father under similar circumstances) he was honoured by one of the strongest marks of admiration which his brethren at the bar could confer, having been, at the early age of thirty-three, elected dean of the Faculty of Advocates, which office he continued to hold until the year 1760, when he was elevated to the bench.

In the beginning of the year 1754 Mr. Dundas was returned to parliament as member for the county of Edinburgh, and in the following summer he was appointed lord-advocate for Scotland. During the rancorous contention of parties which at that time divided the country, it was scarcely possible to escape obloquy, and Mr. Dundas shared in the odium cast upon the rest of his party by the opposition; but it may be truly affirmed of him, that in no instance did he swerve from his principles, or countenance a measure which he did not believe to be conducive to the general welfare of the country. He suffered much in the opinion of a numerous party in Scotland on account of his strenuous opposition to the embodying of the militia in that part of the kingdom. The alarm of invasion from France, occasioned by the small expeditions which sometimes threatened our coasts, had led to numerous meetings throughout the country to petition parliament in favour of the establishment of a militia force for the defence of Scotland. There were cogent reasons, however, why these petitions should not be acceded to. The country was still in a very unimproved condition; agriculture neglected, and manufactures in their infancy, while the inhabitants were as yet but little accustomed to the trammels of patient industry. In such circumstances, to put arms into their hands had a tendency to revive that martial spirit which it was the great object of government to repress. The embodying of the militia was farther objectionable, inasmuch as the disaffected par-

tisans of the Stuart family, although subdued, were by no means reconciled to the family of Hanover; and, therefore, to arm the militia would have been in effect so far to counteract the wise measure of disarming the Highlanders, which had proved so efficacious in tranquillizing the northern districts of the kingdom. Mr. Dundas's opposition to the proposal for embodying a militia in Scotland was thus founded on grounds of obvious expediency, any risk of foreign invasion being more than counterbalanced by the still greater evil of a domestic force on which government could not implicitly rely, and which might by possibility have joined rather than opposed the invaders. The lesson taught by the rebellion in Ireland in 1797 has since illustrated the danger of trusting arms in the hands of the turbulent and disaffected, and has fully established the wisdom of Mr. Dundas's opposition to a similar measure in Scotland.

On the 14th of June, 1760, Mr. Dundas was appointed lord-president of the Court of Session—the highest judicial office in Scotland. When he received this appointment some doubts were entertained how far, notwithstanding his acknowledged and great abilities, he possessed that power of application, and that measure of assiduity, which are the first requisites for the due discharge of the duties of the high office he filled. Fond of social intercourse, and having risen to eminence as a lawyer by the almost unassisted strength of his natural talents, he had hitherto submitted with reluctance to the labour of his profession. But it speedily became evident that one striking feature in his character had remained undeveloped; for he had no sooner taken his seat as president than he devoted himself to the duties of his office with an ardour which had been rarely exhibited by the ablest and most diligent of his predecessors, and with a perseverance which continued unabated until his death. So unwearied and anxious was his application to the business of the court, that he succeeded in disposing of an arrear of causes which had accumulated during a period of five sessions. This task he accomplished in the course of the summer session of 1760, and that without interrupting or impeding the current business of the court; and while he presided, no similar arrear ever occurred.

President Dundas was distinguished by great dignity and urbanity. In delivering his opinions on the bench, he was calm and senatorial; avoiding the error into which the judges in Scotland are too apt to fall, namely that of expressing themselves with the impatience and vehemence of debaters eager to support a particular side, or to convince or refute their opponents in an argument. Impressed with a conviction that such a style is ill suited for the bench, President Dundas confined himself to a calm and dispassionate summary of the leading facts of the case, followed by an announcement, in forcible but unadorned language, of the legal principle which ought, in his apprehension, to rule the decision. To the bar he conducted himself with uniform attention and respect, a demeanour on the part of the bench to which, in former times, the Scottish bar was but little accustomed; and even at this day, the deportment of the Scottish judges to the counsel practising before them is apt to surprise those who have had opportunities of observing the courtesy uniformly displayed by the English judges in their intercourse with the bar. President Dundas listened with patience to the reasonings of counsel; he neither anticipated the arguments of the pleader, nor interrupted him with questions, but left him to state his case without interference, unless when matter evidently irrelevant was introduced, or any offence com-

mitted against the dignity of the court. In this last particular he was sufficiently punctilious, visiting the slightest symptom of disrespect to the bench with the severest animadversion. While he was thus constant in his anxiety to improve the administration of justice, and to insure due respect for his own court, he was scrupulously attentive in reviewing the decisions, and watchful in the superintendence of the conduct of the inferior judges. He also treated with the greatest rigour every instance of malversation or chicanery in the officers or inferior practitioners in the courts. No calumnious or iniquitous prosecution, and no attempt to pervert the forms of law to the purposes of oppression, eluded his penetration, or escaped his marked reprehension.

A disregard or contempt for literary attainments has been brought as a charge against President Dundas; and a similar charge was, with less justice, afterwards made against his celebrated brother, Lord Melville. This peculiarity was the more remarkable in the president, because in early life he had prosecuted those studies which are usually termed literary, with advantage and success. In his youth he had made great proficiency in classical learning; and as his memory retained faithfully whatever he had once acquired, it was not unusual with him, even towards the close of his life, in his speeches from the bench, to cite and apply, with much propriety, the most striking passages of the ancient authors.

Having attained the advanced age of seventy-five years, President Dundas was seized with a severe and mortal illness, which, although of short continuance, was violent in its nature; and he died at his house in Adam Square, Edinburgh, on the 13th of December, 1787, having borne his sufferings with great magnanimity. He retained the perfect enjoyment of his faculties until his death, and was in the active discharge of his official duties down till the date of his last illness. He was interred in the family burial-place at Borthwick. The body was attended to the outskirts of the city by a procession consisting of all the public bodies in their robes and insignia.

President Dundas was twice married; first to Henrietta, daughter of Sir James Carmichael Baillie of Lamington, Bart., by whom he left four daughters; and secondly, 7th September, 1756, at Prestongrange, to Jane, daughter of William Grant of Prestongrange—an excellent man and good lawyer, who rose to the bench under the title of Lord Prestongrange. By his second lady he left four sons and two daughters, of whom Robert, the eldest son, was successively lord-advocate and lord chief-baron of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland.

DUNDAS, ROBERT, of Arniston, lord chief-baron of the Court of Exchequer, eldest son of the second Lord-president Dundas, by Miss Grant, youngest daughter of William Grant, Lord Prestongrange, was born on the 6th of June, 1758. Like his distinguished predecessors, he was educated for the legal profession, and became a member of the Faculty of Advocates in the year 1779. When Mr. (afterwards Sir Ilay) Campbell was promoted to the office of lord-advocate, Mr. Dundas, at a very early age, succeeded him as solicitor-general; and afterwards, in 1789, on Sir Ilay's elevation to the president's chair, Mr. Dundas, at the age of thirty-one, was appointed lord-advocate. This office he held for twelve years, during which time he sat in parliament as member for the county of Edinburgh: and on the resignation of Chief-baron Montgomery in the year 1801, he was appointed his successor. Mr. Dundas sat as chief-baron until within a short time of his death, which happened at Arniston on the 17th of June, 1819, in

the sixty-second year of his age. He had previously resigned his office, and it happened that Sir Samuel Shepherd, who succeeded him, took his seat on the bench on the day on which Mr. Dundas died.

Without those striking and more brilliant talents for which his father and grandfather were distinguished, Chief-baron Dundas, in addition to excellent abilities, possessed, in an eminent degree, the graces of mildness, moderation, and affability, and descended to the grave, it is believed, more universally loved and lamented than any preceding member of his family. This is the more remarkable, when it is borne in mind that he held the responsible office of lord-advocate during a period of unexampled difficulty and of great political excitement and asperity. His popularity, however, was not attributable to any want of firmness and resolution in the discharge of his public duties, but arose in a great measure from his liberal toleration for difference in political opinion, at a time when that virtue was rare in Scotland, and from his mild and gentleman-like deportment, which was calculated no less to disarm his political opponents than to endear him to his friends. It would have been impossible, perhaps, for any one of his professional contemporaries to have been the immediate agent of government in the trials of Muir, Skirving, and Palmer, without creating infinite public odium.

As chief-baron, Mr. Dundas was no less estimable. The Scottish Court of Exchequer never opened a very extensive field for the display of judicial talent; but wherever, in the administration of the business of that court, it appeared that the offender had erred from ignorance, or from misapprehension of the revenue statutes, we found the chief-baron disposed to mitigate the rigour of the law, and to interpose his good offices on behalf of the sufferer. It was in private life, however, and within the circle of his own family and friends, that the virtues of this excellent man were chiefly conspicuous, and that his loss was most severely felt. Of him it may be said, as was emphatically said of one of his brethren on the bench—"he died, leaving no good man his enemy, and attended with that sincere regret, which only those can hope for who have occupied the like important stations, and acquitted themselves so well."

DUNDAS, GENERAL SIR DAVID, was born near Edinburgh about the year 1735. His father, who was a respectable merchant in Edinburgh, was of the family of Dundas of Dundas, the head of the name in Scotland; by the mother's side he was related to the first Lord Melville. This distinguished member of a great family had commenced the study of medicine, but changing his intentions, he entered the army in the year 1752, under the auspices of his uncle, General David Watson. This able officer had been appointed to make a survey of the Highlands of Scotland, and he was engaged in planning and inspecting the military roads through that part of the country. While engaged in this arduous undertaking, he chose young Dundas, and the celebrated General Roy, afterwards quarter-master-general in Great Britain, to be his assistants. To this appointment was added that of a lieutenantancy in the engineers, of which his uncle was at that time senior captain, holding the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army.

In the year 1759 Dundas obtained a troop in the regiment of light horse raised by Colonel Elliot, and with that gallant corps he embarked for Germany, where he acted as aide-de-camp to Colonel Elliot. In that capacity he afterwards accompanied General Elliot in the expedition sent out in the year 1762, under the command of the Earl of Albemarle, against

the Spanish colonies in the West Indies. On the 28th May, 1770, he was promoted to the majority of the 15th dragoons, and from that corps he was removed to the 2d regiment of horse on the Irish establishment, of which he obtained the lieutenant-colonelcy.

It was to the ministerial influence of General Watson that Colonel Dundas owed his rapid promotion; and he now obtained, through the same interest, a staff appointment as quarter-master general in Ireland. He was also allowed to sell his commission in the dragoons, and at the same time to retain his rank in the army. He afterwards exchanged his appointment for that of adjutant-general, and in 1781 he was promoted to the rank of colonel.

Shortly after the peace of 1783, Frederick, King of Prussia, having ordered a grand review of the whole forces of his kingdom, the attention of military men throughout Europe was attracted to a scene so splendid. Amongst others Colonel Dundas, having obtained leave of absence, repaired to the plains of Potsdam, and by observation and reflection on what he there saw, he laid the foundation of that perfect knowledge of military tactics which he afterwards published under the title of *Principles of Military Movements, chiefly applicable to Infantry*.

In the year 1790 Colonel Dundas was promoted to the rank of major-general, and in the following year he was appointed colonel of the 22d regiment of infantry, on which he resigned the adjutant-generalship of Ireland.

Previous to the publication of General Dundas' work on military tactics, the military manoeuvres of the army were regulated by each succeeding commander-in-chief; while even the manual exercise of the soldier varied with the fancy of the commanding officer of the regiment. The disadvantages attending so irregular a system is obvious; for when two regiments were brought into the same garrison or camp, they could not act together until a temporary uniformity of exercise had been established. To remedy these defects in our tactics, his majesty George III., to whom General Dundas' work was dedicated, ordered regulations to be drawn up from his book, for the use of the army, and accordingly, in June, 1792, a system was promulgated, under the title of "*Rules and Regulations for the Formations, Field-exercises, and Movements of his Majesty's Forces*;" with an injunction that the system should be strictly followed and adhered to, without any deviation whatsoever: and such orders as are formed to interfere with, or counteract their effects or operation, are considered hereby cancelled and annulled." *The Rules and Regulations for the Cavalry* were also planned by General Dundas. It is therefore to him that we are indebted for the first and most important steps which were taken to bring the British army to that high state of discipline which now renders it one of the most efficient armies in Europe.

At the commencement of the war with France, General Dundas was put on the staff, and in autumn 1793 he was sent out to command a body of troops at Toulon. While on this service he was selected to lead a force ordered to dislodge the French from the heights of Arenes, which commanded the town; and although he succeeded in driving the enemy from their batteries, still the French were too strong for the number of British employed in the service, and he was ultimately driven back; and Toulon being consequently deemed untenable, Lord Hood judged it prudent to embark the troops and sail for Corsica. Soon after the expedition had effected a landing in that island, some misunderstanding hav-

ing arisen between General Dundas and Admiral Hood, the former returned home.

General Dundas immediately returned to the Continent, and served under the Duke of York in Holland; and in the brilliant action of the 10th of May, 1794, at Tournay, he greatly distinguished himself. During the unfortunate retreat of the British army, which ended in the evacuation of the Dutch territory, General Dundas acted with much skill and great gallantry, and on the return of General Harcourt to England, the command of the British army devolved upon him. Having wintered in the neighbourhood of Bremen, he embarked the remnant of the British forces on board the fleet on the 14th of April, 1795, and returned home.

In December, 1795, General Dundas was removed from the command of the 22d foot to that of the 7th dragoons. He was also appointed governor of Languard-fort, and on the resignation of General Morrison he was nominated quarter-master general of the British army.

In the expedition to Holland in the year 1799, General Dundas was one of the general officers selected by the commander-in-chief; and he had his full share in the actions of that unfortunate campaign. On the death of Sir Ralph Abercromby, General Dundas succeeded him in the command of the 2d North British dragoons, and also in the government of Forts George and Augustus. In the summer of 1801 he was second in command of the fine army of 25,000 men which assembled in Bagshot Heath; and made uncommon exertions to bring it to the high state of discipline which it displayed on the day it was reviewed before his majesty George III. and the royal family.

On the 12th of March, 1803, he resigned the quarter-master generalship, and was put on the staff as second in command under the Duke of York, when his majesty invested him with the riband of the order of the Bath. In the year 1804 he was appointed governor of Chelsea Hospital, and on the 1st June of that year, he, along with many others, was installed as a knight of the Bath in Henry VII.'s Chapel. On the 18th of March, 1809, he succeeded the Duke of York as commander-in-chief of the forces, which high appointment he held for two years. He was made a member of the privy-council and colonel of the 95th regiment. The last of the many marks of royal favour conferred on him was the colonelcy of the 1st dragoon guards.

General Dundas died on the 18th of February, 1820, and was succeeded in his estates by his nephew, Sir Robert Dundas of Beechwood, Bart.

DUNDAS, THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY, Viscount Melville and Baron Duniira, was born in the year 1741. He was the son of the first and brother to the second Robert Dundas of Arniston, each of whom held the high office of lord-president of the Court of Session. His father's family, as has been mentioned in the notice of Sir James Dundas of Arniston, derived their origin from the very ancient family of Dundas of Dundas; his mother was the daughter of Sir Robert Gordon of Invergordon, Bart. After receiving the preliminary branches of education at the high-school and university of Edinburgh, and having gone through the usual course of legal study, Mr. Dundas was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates in the year 1763. It is related of him that after paying the expenses of his education and his admission to the faculty, he had just sixty pounds of his patrimony remaining. He commenced his professional career in chambers situated at the head of the Fleshmarket Close of Edinburgh; and such was the moderate accommo-

dation of Scottish lawyers in those days, that his rooms did not even front the High Street. The meanness of his apartments, however, is to be attributed rather to the habits of the times, and the state of Edinburgh, than to pecuniary obstacles, or to any distrust of success; for the member of a family so well connected in the country, and so highly distinguished in the courts before which Mr. Dundas proposed to practise, enjoyed every advantage which a young lawyer could have desired as an introduction to his profession. In Mr. Dundas these recommendations were happily combined with great talents and persevering application to business; so that, although he did not resist the temptations to gaiety and dissipation which beset him, he on no occasion allowed the pursuit of pleasure or amusement to interfere with the due discharge of his professional duties. Nor did he lose any opportunity which presented itself of cultivating his oratorical powers. With that view he early availed himself of the opening afforded for that species of display, in the annual sittings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. As a lay member of that venerable body, Mr. Dundas gave a foretaste of that manly eloquence and address which in after-life rendered him the able coadjutor of Mr. Pitt in the management of the House of Commons during a period of unexampled difficulty.

The first official appointment which Mr. Dundas held, was that of one of the assessors to the magistrates of the city of Edinburgh. He was afterwards depute-advocate, that is, one of the three or four barristers who, by delegation from the lord-advocate, prepare indictments, attend criminal trials both in Edinburgh and on the circuits of the High Court of Justiciary, and in general discharge, under the lord-advocate, his function of public prosecutor. The office of solicitor-general for Scotland was the next step in Mr. Dundas' promotion; and with regard to this part of his career it is sufficient to observe, that his sound judgment, sagacity, and prompt discernment as a lawyer, obtained for his pleadings the respect and attention of the ablest judges on the bench (no small praise, considering the manner in which the bench of the Court of Session was at that time occupied), and held out to him the certainty of the highest honours of the profession in Scotland, had he limited his ambition to that object.

We have now reached a stage of Mr. Dundas' life, at which he may be almost said to have taken leave of the Scottish bar and of law as a profession, and to have entered on a scene where objects of still higher ambition presented themselves. In 1774 he stood candidate for the county of Edinburgh in the general election of that year, and was returned in opposition to the ministerial influence. But he soon joined the party then in power, and became a strenuous supporter of Lord North's administration. He frequently spoke in the House of Commons, and notwithstanding the disadvantages of an ungraceful manner and a provincial accent, he was always listened to with attention, on account of the clearness of his statements and the weight of his arguments. As a reward for his services, he was, in 1775, appointed lord-advocate of Scotland, on the elevation of Sir James Montgomery to the office of lord chief-baron; and in 1777 he obtained the sinecure appointment of keeper of the king's signet for Scotland.

The lord-advocate holds the highest political office in Scotland, and is always expected to have a seat in parliament, where he discharges something resembling the duties of secretary of state for that quarter of the kingdom. And Mr. Dundas, from the time of his obtaining this appointment, appears

to have devoted his chief attention to public business and party politics. The contentions among political parties ran very high towards the close of Lord North's administration; but, supported by the king, that nobleman was long enabled to hold out against the unpopularity occasioned by the disastrous progress of the American war, aggravated by the eloquent invectives of an opposition perhaps the most talented which any British ministry ever encountered. The result of the unfortunate campaign of 1781, however, compelled Lord North to resign. Mr. Dundas had supported his administration; but at the same time, by maintaining a cautious forbearance during this arduous struggle for power, he ingratiated himself with all parties.

When the fall of Lord North's administration became certain, Mr. Dundas' knowledge of public business, and his intimate acquaintance with the state of the nation, rendered him a most valuable accession to the new administration. He held no office, however, except that of lord-advocate, under the Rockingham ministry; but the dissensions in the cabinet which followed the death of Lord Rockingham, and the promotion of Lord Shelburne to the premiership, made way for Mr. Dundas, who in 1782 was appointed treasurer of the navy. The administration under which he thus accepted office was however speedily displaced by the celebrated coalition administration; on the formation of which Mr. Dundas resigned, and became the able coadjutor of Mr. Pitt in his opposition to the measures proposed by Mr. Fox and Lord North. At that time public attention was turned very much to India, in the hope apparently that in that quarter of the globe the country might find something to counterbalance the loss of our American colonies. The complaints of misgovernment in India were very loud. The British conquests in that country were at the same time rapidly extending; and at last the dissensions in the supreme council of Bengal rendered it necessary to bring the subject before parliament. In April, 1782, on the motion of Lord North, a secret committee was appointed to inquire into the causes of the war in India, and the unfavourable state of the Company's affairs. Of this committee Mr. Dundas (who had previously rendered himself remarkable in parliament for his intimate acquaintance with the affairs of India) was appointed chairman. His reports, extending to several folio volumes, were drawn up with great ability and precision, and contained a mass of authentic and important information concerning the transactions of the Company and their servants, both at home and abroad, of the very highest value. These reports Mr. Dundas followed up by a "bill for the better regulation and government of the British possessions in India, and for the preservation and security thereof." But the ministry having intimated their intention to oppose this measure, and to introduce one of their own, Mr. Dundas did not attempt to carry it through the house; and in November, 1783, the ministerial pledge was redeemed by the introduction of Mr. Fox's famous East India bill.

It is foreign to the purpose of the present memoir to inquire into the merits or demerits of this celebrated bill. It met, as is well known, the uncompromising opposition of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas. Nevertheless it passed the House of Commons by large majorities, and would also have been carried through the House of Lords, but for the firmness of the king, which led, of course, to the resignation of Lord North and Mr. Fox; when Mr. Pitt was called to the helm of affairs. On first taking office this great statesman had to contend against a majority of

the House of Commons, and in this arduous struggle he was most powerfully aided by Mr. Dundas, who led the ministerial party in the House of Commons during the temporary absence of Mr. Pitt prior to his reelection, after his acceptance of the chancellorship of the exchequer. This extraordinary contest between the ministers and parliament was terminated by the general election of 1784. In the new parliament Mr. Pitt had a decided majority; and very soon after its meeting he introduced his India bill. The introduction of that measure was also preceded by a select committee, of which Mr. Dundas was chairman; and although the new bill was not liable to the strong objections which had been urged against that of Mr. Fox, it nevertheless encountered a very serious opposition, and might have been greatly obstructed or mutilated in its progress, but for the assistance of Mr. Dundas. His intimate acquaintance with Indian affairs, and his skill and dexterity as a debater, were invaluable to government, and contributed in no inconsiderable degree to neutralize or overcome the opposition of the East India Company, and ultimately to carry the bill triumphantly through parliament.

Mr. Dundas had been restored to his office of treasurer of the navy immediately on the formation of Mr. Pitt's administration; and on the passing of the East India bill he was also appointed president of the Board of Control. As treasurer of the navy Mr. Dundas' services were in the highest degree beneficial. His arrangements for the disbursement of the money appropriated to this branch of the public service substituted order and economy in the place of perplexity and profusion. He, at the same time, provided for greater promptitude in the payment of the seamen's wages; and in order to render the service still more attractive, he introduced and carried through parliament various measures calculated to improve the condition and increase the comforts of the seamen in the royal navy. In particular, he got an act passed for preventing the passing of forged instruments. By this act the wills and powers of attorney, executed by seamen, were required to be countersigned by the officers of the port at which they were dated, and thus a check was given to numerous frauds against the families of sailors who were either absent or who had fallen in the service of their country. He also introduced a bill, which was afterwards passed, empowering seamen to make over half their pay to their wives and families. By these and other reforms which he effected in the naval department, Mr. Dundas, while he greatly increased the efficacy of the navy, showed a humane consideration for those engaged in the service, which is at this day gratefully remembered by many members of that profession, who can speak from their own experience of their obligations to one who was most justly called "the sailor's friend." Among the measures introduced by Mr. Dundas while he held the treasurership of the navy, was the act for the regulation of the money destined for the service of the navy. Previously the salary of the treasurer of the navy was £2000 per annum; but the perquisites attached to the office, and particularly the command of the public money, added greatly to the emoluments. In order to prevent the risk, profusion, and irregularity inseparable from such a system, Mr. Dundas' bill fixed the salary at £4000, and prohibited the treasurer from making any private or individual use of the public money. It was in consequence of a supposed violation of this statute, that Mr. Dundas, at a later period of his life, was exposed to much unmerited obloquy, and made the subject of a public inquiry, to which

we shall have occasion more particularly to advert in the sequel.

In the session of 1784 Mr. Dundas introduced his bill for restoring the estates in Scotland forfeited on account of the rebellion of 1745. The expediency of this measure as a means of conciliating the inhabitants of the northern part of the island, and reconciling them to the reigning family, was manifest; still it was necessary, for obvious reasons, so far to cover the true motive, and to represent the boon as a reward to the people of Scotland for the services which they had rendered in the armies of the country during the recent wars. And such accordingly was the tone taken by the supporters of the measure.

As president of the Board of Control, Mr. Dundas' services were no less beneficial to the country. His sound judgment and remarkable business talents, combined with his intimate acquaintance with the complicated and multifarious details of the East India Company's affairs, enabled him to simplify and reduce to order what had been previously an absolute chaos. Hence, also, in parliament he was at all times prepared to give the requisite explanations, and to furnish full information concerning Indian matters; while it was his constant endeavour to collect, and to avail himself of the information and suggestions which his situation placed at his command, in order to introduce those reforms in the Company's administration which the rapid extension of their possessions in that quarter of the world rendered necessary. It was with this view that, in the session of 1786, Mr. Dundas carried a bill through parliament for effecting certain modifications and improvements in Mr. Pitt's India bill. In the same session Mr. Burke originated those discussions which terminated in the impeachment of Mr. Hastings. It is now well known that, on that occasion, the exuberant and inexhaustible eloquence of Mr. Burke was, without his being aware of it, to a certain extent made subservient; not only to party purposes, but to the gratification of the private animosity of Mr. Francis. We can now look back dispassionately and with sympathy to the unmerited and protracted sufferings to which Mr. Hastings was subjected; but during the progress of the investigation, truth as well as justice were lost sight of, amidst the splendid declamation of some of the greatest orators who ever appeared in parliament. Even Mr. Dundas seems to have yielded to the prevailing delusion, and made no attempt to vindicate Mr. Hastings from those charges which, when stripped of rhetorical and oriental embellishments, were found to be either entirely groundless, or such as admitted of explanation.

After taking part with Mr. Pitt in the debates on the regency question, during the king's illness in 1788, the next prominent feature in Mr. Dundas' public life, was his steady and determined opposition to the pernicious principles of the French revolution. In that memorable struggle, in which the salvation of this country was attributable chiefly to the energy and firmness of Mr. Pitt, the minister, as usual, found in Mr. Dundas his most able and cordial coadjutor. In 1791 he was appointed principal secretary of state for the home department, and thus became a member of the cabinet. He, at the same time, retained his other appointments; and yet such was his aptitude for business, and his unwearied application to his official duties, that the three important departments committed to him never were in a state of greater efficiency. Many of the most approved public measures originated with or were directly promoted by him. Among those were the formation of the fencible regiments, the supplementary militia, the volunteer corps, and the provisional

cavalry. The whole, in short, of that domestic military force which, during the war consequent on the French revolution, was raised and kept in readiness as a defence at once against foreign invasion and internal disturbance, was projected and organized under the direction of Mr. Dundas. To him also we owe the improved system of distributing the army throughout the country in barracks and garrisons, by which, in times of commercial distress and political agitation, the most prompt protection to the lives and property of the inhabitants might be afforded. On the accession of the Duke of Portland and his party to the ministry, in 1793, it was thought advisable to appoint a third secretary of state, rather than remove Mr. Dundas from the superintendance of the military system which he had brought into operation. Accordingly, while the Duke of Portland took the home-secretaryship, Mr. Dundas, in 1794, was nominated secretary of state for the war department. At this time he also held the office of keeper of the privy-seal of Scotland, and governor of the Bank of Scotland; still retaining the presidency of the Board of Control and the treasurer-ship of the navy—which last office he continued to hold until May, 1800; his other political offices he held until his resignation, along with Mr. Pitt, in 1801.

While in the House of Commons, Mr. Dundas represented first the county, and afterwards the city, of Edinburgh. He sat for the county from 1774 to 1787, and for the city from the latter year until 1802, when he was raised to the peerage. And during the whole course of his official life he was considered as virtually the minister of Scotland. He had what is called the political patronage of that quarter of the kingdom; and so acted, as well in the discharge of his various public duties, as in the distribution of the favours of government, that he attached to himself, and to the administration of which he formed a part, the great majority of the men of rank, property, and influence in that country. It has been objected to him that, in the exercise of this patronage, he looked too exclusively to his own political partisans; but in justice to him, it must never be forgotten that he held office in times when the acrimony of his opponents (to say nothing of the dangerous principles avowed by some of them) put conciliation entirely out of the question; and besides, the charge is to a great extent unjust; for on his trial it was admitted, even by his bitterest enemies, that in disposing of appointments in the navy and army he was remarkable for his impartiality and indifference to party distinctions. Nor is it possible to overlook the fact, that the political party by whom this charge was brought against Mr. Dundas had always been proverbial for their own adherence to the practice they were so ready to condemn in him.

When Mr. Pitt retired from office in 1801, previous to the peace of Amiens, Mr. Dundas followed his example. On that occasion he laid before parliament a very favourable statement of the condition in which the East India Company's affairs then were; and although his opponents did not fail to cavil at his views, yet all parties concurred in expressing the highest approbation of the manner in which Mr. Dundas had discharged his duty as president of the Board of Control. The court of directors were disposed to award him more substantial marks of their gratitude; but finding that he had resolved to decline any pecuniary remuneration, they conferred a pension of £2000 per annum on Mrs. Dundas. About the same time the town-council of Edinburgh testified their sense of his merit by resolving, at an extraordinary meeting called for the purpose, that a subscription

should be opened for the erection of a statue of him as a tribute of gratitude for his lengthened and eminent public services. In the year 1802 the Ad-dington administration raised Mr. Dundas to the peerage by the titles of Viscount of Melville in the county of Edinburgh, and Baron of Dunira in the county of Perth.

On Mr. Pitt resuming the premiership, in 1804, Lord Melville was appointed first lord of the admiralty; but this important office he did not long enjoy. The Earl St. Vincent, his predecessor at the head of the admiralty, had obtained the appointment of a commission of inquiry to investigate certain suspected abuses in the naval department of the public service. That commission, in their tenth report, implicated Lord Melville, while he held the treasurer-ship of the navy, in a breach of the statute which he had himself introduced in 1785, whereby the treasurer of the navy was prohibited from converting to his own use or emolument any part of the public money voted for the service of the navy. This report led to an unsatisfactory correspondence between Lord Melville and the commissioners; and on the 8th of April, 1805, Mr. Whitbread brought the matter under the notice of the House of Commons. After a speech full of violent invective, that gentleman moved thirteen resolutions, to the effect generally that Lord Melville had been guilty of gross malversation and breach of duty, in so far as he had misapplied or misdirected certain sums of public money, and had also, in violation of the act of parliament, retained in his possession, or authorized his confidential agent, Mr. Alexander Trotter, who held the office of pay-master of the navy, to retain, and to speculate in the funds, and discount private bills with the balances of the public money voted for the service of the navy, in the profits of which transactions Lord Melville had participated. Mr. Pitt, after an eloquent and able defence of Lord Melville, concluded by moving, as an amendment, that the tenth report be referred to a select committee of the house. He was replied to by Lord Henry Petty, afterwards Lord Lansdowne, Mr. Fox, and other leading members of the Whig party; and the result was, that in a very full house (433) the original resolutions were carried by the speaker's casting vote.

The debate was then adjourned to the 10th of April, 1805, on which day Mr. Pitt announced to the house on its meeting, that in consequence of the vote of the former evening, Lord Melville had resigned the office of first lord of the admiralty. Mr. Whitbread then delivered another vituperative speech, and concluded by moving that an address should be presented to the king, praying that Lord Melville might be dismissed "from all offices held by him during pleasure, and from his majesty's counsel and presence for ever." Mr. Canning, who at that time held the office of treasurer of the navy, deprecated the rancour with which the Whig party were proceeding. He contrasted their conduct with that of Lord Melville himself when Lord Grey and Earl St. Vincent were on their trial before the house, under similar circumstances, upon which occasion Lord Melville, although the political opponent of these noblemen, had strenuously defended them; while he, "so far from experiencing equal generosity, was now persecuted and hunted down; and by whom? by the friends of Lord Grey and Earl St. Vincent! He congratulated the gentlemen on their sense, true spirit, and virtue, and prayed God Almighty to forbid that he should ever imitate their example." The debate concluded by a vote that a copy of the resolutions of the 8th of April should be laid before his majesty by the whole house. Some discussion after-

wards took place as to the ulterior measures to be adopted against Lord Melville and Mr. Trotter, in the course of which the same extraordinary acrimony was displayed; and on the 6th of May Mr. Pitt intimated that his majesty had been advised, in deference to the prevailing sense of the house, to strike the name of Lord Melville out of the list of the privy-council, and that accordingly it would be erased on the first day on which a council should be held. In making this communication Mr. Pitt appeared to be deeply affected; but no sympathy was shown on the opposition benches. On the contrary, it is impossible to deny, that relentless exultation over the expected downfall of an illustrious public servant, and a total disregard for the feelings of his friend the premier, were too prominently manifested by the Whig party on that, as on every other occasion on which this painful subject was before the house.

On the 11th of June the speaker stated that he had received a letter from Lord Melville announcing his readiness to attend and be examined relative to the tenth report. He was thereupon admitted, and a chair placed for him within the bar; when he entered upon a concise vindication of his conduct, declaring his entire ignorance of Mr. Trotter's speculations with the public money, either in the funds or as a private banker; denied all connivance at the violation of the statute 25th George III., relative to the money voted to the navy; and solemnly asserted, that on no occasion whatever had he authorized Mr. Trotter to draw money from the bank for his own private emolument—the only object in allowing him to lodge money with private bankers having been to facilitate the public payments. In short, Lord Melville gave those explanations of his conduct which were afterwards triumphantly established on his trial by evidence. But, as may be easily believed, they did not, at this time, satisfy his opponents; and after a protracted debate, and more than one division adverse to the Whig party, it was at last resolved that the mode of procedure should be by impeaching his lordship at the bar of the House of Lords of high crimes and misdemeanours. On the 26th of June a committee of twenty-one members was appointed to prepare articles of impeachment, Mr. Whitbread's name being placed at the head. Among the members of this committee were Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey (late Earl Grey), Mr. Sheridan, Lord Archibald Hamilton, and other leaders of the party. The committee, on the 4th of March, 1806, made a report to the house of certain new information which had come to their knowledge; and the result of the debate which ensued was an additional article of impeachment. To this new article Lord Melville was of course allowed to put in a replication; and the preliminaries being at length adjusted, the House of Lords fixed the 29th of April, 1806, for the trial.

This imposing exhibition was conducted with the customary pomp and solemnity. Westminster Hall was, as usual, fitted up for the occasion; and the nobility, including the princes of the blood, having taken their places in the full robes of their respective ranks, this tribunal, the most august and venerable in the world, proceeded to the discharge of their high duty. The articles of impeachment resolved into ten charges, of which the following is the substance:—1. That Lord Melville, while treasurer of the navy, prior to January, 1786, fraudulently applied to his own use, or at least misdirected, and would not explain how, £10,000 of the money which came into his hands as treasurer of the navy.—2. That, in violation of the act of parliament already mentioned, he permitted Mr. Trotter to draw large sums from the money issued to the treasurer for the use of the

navy, and to place it in the banking house of Messrs. Coutts & Co. in his (Mr. Trotter's) own name.—3. That while he held the office of treasurer of the navy, and after the passing of the foresaid act, he permitted Mr. Trotter to draw large sums of money from the treasurer's public account kept with the Bank of England, under the said statute, and to place those sums in Mr. Trotter's individual account with Coutts & Co., for purposes of private emolument.—4. That after the 10th of January, 1786, and while treasurer of the navy, he fraudulently and illegally, and for his own private advantage or emolument, took from the public money, set apart for the use of the navy, £10,000; and that he and Mr. Trotter, by mutual agreement, destroyed the vouchers of an account current kept between them, in order to conceal the advances of money made by Mr. Trotter to him, and the account or considerations on which such advances were made. 5. That whilst Mr. Trotter was thus illegally using the public money, he made, in part therefrom, several large advances to Lord Melville, and destroyed the vouchers, as aforesaid, in order to conceal the fact. 6. That in particular he received an advance of £22,000, without interest, partly from the public money illegally in Mr. Trotter's hands, and partly from Mr. Trotter's own money in the hands of Messrs. Coutts, and destroyed the vouchers as aforesaid.—7. That he received an advance of £22,000 from Mr. Trotter, for which, as alleged by himself, he was to pay interest; for concealing which transaction the vouchers were destroyed as aforesaid.—8. That during all, or the greater part of the time that he was treasurer, and Mr. Trotter paymaster of the navy, Mr. Trotter gratuitously transacted his (Lord Melville's) private business, as his agent, and from time to time advanced him from £10,000 to £20,000, taken partly from the public money, and partly from Mr. Trotter's own money, lying mixed together indiscriminately in Messrs. Coutts' hands, whereby Lord Melville derived profit from Mr. Trotter's illegal acts.—9. That Mr. Trotter so acted gratuitously as Lord Melville's agent, in consideration of his connivance at the foresaid illegal appropriations of the public money; nor could Mr. Trotter, as Lord Melville knew, have made such advances otherwise than from the public money at his disposal by his lordship's connivance, and with his permission.—10. That Lord Melville, while treasurer of the navy, at divers times between the years 1782 and 1786 took from the moneys paid to him as treasurer of the navy, £27,000, or thereabouts, which sum he illegally applied to his own use, or to some purpose other than the service of the navy, and continued this fraudulent and illegal conversion of the public money, after the passing of the act for regulating the office of treasurer of the navy.

The charges, of which the above is an abstract, having been read, Mr. Whitbread, as leading manager for the House of Commons, opened the case in an elaborate speech, in which he detailed, and commented on, the evidence which the managers proposed to adduce. This was followed by the examination of witnesses in support of the several charges, the chief witness being Mr. Trotter himself, in whose favour an act of indemnity had been passed, in order to qualify him to give his testimony with safety. The examination of the witnesses in support of the charges occupied nearly nine days. On the tenth day of the trial Sir Samuel Romilly, one of the managers, gave a summary of what, as he maintained, had been proved. He was followed by Mr. Plomer, the leading counsel for Lord Melville, who opened the defence in a speech of distinguished ability, the delivery of which occupied two days. The substance

of the defence was, that Lord Melville, so far from being accessory to, or conniving at, Mr. Trotter's appropriation of the public money, was entirely ignorant of these irregular practices. As to the £10,000, it was admitted to have been diverted from the service of the navy and used in another department of the public service, but this was prior to the passing of the foresaid act, when such a proceeding was perfectly lawful and customary; and at any rate, no part of that sum was applied, either directly or indirectly, to the individual profit or advantage of Lord Melville. Mr. Plomer further showed that Lord Melville had been remarkable during his whole life for his carelessness about money, and for his superiority to all mercenary motives—that while he held the office of treasurer of the navy, he had voluntarily relinquished the salary attached to the office of secretary of state, to the aggregate amount of £34,730, being a sum exceeding the whole of the public money which he was said to have misapplied—that if there had been any irregularity at all, it was imputable solely to Mr. Trotter, and perhaps to a slight degree of laxity on the part of Lord Melville, whose attention was distracted by many engrossing and more important public duties. Witnesses were then called to prove that Lord Melville had voluntarily relinquished, for the benefit of the public, £8648, 13s. 2d. in the home department, and £26,081, 7s. 5d. in the war department, making a total of £34,730, or 7d.; and the case on the part of the defendant was then concluded by a very able speech from Mr. Adam, afterwards lord chief-commissioner of the jury court in Scotland. Sir Arthur Piggot, on the part of the managers of the House of Commons, replied at some length to the legal arguments of Messrs. Plomer and Adam, and Mr. Whitbread closed the case by a reply upon the evidence, in the course of which he resumed the invective and sarcasm against Lord Melville which had distinguished his opening speech as well as all his speeches on this subject in the House of Commons. It would seem, however, if we are to judge from the result, that either his sarcasm or his arguments had by this time lost their efficacy. After a few words from Mr. Plomer, the peers adjourned, and having met again, after an interval of nearly a month, on the 10th of June, to determine on Lord Melville's guilt or innocence, he was acquitted of every charge by triumphant majorities. On the fourth charge, in particular, which concerned the sum of £10,000 alleged to have been applied by Lord Melville for his own advantage or emolument, their lordships were unanimous in their acquittal; and in general the majorities were very large on all the charges which imputed corrupt or fraudulent intentions to Lord Melville. The votes on the several charges were as follow:—

	Guilty.	Not Guilty.	Majority.
First Charge,	16	119	103
Second Charge,	56	79	23
Third Charge,	52	83	31
Fourth Charge,	None.	All.	—
Fifth Charge,	4	131	127
Sixth Charge,	48	87	39
Seventh Charge,	50	85	35
Eighth Charge,	14	121	107
Ninth Charge,	16	119	103
Tenth Charge,	12	123	111

The Dukes of York, Cumberland, and Cambridge generally voted *not guilty*; the Dukes of Clarence, Kent, and Sussex, *guilty*, except of the 4th charge. The lord-chancellor, Erskine, generally voted with the Dukes of Clarence, Kent, and Sussex. The Prince of Wales was not present.

Soon after his acquittal, Lord Melville was restored to his place in the privy-council; but although the Whig administration which was in power at the

end of the trial resigned within a few months, he never returned to office. The loss of his friend Mr. Pitt, and his own advanced age, rendered him little anxious to resume public life; and thenceforward he lived chiefly in retirement, taking part only occasionally in the debates of the House of Lords. One of his last appearances was made in the year 1810, when he brought forward a motion recommending the employment of armed vessels, instead of hired transports, for the conveyance of troops. His death, which was very sudden, took place in Edinburgh, on the 27th of May, 1811. He died in the house of his nephew, Lord Chief-baron Dundas, in George Square; having come to Edinburgh, it is believed, to attend the funeral of his old friend, Lord-president Blair, who had been himself cut off no less suddenly, a few days before, and who lay dead in the house adjoining that in which Lord Melville expired.

Lord Melville's person was tall, muscular, and well formed. His features were strongly marked, and the general expression of his face indicated high intellectual endowments and great acuteness and sagacity. In public life he was distinguished by his wonderful capacity for business; by unwearied attention to his numerous official duties; and by the manliness and straightforwardness of his character. He was capable of great fatigue; and, being an early riser, he was enabled to get through a great deal of business before he was interrupted by the bustle of official details or the duties of private society. As a public speaker he was clear, acute, and argumentative; with the manner of one thoroughly master of his subject, and desirous to convince the understanding without the aid of the ornamental parts of oratory; which he seemed, in some sort, to despise.

In private life his manner was winning, agreeable, and friendly, with great frankness and ease. He was convivial in his habits, and, in the intercourse of private life, he never permitted party distinctions to interfere with the cordiality and kindness of his disposition; hence, it has been truly said that Whig and Tory agreed in loving him; and that he was always happy to oblige those in common with whom he had any recollections of good-humoured festivity. But Lord Melville's great claim on the affection and gratitude of Scotsmen is founded on the truly national spirit with which he promoted their interest, and the improvement of their country, whenever opportunities presented themselves. There had of late been a disposition to *provincialise* Scotland (if we may so express ourselves), and a sort of timidity amongst our public men lest they should be suspected of showing any national predilections. Lord Melville laboured under no such infirmity. *Ceteris paribus*, he preferred his own countrymen; and the number of Scotsmen who owed appointments in India and elsewhere to him, and afterwards returned to spend their fortunes at home, have contributed in no inconsiderable degree to the marked improvement on the face of the country which has taken place during the last seventy years. Neither did he overlook the interest of those who remained at home. The abolition of the public boards, courts, and other memorials of the former independence of Scotland, had not occurred to the economists of Lord Melville's day. He acted, therefore, on the exploded, although by no means irrational, notion, that the community generally would derive benefit from the expenditure of the various resident functionaries at that time connected with our national establishments. In all this he may have been wrong, although there are many who are still at a loss to perceive the error; but however that may be, he must be but an indifferent Scotsman, be his political principles what they may,

who can talk lightly of the debt which his country owes to Lord Melville. Indeed it is well known that, during his life, the services which he had rendered to this part of the island were readily acknowledged even by those who differed most widely from him on the general system of public policy in which he took so active a part.

Lord Melville was twice married; first, to Miss Rannie, daughter of Captain Rannie of Melville, with whom he is said to have got a fortune of £100,000. His second wife was Lady Jane Hope, daughter of John and sister to James, Earl of Hopetoun. Of his first marriage there were three daughters and one son; of the second no issue. Lord Melville's landed property in Scotland consisted of Melville Castle in Midlothian and Dunira in Perthshire. He was succeeded in his titles and estates by his only son, the Right Honourable Robert Dundas, who held the office of first lord of the admiralty under the administrations of the Earl of Liverpool and of the Duke of Wellington.

Lord Melville can hardly be said to have been an author, but he published the three subjoined political pamphlets, each of which was distinguished by his usual good sense and knowledge of business.¹

DUNDEE, VISCOUNT. *See* GRAHAM, JOHN.

DUNLOP, WILLIAM, principal of the university of Glasgow, and an eminent public character at the end of the seventeenth century, was the son of Mr. Alexander Dunlop, minister of Paisley, of the family of Auchenketh in Ayrshire, by Elizabeth, daughter of William Mure of Glanderston. One of his mother's sisters was married to the Rev. John Carstairs, and became the mother of the celebrated principal of the college of Edinburgh; another was the wife successively of Mr. Zachary Boyd and Mr. James Durham. Being thus intimately connected with the clergy, William Dunlop early chose the church as his profession. After completing his studies at the university of Glasgow, he became tutor in the family of William, Lord Cochrane, and superintended the education of John, second Earl of Dundonald, and his brother, William Cochrane of Kilmarnock. The insurrection of 1679 took place about the time when he became a licentiate, and he warmly espoused the views of the moderate party in that unfortunate enterprise. Though he was concerned in drawing up the Hamilton declaration, which embodied the views of his party, he appears to have escaped the subsequent vengeance of the government. Tired, however, like many others, of the hopeless state of things in his own country, he joined the emigrants who colonized the state of Carolina, and continued there till after the Revolution, partly employed in secular and partly in spiritual work. He had previously married his cousin, Sarah Carstairs. On returning to Scotland in 1690, he was, through the influence of the Dundonald family, presented to the parish of Ochiltree, and a few months after had a call to the church of Paisley. Ere he could enter upon this charge, a vacancy occurred in the principality of the university of Glasgow, to which he was preferred by King William, November, 1690. Mr. Dunlop's celebrity arises from the dignity and zeal with which he supported the interests of this institution. In 1692 he was an active member of the general corre-

spondence of the Scottish universities, and in 1694 was one of a deputation sent by the Church of Scotland to congratulate the king on his return from the Continent, and negotiate with his majesty certain affairs concerning the interest of the church. He seems to have participated considerably in the power and influence enjoyed by his distinguished brother-in-law, Carstairs, which it is well known was of a most exalted though unofficial kind. In 1699 he acted as commissioner for all the five universities, in endeavouring to obtain some assistance for those institutions. He succeeded in securing a yearly grant of £1200 sterling, of which £300 was bestowed upon his own college. While exerting himself for the public, Principal Dunlop regarded little his own immediate profit or advantage: besides his principalship, the situation of historiographer for Scotland, with a pension of £40 a year, is stated to have been all that he ever personally experienced of the royal bounty. He died in middle life, March, 1700, leaving behind him a most exalted character. "His singular piety," says Wodrow, with whom he was connected by marriage, "great prudence, public spirit, universal knowledge, general usefulness, and excellent temper, were so well known, that his death was as much lamented as perhaps any one man's in this church."

Principal Dunlop left two sons, both of whom were distinguished men. Alexander, who was born in America, and died in 1742, was an eminent professor of Greek in the Glasgow university, and author of a Greek grammar long held in esteem. William was professor of divinity and church history in the university of Edinburgh, and published the well-known collection of creeds and confessions which appeared in 1719 and 1722 (two volumes), as a means of correcting a laxity of religious opinion, beginning at that time to be manifested by some respectable dissenters. To this work was prefixed an admirable essay on confessions, which has since been reprinted separately. Professor William Dunlop, after acquiring great celebrity both as a teacher of theology and a preacher, died October 29th, 1720, at the early age of twenty-eight.

DUNS, JOHN DE (SCOTUS), that is, "John of Dunse, Scotsman," an eminent philosopher, was born in the latter part of the thirteenth century.

The thirteenth and part of the fourteenth centuries are distinguished in the history of philosophy as the *scholastic age*, in which the Aristotelian logic and metaphysics were employed, to an absurd and even impious degree, in demonstrating and illustrating the truths of the Holy Scriptures. Among the many scholars of Europe who, during this period, perverted their talents in the exposition of preposterous dogmas and the defence of a false system of philosophy, JOHN DE DUNSE, called the Subtle Doctor, was perhaps the most celebrated. So famous indeed was he held for his genius and learning, that England and Ireland have contended with Scotland for the honour of his birth. His name, however, seems to indicate his nativity beyond all reasonable dispute. Though convenience has induced general modern writers to adopt the term Scotus as his principal cognomen, it is evidently a signification of his native country alone; for Erigena, and other eminent natives of Scotland in early times, are all alike distinguished by it in their learned titles; these titles, be it observed, having been conferred in *foreign* seminaries of learning. *John of Dunse* points as clearly as possible to the town of that name in Berwickshire, where, at this day, a spot is pointed out as the place of his birth, and a branch of his family possessed,

¹ *The Substance of a Speech in the House of Commons, on the British Government and Trade in the East Indies, April 23, 1793.* London, 1813, 8vo.—*Letter to the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, upon an open Trade to India.* London, 1813, 8vo.—*Letters to the Right Honourable Spencer Perceval, relative to the Establishment of a Naval Arsenal at Northfleet.* London, 1810, 4to.

till the beginning of the last century, a small piece of ground, called in old writings, "Duns's Half of Grueldykes." Those who claim him as a native of England set forward the village of Dunstane in Northumberland as the place of his birth; but while the word *Dunse*¹ is exactly his name, Dunstane is not so, and therefore, without other proof, we must hold the English locality as a mere dream. The Irish claimants again say, that, as *Scotia* was the ancient name of Ireland, *Scotus* must have been an Irishman. But it happens that Scotland and Ireland bore their present names from a period long antecedent to the birth of John de Dunse; and all over Europe *Hibernus* and *Scotus* were distinguishing titles of Irishmen and Scotsmen. Independent, too, of the name, there are other testimonies concerning the native place of *Scotus*. In the earliest authentic record of him, preserved in his life by Wading (an Irishman and advocate for Ireland), the following passage occurs, which represents him as a boy conducted by two friars to Dumfries, a town in a county almost adjoining that in which Dunse is situated:—"Some infer that the acute genius of *Scotus* was inborn. Father Ildephonus Birzenus (*in Appar.* § 2) from Ferchius (*Vita Scoti*, c. 20), and the latter from Gilbert Brown (*Hist. Eccles.*) relate, 'that *Scotus*, occupied on a farm, and, though the son of a rich man, employed in keeping sheep, according to the custom of his country, that youth may not become vicious from idleness, was met by two Franciscan friars, begging as usual for their monastery. Being favourably received by his father's hospitality, they began to instruct the boy by the repetition of the Lord's prayer, as they found him ignorant of the principles of piety; and he was so apt a scholar as to repeat it at once. The friars, surprised at such docility, which they regarded as a prodigy, prevailed on the father, though the mother warmly and loudly opposed, to permit them to lead the boy to Dumfries, where he was soon after shorn as a novice, and presented to our holy father St. Francis; and some say that he then assumed the profession of a friar.' Such are the words of Birzenus." Another passage from the same authority is still more conclusive regarding the country of *Scotus*:—"Nor must a wonderful circumstance be omitted, which, with Birzenus, we transcribe from Ferchius (c. 5), that we may obtain the greater credit. Hence it appears that the Holy Virgin granted to Dunse innocence of life, modesty of manners, complete faith, continence, piety, and wisdom. That Paul might not be elated by great revelations, he suffered the blows of Satan; that the Subtle Doctor might not be inflated by the gifts of the mother of Christ, he was *forced to suffer the tribulation of captivity* by a fierce enemy. Gold is tried by the furnace, and a just man by temptation. Edward I., King of England, called, from the length of his legs, *Long Shanks*, had cruelly invaded Scotland, leaving no monument of ancient majesty that he did not seize or destroy, leading to death, or to jail, the most noble and learned men of the country. *Among them were twelve friars*; and that he might experience the dreadful slaughter and bitter captivity of his country, John of Dunse *suffered a miserable servitude*; thus imitating the apostle in the graces of God, and the chains he endured."

When delivered from his servitude in England, *Scotus* studied at Merton College, Oxford, where he soon became distinguished, particularly by the faci-

¹ It is a common story that the term *dunce* is derived from the name of the philosopher, but in an oblique manner; a stupid student being termed *another Dunse*, on the same principle as a person of heavy intellect in general life is sometimes termed a *bright man*.

lity and subtlety of his logical disputations. His progress in natural and moral philosophy, and in the different branches of mathematical learning, was rapid; and his skill in scholastic theology was so striking, that he was, in 1301, appointed divinity professor at Oxford. In this situation he soon attracted unbounded popularity. His lectures on the sentences of Peter Lombard drew immense crowds of hearers, and we are assured that there were no fewer than thirty thousand students brought to the university of Oxford by the fame of the Subtle Doctor's eloquence and learning. These lectures have been printed, and fill six folio volumes. In 1304, he was commanded by the general of his order (the Franciscan) to proceed to Paris, to defend the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, which had been impugned by some divines. No fewer than two hundred objections are said to have been brought against that doctrine, which he "heard with great composure, and refuted them with as much ease as Samson broke the cords of the Philistines." Hugo Cavillus, in his life of *Scotus*, says that one who was present on this occasion, but who was a stranger to the person, though not to the fame, of *Scotus*, exclaimed, in a fervour of admiration at the eloquence displayed, "This is either an angel from heaven, a devil from hell, or John Duns *Scotus*!" The same anecdote we have seen applied to various other prodigies, but this is perhaps the origin of it. As a reward for his victory in this famous dispute, he was appointed professor and regent in the theological schools of Paris, and acquired the title of the *SUBTLE DOCTOR*. Nothing, however, could be more barren and useless than the chimerical abstractions and metaphysical refinements which obtained him his title. He opposed Thomas Aquinas on the subject of grace, and established a sect called the *Scotists*, in contradistinction to the *Thomists*, which extended its ramifications throughout every country in Europe. In 1308 he was sent to Cologne, to found a university there, and to defend his favourite doctrine of the immaculate conception against the disciples of Albert the Great. But he was only a few months there when he was seized with an apoplectic fit, which cut him off on the 8th of November, 1308, in the forty-fourth, or, according to others, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. It is said that he was buried before he had been actually dead, as was discovered by an after-examination of his grave.

The writings which *Scotus* left behind him were numerous. Various editions of parts of them, particularly of his lectures on the sentences of Peter Lombard, were printed towards the close of the fifteenth century; and in 1639 a complete edition of all his works, with his life, by Wading, *et cum Notis et Comm. a P. P. Hibernis Collegii Romani S. Isidori Professoribus*, appeared at Lyons in twelve volumes folio! These labours, which were at one time handled with reverential awe, are now almost totally neglected.

The fame of John Duns *Scotus* during his lifetime, and for many years after his decease, was extraordinary, and goes to prove the extent of his talents, however misapplied and wasted they were on the subtleties of school philosophy and the absurdities of school divinity. From among the testimonials regarding him which Wading has collected in his life, the following, by a learned cardinal, may be given as a specimen:—"Among all the scholastic doctors, I must regard John Duns *Scotus* as a splendid sun, obscuring all the stars of heaven by the piercing acuteness of his genius; by the subtlety and the depth of the most wide, the most hidden, the most wonderful learning, this most subtle doctor

surpasses all others, and, in my opinion, yields to no writer of any age. His productions, the admiration and despair even of the most learned among the learned, being of such extreme acuteness, that they exercise, excite, and sharpen even the brightest talents to a more sublime knowledge of divine objects, it is no wonder that the most profound writers join in one voice, 'that this Scot, beyond all controversy, surpasses not only the contemporary theologians, but even the greatest of ancient or modern times, in the sublimity of his genius and the immensity of his learning.' This subtle doctor was the founder of the grand and most noble sect of the Scotists, which, solely guided by his doctrine, has so zealously taught, defended, amplified, and diffused it, that, being spread all over the world, it is regarded as the most illustrious of all. From this sect, like heroes from the Trojan horse, many princes of science have proceeded, whose labour in teaching has explained many difficulties, and whose industry in writing has so much adorned and enlarged theological learning, that no further addition can be expected or desired." Here is another specimen of panegyric: "Scotus was so consummate a philosopher, that he could have been the inventor of philosophy, if it had not before existed. His knowledge of all the mysteries of religion was so profound and perfect, that it was rather intuitive certainty than belief. He described the divine nature as if he had seen God; the attributes of celestial spirits as if he had been an angel; the felicities of a future state as if he had enjoyed them; and the ways of providence as if he had penetrated into all its secrets. He wrote so many books that one man is hardly able to read them, and no one man is able to understand them. He would have written more, if he had composed with less care and accuracy. Such was our immortal Scotus, the most ingenious, acute, and subtle of the sons of men."¹

These extracts may suffice to show the estimation, or rather adoration, in which the Subtle Doctor was once held; and it was not alone among his own disciples that he was venerated; for Julius Cæsar Scaliger acknowledges, that in the perusal of John of Dunshe he acquired any subtlety of discussion which he might possess; and Cardan, one of the earliest philosophers who broke the yoke of Aristotle, classes Scotus among his chosen twelve masters of profound and subtle sciences. In comparing the enthusiastic popularity in which Scotus and his works were once held with the undisturbed oblivion which they now enjoy, the mind adverts to the fleeting nature of all, even the most honourable, earthly aggrandizement.

DURHAM, JAMES, "that singularly wise and faithful servant of Jesus Christ," was by birth a gentleman. He was descended from the family of Grange-Durham, in the shire of Angus, and was proprietor of the estate of Easter Powrie, now called Wedderburn. From his age at the time of his death, he appears to have been born in 1622. We have but few memorials of his early life. Leaving college before taking any degree, he retired to his paternal estate, where he lived for some years as a country gentleman. At an early period he married a daughter of the laird of Duntarvie; and soon afterwards, while on a visit to one of her relations, became deeply impressed with religious feelings.² On his return home

he devoted himself almost wholly to study, in which he made great proficiency, and we are told "became not only an experimental Christian but a learned man." He did not, however, contemplate becoming a clergyman till the time of the civil wars, in which he served as a captain. On one occasion, before joining battle with the English, he called his company together to prayer. Mr. David Dickson riding past, heard some one praying, drew near him, and was much struck with what he heard. After the service was finished he charged him, that as soon as the action was over, he should devote himself to the ministry, "for to that he judged the Lord had called him." During the engagement Mr. Durham met with two remarkable deliverances, and accordingly considered himself bound to obey the stranger's charge, "as a testimony of his grateful and thankful sense of the Lord's goodness and mercy to him."

With this resolution he came to the college of Glasgow, where he appears to have taken his degree,³ and to have studied divinity under his celebrated friend David Dickson. The year 1647, in which he received his license, was one of severe pestilence. The masters and students of the university removed to Irvine, where Mr. Durham underwent his trials, and received a recommendation from his professor to the presbytery and magistrates of Glasgow. Though now only about twenty-five years of age, study and seriousness of disposition had already given him the appearance of an old man. The session of Glasgow appointed one of their members to request him to preach in their city, and after a short period, "being abundantly satisfied with Mr. Durham's doctrine, and the gifts bestowed upon him by the Lord, for serving him in the ministry, did unanimously call him to the ministry of the Blackfriars' Church, then vacant." Thither he removed in November the same year. In 1649 Mr. Durham had a pressing call from the town of Edinburgh, but the General Assembly, to whom it was ultimately referred, refused to allow his translation. In his ministerial labours he seems to have exercised great patience and diligence, nor was he wanting in that plainness and sincerity towards the rich and powerful, which is so necessary to secure esteem. When the republican army was at Glasgow in 1651, Cromwell came unexpectedly on a Sunday afternoon to the Outer High Church, where Mr. Durham preached "graciously and well to the time as could have been desired," according to Principal Baillie; in plainer language, "he preached against the invasion to his face."⁴ The

the Lady Duntarvie desired her son-in-law, Mr. Durham, to go and hear sermon upon the Saturday, and for some time he would by no means go, till both his lady and his mother-in-law, with much importunity, at last prevailed with him to go. He went that day and heard very attentively; he seemed to be moved that day by the preacher being very serious in his discourse, so that there was something wrought in Mr. Durham that day; but it was like an embryo. When he came home he said to his mother-in-law, 'Mother, ye had much ado to get me to the church this day: but I will goe to-morrow without your importuning me.' He went away on the Sabbath morning, and heard the minister of the place, worthy Mr. Ephraim Melvine, preach the action sermon upon 1 Pe. ii. 7, and Mr. Durham had these expressions about his sermon: "He commended him, he commended him, again and again, till he made my heart and soul commend him; and soe he immediately closed with Christ, and covenanted, and went down immediately to the table, and took the seal of the covenant; and after that he became a most serious man."

¹ See Letter of Principal Baillie in M'Ure's *History of Glasgow*, ed. 1830, p. 364.

² Brukeri *Hist. Philos.* tom. iii. p. 828.

³ The following account of his conversion is given in Wodrow's *Analecta* (MS. Adv. Lib.):—"He was young when he married, and was not for a while concerned about religion. He came with his lady to visit his mother-in-law, the Lady Duntarvie, who lived in the parish of the Queensferry. There fell at that time a communion to be in the Queensferry, and soe

the Lady Duntarvie desired her son-in-law, Mr. Durham, to go and hear sermon upon the Saturday, and for some time he would by no means go, till both his lady and his mother-in-law, with much importunity, at last prevailed with him to go. He went that day and heard very attentively; he seemed to be moved that day by the preacher being very serious in his discourse, so that there was something wrought in Mr. Durham that day; but it was like an embryo. When he came home he said to his mother-in-law, 'Mother, ye had much ado to get me to the church this day: but I will goe to-morrow without your importuning me.' He went away on the Sabbath morning, and heard the minister of the place, worthy Mr. Ephraim Melvine, preach the action sermon upon 1 Pe. ii. 7, and Mr. Durham had these expressions about his sermon: "He commended him, he commended him, again and again, till he made my heart and soul commend him; and soe he immediately closed with Christ, and covenanted, and went down immediately to the table, and took the seal of the covenant; and after that he became a most serious man."

⁴ Wodrow's *Life of Dickson*, MS. p. xix. In the *Analecta* of this historian occurs the following curious particulars: "_____ tells me he had this account from old Aikenhead, who had it from the gentlewoman. That Cromwell came in to Glasgow, with some of his officers, upon a Sabbath-day, and came straight into the High Church, where Mr. Durham was

story is thus concluded by his biographer:—"Next day Cromwell sent for Mr. Durham, and told him, that he always thought Mr. Durham had been a more wise and prudent man than to meddle with matters of public concern in his sermons. To which Mr. Durham answered, that it was not his practice to bring public matters into the pulpit, but that he judged it both wisdom and prudence in him to speak his mind upon that head, seeing he had the opportunity of doing it in his own hearing. Cromwell dismissed him very civilly, but desired him to forbear insisting upon that subject in public. And at the same time, sundry ministers both in town and country met with Cromwell and his officers, and represented in the strongest manner the injustice of his invasion."¹

In the year 1650, when Mr. Dickson became professor of divinity at Edinburgh College, the commissioners for visiting that of Glasgow, appointed by the General Assembly, unanimously called Mr. Durham to the vacant chair. But before he was admitted to this office, the assembly nominated him chaplain to the king's family; a situation in which, though trying, more especially to a young man, he conducted himself with great gravity and faithfulness. While he conciliated the affections of the courtiers, he at the same time kept them in awe; "and whenever," says his biographer, "he went about the duties of his place, they did all carry gravely, and did forbear all lightness and profanity." The disposition of Charles, however, was little suited to the simplicity and unostentatious nature of the Presbyterian worship, and although Mr. Durham may have obtained his respect, there is little reason to believe that he liked the check which his presence imposed.

Livingston mentions that Mr. Durham offered to accompany the king when he went to Worcester—an offer which, as may have been anticipated, was not accepted. The session of Glasgow, finding that he was again at liberty, wrote a letter to him at Stirling, in which they expressed the warmest feelings towards him. "We cannot tell," say they, "how much and how earnestly we long once more to see your face, and to hear a word from you, from whose mouth the Lord has often blessed the same, for our great refreshment. We do, therefore, with all earnestness request and beseech you, that you would, in the interim of your retirement from attendance upon that charge (that of king's chaplain), let the town and congregation, once and yet dear to you, who dare not quit their interest in you, nor look on that tie and relation betwixt you and them as dissolved and null, enjoy the comfort of your sometimes

preaching. The first seat that offered him was P[rovo]st Porterfield's, where Miss Porterfield sat, and she, seeing him an English officer, she was almost not civil. However, he got in and sat with Miss Porterfield. After sermon was over, he asked the minister's name. She sullenly enough told him, and desired to know wherefore he asked. He said, 'because he perceived him to be a very great man, and in his opinion might be chaplain to any prince in Europe, though he had never seen him nor heard of him before.' She inquired about him, and found it was O. Cromwell."

¹ Life prefixed to *Treatise concerning Scandal*. Cromwell seems to have received "great plainness of speech" at the hands of the ministers of Glasgow. On a former occasion Zachary Boyd had railed on him to his face in the High Church: on the present, we are informed, that "on Sunday, before noon, he came unexpectedly to the High Inner Church, where he quietly heard Mr. Robert Ramsay preach a very good honest sermon, pertinent for his case. In the afternoon he came as unexpectedly to the High Outer Church, where he heard Mr. John Carstairs lecture, and Mr. James Durham preach graciously, and well to the time, as could have been desired. Generally, all who preached that day in the town gave a fair enough testimony against the sectaries."—Baillie, *ut supra*.

very comfortable fellowship and ministry." From the letter it would appear, that Mr. Durham did not yet consider himself released from his appointment in the king's family; but with the battle of Worcester terminated all the fond hopes of the royalists. Finding the household thus broken up, there could be no objection to his returning to his former residence. He is mentioned as present in the session in April, and it was at this period that his interview with Cromwell took place, but for several months afterwards he seems to have withdrawn. In August a vacancy in the Inner High Church arose from the death of Mr. Robert Ramsay, and Mr. Durham was earnestly requested to accept the charge. He accordingly entered upon it in the course of the same year (1651), having for his colleague Mr. John Carstairs, his brother-in-law by his second marriage, and father of the afterwards celebrated principal of the university of Edinburgh. (*See article CARSTAIRS.*) In the divisions which took place between the resolutioners and protesters, Mr. Durham took neither side. When the two parties in the synod of Glasgow met separately, each elected him their moderator, but he refused to join them until they should unite, and a junction fortunately took place. The habits of severe study in which he had indulged since his entry into the ministry seem to have brought on a premature decay of his constitution. After several months of confinement, he died on the 25th of June, 1658, at the early age of thirty-six.²

Mr. Durham's first marriage has been noticed in the early part of this sketch. His second wife was the widow of the famous Zachary Boyd, and third daughter of William Mure of Glanderston in Renfrewshire. This lady seems to have survived him many years, and to have been a zealous keeper of conventicles. Several of her sufferings on this account are noticed by Wodrow in his *History*.

It would be tiresome to the reader to enter into a detail of Mr. Durham's different works, and their various editions. He has long been, and still continues, one of the most popular religious writers in Scotland.³

DURIE, LORD. *See* GIBSON, SIR ALEXANDER.

DURY, JOHN. This clergyman, who was of some note during the religious contentions of the seventeenth century, was born in Scotland, and educated for the ministry. In 1624 he went to Oxford, that he might avail himself of the advantages of the public library; and when the time was ripened for the accomplishment of what he considered his especial mission, he told his ecclesiastical superiors that he could serve the interests of religion better by travelling through the world than confining himself to one flock. His aim was to effect an agreement among the different Protestant churches; and his mind was stored with those arguments in favour of concord which he thought would prove irresistible. His proposal was favourably received, and his cru-

² "Mr. Durham was a person of the outmost composure and gravity, and it was much made him smile. In some great man's house, Mr. William Guthry and he were together at dinner, and Mr. Guthry was exceeding merry, and made Mr. Durham smile, yea laugh, at his pleasant facetious conversation. It was the ordinary of the family to pray after dinner, and immediately after their mirth it was put upon Mr. Guthry to pray, and as he was wont, he fell immediately into the greatest measure of seriousness and fervency, to the astonishment and moving of all present. When he rose from prayer, Mr. Durham came to him and embraced him, and said, 'O! Will, you are a happy man. If I had been soe daft as you have been, I could not have been serious, nor in any frame, for forty-eight hours.'—Wodrow's *Ana.* iii. 133.

³ Abridged from a Memoir of Durham prefixed to his *Treatise concerning Scandal*. Glas. 1740, 12mo.

sade recommended by several influential ecclesiastics, among whom was Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, while he was assisted by Bedel, Bishop of Kilmore, and Dr. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter.

In 1634, Dury, after publishing his plan of union, commenced his active operations; but as these could scarcely be otherwise than unsuccessful, a brief notice of them may suffice. In the year above mentioned he attended a famous assembly of the evangelical churches of Germany at Frankfort. In the same year, also, the churches of Transylvania sent him their advice and counsel. From this period until 1661 he seems to have been employed in incessant action, moving in every direction, negotiating with the clergy of Denmark and Sweden, consulting the universities, and communicating their answers; and although, after so much labour, the prospect of religious union appeared as hopeless as ever, he neither abandoned hope, nor remitted in his exertions. The elasticity of belief, however, which such an enterprise was calculated to create, was manifested in his own career: as a Presbyterian, he was one of the members of the Assembly of Divines, and one of the preachers before the Long Parliament, but subsequently he became an Independent. But let him change or accommodate his creed as he might, his purpose remained unchanged; and, directing his pilgrimage to Germany, he previously applied to the clergy of Utrecht for an authentic testimony of their good intentions towards his scheme of religious accommodation; and, to encourage them, he informed them of the hopeful state in which he had left the affair with the King of Great Britain and the Elector of Brandenburg, of what had been transacted at the court of Hesse, and the measures which had actually been taken at Geneva, Heidelberg, and Metz. Having obtained from the clergy of Utrecht the desired testimonial, which he might show to the Germans, he annexed it to a Latin work which he published in 1661 at Amsterdam, under the title of *Johannis Duræ Irenicorum Tractatum Prodromus, &c.* Having visited Germany, and being at Frankfort in April, 1662, his conversation with some gentlemen at Metz about M. Ferri, an amiable enthusiast of their city, who, like himself, laboured to reconcile religious differences, inspired him with the resolution to visit Metz; but here two difficulties occurred—he must accommodate himself to the fashions of the place by shaving off his large white square beard, and dressing himself in the French costume. These, however, important though they might appear to others, were small difficulties to one who for the sake of a righteous enterprise was willing to become all things to all men; and on his arrival at Metz, M. Ferri was so transported with the distinction which such a visit conferred upon him, that he went out to meet Dury in a “complete undress.” [Such is the phrase used by his biographer, but its meaning we cannot clearly understand.] The delight of that meeting was mutual, and the good men had a long conference upon the subject of religious union which each had so much at heart.

In this brief summary we have comprised the history of the labour of forty years, at the end of which Dury found that he had only sowed the wind and reaped the whirlwind. The religious world was as

little prepared for conviction by argument in the seventeenth century as it had been by the sword of Charles V. in the sixteenth; and the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches were still as far apart and still as irreconcilable as ever. Thus Dury found them in 1674, when the fire of his enterprise was exhausted, and when he was too old to work. It was only then also that his bold heart yielded to the conviction that all had been done in vain. Still hopeful, however, that truth would ultimately prevail, and the world, although at a remote period, be at one, Dury suspected that he had gone the wrong way to work, and hastened to change his tactics. It was no longer the union merely of the Calvinistic and Lutheran churches which he sought, but of all the Christian churches at large, and this he conceived might be best effected by giving a new exposition of the Apocalypse. This he did in a little treatise written in French, and published at Frankfort in 1674. It was his last morsel of bread cast upon the waters, and he hoped it might appear and be available on earth after he had passed to the more perfect union in heaven. He had now, however, obtained an honourable shelter, where he could spend the rest of his days in comfort, and die in peace. This was from Hedwig Sophia, Princess of Hesse, and regent of the principality, who assigned him a commodious lodging, with a liberal table, and a free postage for his letters, so that he might carry on his extensive correspondence; and here he died, but in what year we are unable to discover. Of the piety and sincerity of Dury there can be no doubt, whatever may be thought of his wisdom and discretion. The world as yet was not fully aware of the difficulty of reconciling contending churches; and he failed by prematurely attempting to accomplish what our own day is still unable to effect. Much writing as well as travelling occupied his long and active life; and his published works, of which the following is a list, show the shades and changes of opinion which his mind underwent in his impossible work of reconciling all parties to one standard:—*Consultatio Theologica super Negotio Pacis Ecclesiast.* Lond. 1641, 4to.—*A Summary Discourse concerning the Work of Peace Ecclesiastical.* Camb. 1641.—*Petition to the House of Commons for the Preservation of True Religion.* Lond. 1642, 4to.—*Certain Considerations, showing the Necessity of a Correspondency in Spiritual Matters betwixt all Professed Churches.* Lond. 1642, 4to.—*Epistolary Discourse to Thomas Godwin, Phil. Nye, and Sam. Hartlib.* Lond. 1644, 4to.—*Of Presbytery and Independency, &c.* 1646, 4to.—*Model of the Church Government.* 1647, 4to.—*Peace makes the Gospel Way.* 1648, 4to.—*Seasonable Discourse for Reformation.* 1649, 4to.—*An Epistolary Discourse to Mr. Thomas Thorowgood concerning his Conjecture that the Americans are descended from the Israelites, &c.* 1649, 4to.—*Considerations concerning the Engagement, 1650, with two other Pamphlets on the same Subject, in answer to an Antagonist.*—*The Reformed School.* 1650, 12mo, with a Supplement in 1651.—*The Reformed Library Keeper, 1650, 12mo, to which is added Bibliotheca Ducis Brunovicensis et Lunenburgi et Wolfenbuttel.*—*Conscience Eased, &c.* 1651, 4to.—*Earnest Plea for Gospel Communion.* 1654.—*Summary Platform of Divinity.* 1654.

E.

EDMONDS, COLONEL. This gallant soldier of fortune, who was born in Stirling about the close of the sixteenth century, was of humble origin, being the son of a baker (or as it was called, a baxter) in that ancient town. While a young boy, he ran away from his parents, from what cause is not recorded, and after finding his way to the Low Countries, enlisted as a common soldier in the army of Maurice, Prince of Orange. In this capacity he so highly distinguished himself by his valour and good conduct, that at last he attained the rank of colonel. After he had risen to this distinguished position, he was one day in company with several of his fellow-officers, when a man came to him who spoke Scotch. Edmonds, warming at the sound, was eager to hear the last news from Scotland, upon which the man, desirous of securing the colonel's favour, answered, "Your cousin, my lord —, is well, also your cousin —;" and afterwards followed a string of high-titled names, all of whom the rogue made out to be the colonel's near kinsmen. Indignant at this device to ennoble him among strangers, where the fraud might have passed unquestioned, Edmonds sharply rebuked the fellow, ordered him out of his presence, and then told the brilliant company that he had no such high relationship, but was nothing more than the son of a poor baxter of Stirling.

Having won fortune as well as military rank, the colonel returned to his own country; but although now a man of some mark, the same proud humility still abode with him. On returning to Stirling, the magistrates and some of the principal inhabitants went out to meet him, and conduct him to his lodgings; but he would reside in no house but that of his parents, who were still alive. When the Earl of Mar also invited him to dinner or to supper, he refused, unless his father and mother were also invited, and placed above him at table.

In public spirit and liberality to his native town, Edmonds was not wanting. Among his other deeds of this nature, he either wholly built, or materially enlarged the manse of Stirling, a large three-storied edifice, having the baker's arms placed on the east end of the building; and this manse continued until 1824, when it was taken down. He also presented the pair of colours which the town afterwards used in its public meetings and processions. The date of his death is unknown. His daughter married Sir Thomas Livingston of Jerviswood, Bart.; and her eldest son of the same name was colonel of a regiment of dragoons, a privy-councillor, commander-in-chief in Scotland, and finally raised to the peerage by William III. in 1698, under the title of Viscount Teviot; but as he died without issue, the title became extinct.

ELGIN, EARL OF. As a Scottish nobleman, this eminent statesman is entitled to a place in our records, although his birth-place was not in Scotland. James Bruce, eighth Earl of Elgin and twelfth Earl of Kincardine, was born in London on the 20th of July, 1811, and was the eldest son of Thomas, the seventh Earl of Elgin, by his second marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of James Townshend Oswald of Dunnikier, Fifeshire. He was educated first at Eton, and afterwards at Christ Church, at which the late Marquis of Dalhousie, Lord Canning, Lord Herbert of Lea,

and Mr. Gladstone were his fellow-collegians; and while a student at the university, he was known by the title of Lord Bruce, his father being still alive. His proficiency as a scholar was attested by his being of the first-class in classics in 1832, after which he became a fellow of Merton College. His public and political life did not commence until he had reached the ripe age of thirty, when, in 1841, he entered parliament as member for Southampton, and a supporter of Sir Robert Peel. In the same year, by the death of his father, he succeeded to the earldom; but, being a Scottish peer, he could still retain his seat in the House of Commons; this, however, he resigned in 1842, in consequence of being appointed to the governor-generalship of Jamaica.

In 1846 more important political duties awaited the Earl of Elgin. At this time our important colony of Canada had many grievances both real and imaginary to complain of; but the greatest of all was the apprehended passing of the corn-law bill, at that time under the consideration of the imperial parliament. Should the bill pass into law, the principle of protection would be annihilated, and that of "buying in the cheapest market" be established in its room. In this case, how would the interests of Canada be affected? It was feared, that if the differential duties on the import of colonial and foreign grain into Great Britain should be abolished, it would be impossible for the colony to compete with the United States. This the colonists represented in an earnest petition to her majesty, expressed in the following words:—"Situating as Canada is, and with a climate so severe as to leave barely one half of the year open for intercourse by the St. Lawrence with the mother country, the cost of transporting her products to market is much greater than is paid by the inhabitants of the United States; and, without a measure of protection or some equivalent advantage, we cannot successfully compete with that country." A hint of a bolder and more significant character followed:—"It is much to be feared," the petition added, "that should the inhabitants of Canada, from the withdrawal of all protection to their staple products, find that they cannot successfully compete with their neighbours of the United States in the only market open to them, they will naturally and of necessity begin to doubt whether remaining a portion of the British empire will be of that paramount advantage which they have hitherto found it to be." Between the urgency of the corn-bill at home and the threat of secession held out by the most important of our colonies, the British ministry were in a great dilemma; and their choice of Lord Elgin to settle the difficulty shows the esteem in which he was held, and the confidence that was reposed in him. In 1846 he was appointed governor of Canada, and he cheerfully undertook the difficult commission. It is not our purpose to enter into the history of his government during the eight years over which it extended: it is enough to state that it was one of firmness tempered with peaceful conciliation, and that it was sufficient for the crisis. Adopting the policy of his father-in-law, Lord Durham, he preserved a neutrality between all parties that naturally made him the umpire of them all; and he secured their confidence, by promoting the welfare of all

alike in developing the commercial and agricultural interests of the colony. This conduct, and the substantial benefits that accrued from it, were of such a pacificatory character, that the colonists no longer talked of secession from the mother state, while at home his services were so justly appreciated, that in 1849 he was raised to the British peerage by the title of Baron Elgin of Elgin.

Scarcely had his lordship rested at home on his return from Canada, when a new commission awaited him. Our wonted quarrels with the Chinese had broken out into a regular war, and although the enemy was contemptible in an open field, the result of such a contest was doubtful, more especially as the Europeans composed but a handful, while the Chinese are supposed to constitute nearly a third of the whole human race. The contest, also, on the part of the enemy, had been aggravated by the perfidy and barbarities of the notorious Yeh, the imperial commissioner. To bring such an unpleasant war to a speedy termination, the British government resolved to send a plenipotentiary to China, armed not only with full authority to negotiate a peace, but, if necessary, with military resources to compel it; and for this important double office Lord Elgin was selected. He set sail for our Chinese settlement at Hong-Kong, which he reached in the beginning of July, 1857; but on the voyage had been met at Singapore with tidings of the sudden outburst of the Indian mutiny, and a request from Lord Canning, the governor-general, to send him whatever troops he could spare. As the loss of our Indian empire was imminent, and would have been fatal to Britain, Lord Elgin complied. Soon after, on finding that the mutiny had attained greater magnitude, he followed in person with additional troops from Hong-Kong, wisely judging that in such an emergency the Chinese war was an affair of trivial moment. It was necessary, indeed, that our handful of troops in India should be reinforced with every bayonet that could be spared, when the whole country had risen in arms against them. Having thus done what he could for the preservation of our Indian empire, Lord Elgin returned to Hong-Kong, and addressed himself with diminished resources to the objects of his Chinese mission. It was soon found, however, that negotiations were useless, on account of the delays and duplicity of the Chinese statesmen, and his lordship was obliged to have recourse to his ultimate argument. This he could the more effectually do, as he had been joined by a French naval and land force, and was seconded by the representatives of Russia and the United States, who had a common interest in the quarrel. Hostilities were commenced by a movement of the English and French armaments into the Canton River; the large island of Honan, situated in the river and opposite Canton, was occupied by the confederate European troops, and Canton itself was bombarded and taken. These sharp measures, and the consciousness of the Chinese that they were no match for the "barbarians" in the arts of war, compelled them to a humiliating peace, by the terms of which trade was opened between China and Europe, and the property, safety, and rights of the foreigners in China guaranteed. All was granted which Lord Elgin demanded; and, after this successful embassy, he turned his attention to the neighbouring empire of Japan, from which a still stricter jealousy than that which prevailed in China had hitherto excluded not only European commerce, but European visitors. To obtain the opening of its ports to our traffic was the purpose of his visit, while the apology for his entrance into the Japanese waters was, that he was commissioned to present a steam-

yacht from the Queen of Great Britain to the Emperor of Japan. He persisted also in conveying this gift of his royal mistress to Jeddo, the capital, notwithstanding the endeavours of the Japanese to arrest his progress, but they were awed into compliance by the sight of the formidable steamships of war by which the British ambassador was attended. He and his suite were welcomed on shore, and the result of this embassy was a treaty of peace, friendship, and commerce between the Tycoon of Japan and the Queen of Great Britain, which was ratified at Jeddo, July 11th, 1859. Although these treaties both with China and Japan were as much owing to force as persuasion, and were made with two great nations who would be certain to reject them as soon as an opportunity occurred, the blame is not to be imputed to Lord Elgin. All that prudence, wisdom, and skilful diplomacy could effect with a people so insincere, he had used on the occasion; and it became the business of his government to see that they were kept inviolate, and to punish their infraction. It was much, also, that two such vast empires, hitherto so inaccessible for ages, and which, on that account, had become "dead seas of man," should be opened to European intercourse and civilization, although this entrance had been so rough, and might prove to be nothing more than a commencement of the attempt.

Events in China soon showed that there at least nothing more than a commencement had been made. One of the conditions of the late treaty was, that a British minister and his suite should be permanently established at Peking; and for this office of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, the Honourable Mr. Bruce, brother of the Earl of Elgin, to whom this treaty was mainly owing, was appropriately nominated to the office. Every precaution also was adopted to spare the sensitive pride and suspicion of the Chinese, and, by the advice of Lord Elgin, Mr. Bruce was instructed by our government to fix the residence of the British mission at Shanghai, and only require that it should be received occasionally at Peking. His right, however, to reside permanently in the capital was to be recognized, by his repairing to Peking, presenting his credentials to the emperor in person, and obtaining their recognition—and forestalling the obstacles that would be thrown in his way, the British admiral commanding our naval forces in China was appointed to enter the mouth of the Peiho, and secure the safety of the mission to Peking. And then commenced those difficulties and delays by which the Chinese had resolved to reduce the treaty to a dead-letter. Mr. Bruce, on reaching Shanghai with the French plenipotentiary, was met with a proposal from the Chinese government to have the ratifications of the treaty exchanged at that place instead of Peking; and, on the refusal of the ambassadors, it was proposed that they should travel from Shanghai to Peking by land, a journey of two months, instead of going to the capital by the river Peiho. But they adopted the latter mode of transit, and the Chinese fortified the river against them. The disasters that befell the British squadron in its attempts to force the passage of the Peiho are too well known to require further mention: their attacks both by land and water were defeated, and the over-confident invaders were driven back with considerable loss, and still greater disgrace, to Shanghai.

On the arrival of these tidings in England, it was felt that not a moment should be lost in our endeavours to repair the disaster, and that none was so fit for the purpose as the Earl of Elgin. He was therefore once more appointed British plenipotentiary in China; and accompanied by Baron Gros, the

ambassador from France, he set sail in an English frigate, the *Malabar*, for China. Stopping on their way, however, at the Point de Galle, in Ceylon, the ship ran upon a reef of sunken rocks, and was wrecked, while the calamity was so sudden and unexpected that both the French and English plenipotentiary were well nigh involved in the ruin. After this narrow escape, they proceeded in another ship to China, and reached Shanghai on the 21st of June, 1860. From the ships and troops placed at their disposal by the French and English governments, they were now in a condition to punish the Chinese for their late outrage, and compel them to renew the violated treaty, while their ultimatum was nothing less than the right of both missions to reside in the Chinese capital. It is unnecessary to particularize the hostile movements both by land and water, and the encounters that took place with the Chinese, in preparing the advance of the embassy to the capital; it is enough to state, that in every encounter the Chinese troops were made to feel that they were unequally matched against the soldiers of Europe. Nor were these the only obstacles to the onward progress of Lord Elgin, for the Chinese diplomatists carried on at the same time a war of crafty negotiation, by which they endeavoured to outwit him. Pretending a desire for peace, they sent commissioners to arrange the terms; but when everything was ready for settlement, it was found that all this was done merely to occasion delay. But this was not all: joining cruelty to perfidy, they attacked a body of the English commissioners whom they invited to a peaceful conference, overpowered them, threw them into prison, and treated them with such barbarity as is seldom paralleled even among savages. To free these captives from their bonds, as well as to punish such treachery, it was necessary to carry the war into the heart of Peking; and to show that they were in earnest, the united French and English troops, on the 6th of October, attacked in their march the summer-palace of the emperor, and subjected it to indiscriminate and ignominious plunder. Two days afterwards, the British prisoners were set free; but this reparation was only partial, and came too late, and on the 12th every preparation was finished for the bombardment of Peking. The emperor himself had previously left the capital under the pretext of a hunting expedition, the government officials were terrified and perplexed, and nowhere was there concert for resistance even had such a purpose been entertained. Peking therefore surrendered at the summons; and one of the most populous of the earth's cities, the capital of the proudest of governments, was in the hands of a small invading force, with the banners of France and England floating triumphantly upon its walls. After this humbling surrender, Lord Elgin thought enough had been inflicted; but it was now only that he learned the full amount of Chinese cruelty that had been inflicted upon the prisoners so treacherously surprised and captured. Of these, twenty-six in number, only thirteen had been restored alive, but so marked by the cruelties they had undergone, that to some of them life could only be a burden; the rest had been murdered, with circumstances of atrocity too horrible to be mentioned. Although Peking was spared according to the previous treaty, he was resolved that such barbarity should not go unpunished; and as the government had sanctioned the deed, it was upon it that the chastisement should fall. The summer-palace of the emperor, lately plundered, and in which several of the captives had been confined and tortured, was therefore selected for the example; and, acting upon his own responsibility, as the French

ambassador shunned any partnership in the affair, Lord Elgin commanded that this stately building should be burned to the ground. He also inflicted a fine of 300,000 taels to be paid as compensation to the families of the murdered men, and to those persons who had survived their imprisonment. Eight millions of taels were to be paid by the Chinese government as an indemnity to England and France for the expenses of the war, and the articles of the former treaty into which his lordship had entered with China in 1858 were ratified with additional strictness. There was no longer any demur expressed about the residence of a British representative in Peking.

The successful termination of this difficult Chinese undertaking, and the courage and prudence with which it was conducted, justified the appointment of Lord Elgin to a still higher office, which almost immediately succeeded. This was to be governor-general of India in the room of the late Lord Canning. The difficulties of the office were so trying, and its duties so arduous, that these, combined with the nature of the climate, were enough to deter any statesman, more especially if he was independent of office, or had the prospect of advancement at home. But Lord Elgin was not to be held back by such personal considerations when duty summoned him to the task. His friends, indeed, had their misgivings, when they remembered how two of his predecessors, both of whom had been his class-fellows at college, had succumbed to the toils of office and the exhausting effects of the climate, and had died before their day; but they hoped that his lordship's case might prove a happy exception, more especially as he was still in little more than the prime of life, and had become inured to the harness of political labour. The discontent of India also had been exhausted in the mutiny, and its numerous tribes and nations had laid the chastisement of its suppression to heart. This his lordship felt as soon as he had assumed office, so that his principal care was to develop the resources of the country, and promote the industry of the people. The history of his rule in India was therefore one of peace, neither provoking contests nor acquiring territory, and its unostentatious character was well rewarded by the substantial benefits which it everywhere created. India, indeed, needed such a Numa, after the fierce wars by which it had been so rudely shaken. But too soon this promise of prosperity to so many millions under his beneficent administration was brought to a close. In the autumn of 1863 he set out on a tour of inspection of the north of India, with the intention of visiting Cashmere, accompanied by Lady Elgin, and attended by his secretaries and other government officials. On the 13th of November he had ascended on foot one of the passes of the Himalayas; but the unwonted fatigue was followed by a severe illness, which threw him upon a sick-bed at a secluded hamlet called the Dhurumsala. From that bed he was never more to rise, and his last hours are thus described in the *Bombay Times*:—"Up to the 19th his lordship was quite conscious, fully aware of his state, and perfectly composed. He made every earthly preparation for his departure. He made his will; gave injunctions that he should be buried at Dhurumsalah; directed Colonel Strachey to design a tomb for his remains; approved of the design when submitted to him; dictated the words of the telegrams that he ordered to be despatched to England, conveying the expression of his duty to his queen, and the request that her majesty would appoint his successor; gave instructions respecting the return of his family to England; took leave of his family, and

waited till his end came. His death," the same authority adds, "is a great loss to the British empire: to British India, at such a time as the present, it is a loss which seems irreparable." The character of Lord Elgin as a statesman and as governor-general of India is thus briefly but justly summed up in the *Times* newspaper, when announcing his decease:—"He has fallen in harness; but he has had the satisfaction of seeing India grow in prosperity under his rule, and hold out expectations which for years past we have not dared to entertain. All through his life he was successful in his undertakings, and he was successful to the last. He owed that success not so much to great genius as to good sense, to social tact, and to a love of hard, steady work."

The Earl of Elgin was twice married. His first wife, Elizabeth Mary, daughter of C. L. Cumming of Rose-isle, Stirlingshire, died in 1843, while he was governor of Jamaica, leaving him one daughter. His second wife was Lady Mary Louisa Lambton, daughter of the Earl of Durham, by whom the Earl of Elgin had three sons and a daughter. The eldest of these sons, Victor Alexander Lord Bruce, succeeded him in the earldom.

ELIBANK, LORD. See MURRAY, PATRICK.

ELLIOT, GEORGE AUGUSTUS, Lord Heathfield, a distinguished military officer, was the ninth son of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobbs in Roxburghshire, and born about the year 1718. He received his education, first at home under the charge of a family tutor, and afterwards at Leyden, where he acquired a perfect and colloquial knowledge of the French and German languages. Being destined for the army, he was placed at the military school of La Fere, in Picardy, which was the most celebrated in Europe, and conducted at that time by Vauban, the famous engineer. He afterwards served for some time as a volunteer in the Prussian army, which was then considered the best *practical* school of war. Returning in his seventeenth year, he was introduced by his father to Lieutenant-colonel Peers of the 23d foot or Royal Welsh Fusileers, which was then lying at Edinburgh. Sir Gilbert presented him as a youth anxious to bear arms for his king and country; and he accordingly entered the regiment as a volunteer. Having served for upwards of a twelvemonth, during which he displayed an uncommon zeal in his profession, he was removed to the engineer corps at Woolwich, and was making great progress in the studies requisite for that branch of service, when his uncle, Colonel Elliot, introduced him as adjutant of the 2d troop of horse-grenadiers. His exertions in this situation laid the foundation of a discipline which afterwards rendered the two troops of horse-grenadiers the finest corps of heavy cavalry in Europe. In the war which ended in 1748 he served with his regiment in many actions—among the rest, the battle of Dettingen, in which he was wounded. After successively purchasing the captaincy, majority, and lieutenant-colonelcy of his regiment, he resigned his place in the engineer corps, notwithstanding that he had already studied gunnery and other matters connected with the service, to a degree which few have ever attained. He was now distinguished so highly for his zeal and acquirements, that George II. appointed him one of his aides-de-camp. In 1759 he quitted the 2d regiment of horse-grenadiers, having been selected to raise, form, and discipline the first regiment of light horse, called after him, Elliot's. This regiment was brought by him to such a pitch of activity and discipline, as to be held up as a pattern to all the other dragoon regiments raised for many years after-

wards. Colonel Elliot, indeed, may be described as a perfect military enthusiast. His habits of life were as rigorous as those of a religious ascetic. His food was vegetables, his drink water. He neither indulged himself in animal food nor wine. He never slept more than four hours at a time, so that he was up later and earlier than most other men. It was his constant endeavour to make his men as abstemious, hardy, and vigilant as himself; and it is stated that habit at last rendered them so, without their feeling it to be a hardship. It might have been expected, from such a character, that he would also be a stern and unscrupulous soldier; but the reverse was the case. He was sincerely anxious, by acts of humanity, to soften the horrors of war. In the expedition to the coast of France which took place near the close of the Seven Years' war, he had the command of the cavalry, with the rank of brigadier-general. In the memorable expedition against the Havannah, he was second in command. After a desperate siege of nearly two months, during which the British suffered dreadfully from the climate, the city, which was considered as the key to all the Spanish dominions in the West Indies, was taken by storm. The Spanish general, Lewis de Velasco, had displayed infinite firmness in his defence of this fortress, as well as the most devoted bravery at its conclusion, having fallen amidst heaps of slain, while vainly endeavouring to repel the final attack. Elliot appears to have been forcibly struck by the gallant conduct of Velasco, and to have resolved upon rendering it a model for his own conduct under similar circumstances. After the peace his regiment was reviewed by the king (George III.) in Hyde Park, when they presented to his majesty the standards taken from the enemy. The king, gratified with their high character, asked General Elliot what mark of his favour he could bestow on his regiment equal to their merits. He answered that his regiment would be proud, if his majesty should think that, by their services, they were entitled to the distinction of royals. It was accordingly made a royal regiment, with this flattering title—"The 15th or king's royal regiment of light dragoons." At the same time the king expressed a desire to confer a mark of his favour on the brave general; but he declared that the honour and satisfaction of his majesty's approbation were his best reward.

During the peace between 1763 and 1775, General Elliot served for a time as commander of the forces in Ireland. Being recalled from this difficult post on his own solicitation, he was, in an hour fortunate for his country, appointed to the command of Gibraltar. In the ensuing war, which finally involved both the French and Spaniards, the latter instituted a most determined siege round his fortress, which lasted for three years, and was only unsuccessful through the extraordinary exertions, and, it may be added, the extraordinary qualifications of General Elliot. Both himself and his garrison, having been previously inured to every degree of abstinence and discipline, were fitted in a peculiar manner to endure the hardships of the siege, while at the same time his military and engineering movements were governed by such a clear judgment and skill, as to baffle the utmost efforts of the enemy. Collected within himself, he in no instance destroyed by premature attacks the labours which would cost the enemy time, patience, and expense to complete; he deliberately observed their approaches, and, with the keenest perception, seized on the proper moment in which to make his attack with success. He never spent his ammunition in useless parade or in unimportant attacks. He never relaxed from his

discipline by the appearance of security, nor hazarded the lives of his garrison by wild experiments. By a cool and temperate demeanour, with a mere handful of men, he maintained his station for three years of constant investment, in which all the powers of Spain were employed. All the eyes of Europe were upon his conduct, and his final triumph was universally allowed to be among the most brilliant military transactions of modern times.

On his return to England, General Elliot received the thanks of parliament, and was honoured by his sovereign, June 14, 1787, with a peerage, under the title of Lord Heathfield and Baron Gibraltar, besides being elected a Knight of the Bath. His lordship died at Aix-la-Chapelle, July 6, 1790, of a second stroke of palsy, while endeavouring to reach Gibraltar, where he was anxious to close his life. He left, by his wife Anne, daughter of Sir Francis Drake, a son, who succeeded him in the peerage.

ELLIOT MURRAY KYNNYMOND, GILBERT, first Earl of Minto, a distinguished statesman, was born at Edinburgh, April 23, 1751. He was the eldest son of Gilbert Elliot, Esq., advocate, younger of Minto, by Mrs. Agnes Murray Kynnymond, of Melgund and Kynnymond.

The Earl of Minto was descended from a race of very eminent persons. His father, who became Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, baronet, was conspicuous as a parliamentary orator, and in 1763 held the office of treasurer of the navy. He subsequently obtained the reversion of the office of keeper of the signet in Scotland. In the literary annals of his country he is the well-known author of several excellent poetical compositions, particularly the popular song, *My Sheep I neglected*. He also carried on a philosophical correspondence with David Hume, which is quoted with marks of approbation by Mr. Dugald Stewart, in his *Philosophy of the Human Mind*, and in his *Dissertation* prefixed to the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Sir Gilbert was the eldest son of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, lord justice-clerk, a respectable judge and most accomplished man, especially in music. Lord Minto, as he was called, is said to have been the first to introduce the German flute into Scotland, about the year 1725. In the history of Scotland, during the early part of the eighteenth century, he is distinguished by his zealous and useful exertions as a friend of the Protestant succession, and also by his patriotic enthusiasm in every measure that tended to the improvement and advantage of his country.

The father of Lord Minto was Gilbert Elliot, popularly called "Gibbie Elliot," at first a writer in Edinburgh, and in that capacity employed by the celebrated Mr. Veitch to rescue him from the tyrannical government of Charles II. in Scotland; a duty in which he succeeded, though it led to his own denunciation by the Scottish privy-council. Gilbert Elliot contrived to make his escape to Holland, but, nevertheless, was tried in his absence for high treason to King James VII., for which he was condemned and forfeited. After the Revolution he returned to his native country; and being recommended, both by his sufferings and his sagacity and expertness in business, was made clerk of the privy-council. He subsequently entered at the Scottish bar, and rose to the rank of a civil and criminal judge. It is related, that when he came to Dumfries in the course of the judiciary circuit, he never failed to visit his old friend Veitch, who was there settled minister; and the following dialogue used to pass between them: "Ah, Willie, Willie," Lord

Minto would say, "if it had not been for me, the pyets [magpies] would have been pyking your pow on the Netherbow Port." "Ah, Gibbie, Gibbie," Veitch would reply, in reference to the first impulse which his persecutions had given to the fortunes of Lord Minto, "if it had not been for me, you would have been writing papers yet, at a plack the page."

To return to the Earl of Minto: his first education was of a private nature; and, as his father had prospects of advancement for him in England, he was subsequently placed at a school in that country. In 1768 he entered as a gentleman commoner at Christ Church, Oxford; whence he was transferred to Lincoln's Inn, and in due time was called to the English bar. His health becoming delicate, he soon after commenced a tour of the Continent, with the view of acquiring a knowledge of the general state of European life and policy. While at Paris, he frequented the society of Madame du Deffand, by whom he is justly praised in her correspondence. She calls him "ce petit Elliot," either in endearment, or in allusion to his youth and delicate person. In 1777 Mr. Elliot married Miss Amyand, daughter of Sir George Amyand, by whom he had three sons and three daughters. Soon after this period his father died, leaving him in possession of the baronetcy.

In 1774 Mr. Elliot was elected member of parliament for Morpeth; and, though he never became a very frequent speaker, he gave proofs on many occasions of his talents both as a debater and a man of business. In the deliberations of parliament on the American contest he warmly espoused the cause of ministers, until nearly the close of the war, when he joined the ranks of the opposition. Having attached himself to Mr. Fox, he gave his support to the coalition ministry, and after the dismissal of that party, adhered to it throughout its misfortunes and disgrace. In the endeavours of the party of the coalition to humble that of the new aristocracy, which seemed to have arisen in what was called the *India interest*; in their attempts to win the people back to their side, by swerving, to a certain length, into democratical Whiggism; in their hopes to strengthen themselves on the authority of the heir-apparent to the crown; in their opposition to a war on behalf of Turkey, with the power of Russia and its allies; in their efforts to maintain what was really the constitutional right of the Prince of Wales to the regency; and in all their other political measures, whether to serve their country or to restore themselves to official power, Sir Gilbert Elliot bore no undistinguished part.

The estimation in which he was held by his party is proved by the circumstance of his having been twice proposed as speaker; on one of which occasions he very nearly carried his election against the government. At the breaking out of the French revolution, he, like many others of his party, warmly adopted the views of the Tories, and became a warm supporter of ministers. In 1793 the town of Toulon, and other parts of the south of France, had declared for Louis XVII., and seemed likely to become of great service to the British arms in operating against the new republic. Sir Gilbert Elliot was then associated in a commission with Lord Hood and General O'Hara, respectively commanders of the naval and military force, to meet with the French royalists, and afford them all possible protection. On the recapture of Toulon by the republicans, December 18, 1793, he procured for such of the Toulonese as escaped a refuge in the island of Elba. The Corsicans having now also resolved to declare against the republic, Sir Gilbert was nominated to take them

under the protection of Great Britain. Early in 1794 all the fortified places of the island were put into his hands; and the king having accepted the proffered sovereignty of the island, Sir Gilbert presided as viceroy in a general assembly of the Corsicans, June 19, 1794, when a code of laws was adopted for the political arrangement of society in the island, being in substance somewhat similar to the constitution of Great Britain. In a speech of great wisdom, dignity, and conciliation, Sir Gilbert recommended to the Corsicans to live quietly under this constitution, and to value aright the advantages they had gained by putting themselves under the protection of the same sovereign who was the executor of the laws and the guardian of the liberties of Great Britain. Whatever could be done by prudence, moderation, energy, and vigilance, was done by Sir Gilbert in the government of this island; but, notwithstanding all his efforts, the French ultimately gained the ascendancy, and in October, 1796, the island was deserted by the British. George III. acknowledged his sense of Sir Gilbert's services by raising him to the peerage, under the title of Lord or Baron of Minto, in the shire of Roxburgh, with a special permission to adopt the arms of Corsica into the armorial bearings of his family.

Lord Minto's speech in the House of Lords in support of the union with Ireland, a measure which met his sincere support, was one of considerable effect, and much admired even by those with whom he differed on that occasion. Early in 1799 his lordship was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Vienna, where he resided, and ably executed the duties of his very important office, till the end of the year 1801. On the accession of the Whig administration in 1806, he filled for a short time the office of president of the Board of Control; but having soon after been appointed to the situation of Governor-general of India, he embarked for that distant region in February, 1807. As the Company, Board of Control, and ministers had differed about the filling of this office (vacant by the death of Marquis Cornwallis), the appointment of Lord Minto must be considered as a testimony of the general confidence in his abilities and integrity, more especially as he was at the time quite ignorant of Indian affairs. The result fully justified all that had been anticipated. Under the care of Lord Minto, the debts of the Company rapidly diminished, the animosities of the native princes were subdued, and the jealousy of the government was diminished. In quelling the mutiny of the coast army, he evinced much prudence, temper, and firmness; but his administration was rendered more conspicuously brilliant by his well-concerted and triumphant expeditions against the Isles of France and Bourbon in 1810, and that of Java in 1811. Although these enterprises were in conformity to the general instructions, yet the British ministers candidly allowed, in honour of Lord Minto, that to him was due the whole merit of the plan, and also its successful termination. He himself accompanied the expedition against Java: and it is well known that his presence not only contributed materially to its early surrender, but also to the maintenance of harmony in all departments of the expedition, and tended materially to conciliate the inhabitants after the surrender. For these eminent services Lord Minto received the thanks of both houses of parliament; and in February, 1813, as a proof of his majesty's continued approbation, he was promoted to an earldom, with the additional title of Viscount Melgund. His lordship returned to England in 1814, in apparent health; but after a short residence in London,

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alarming symptoms of decline began to show themselves, and he died June 21st, at Stevenage, on his way to Scotland. Lord Minto's general abilities are best seen in his acts. His manners were mild and pleasant, his conversation naturally playful—but he could make it serious and instructive. He displayed, both in speaking and writing, great purity of language, and an uncommon degree of perspicuity in his mode of expression and narration. He was an elegant scholar, a good linguist, and well versed both in ancient and modern history. With all these qualifications, he possessed one which gives a charm to all others—modesty. In short, it is rare that a person appears with such a perfect balance of good qualities as the Earl of Minto.

ELPHINSTONE, THE HON. MOUNTSTUART.

This distinguished civil servant of the East India Company, who won for himself such a high name in the history of our Indian empire, was the fourth son of John, eleventh Lord Elphinstone, by Anne, daughter of James, third Lord Ruthven, and granddaughter of James, second Earl of Bute. The Elphinstone family is one of great antiquity in Scotland; several of its members held responsible situations in the political events of their day; and John Lord Elphinstone, the father of the subject of the present memoir, was a general officer, held for some time the office of governor of Edinburgh Castle, and was one of the representative peers of Scotland.

Mountstuart Elphinstone was born in the year 1779. Until his twelfth year, his education was conducted in his father's house at Cumbernauld, and in 1791-92 he attended the high-school of Edinburgh. At this time he gave little promise either of talents or scholarship, having selected for himself a different class of teachers from those of the high-school. These were French prisoners of war, who had been captured in the early part of the revolution, and retained in the castle of Edinburgh; and as his father was governor of the castle, young Mountstuart, who was a Whig of the Charles Fox school, fraternized with these hot republicans, wore his hair long after their fashion, and learned to sing their revolutionary war-songs, chiefly the *Marsellaise* and *Ça ira*. After this unpromising training he was sent to a school in Kensington, taught by Dr. Thompson, where his education, such as it was, was completed in two short years. Thus he owed little to schools, and was of too volatile a disposition for serious application. It was only when he went out in early life to India, and was obliged to rely upon his own energy and resources, that he became a self-taught accomplished scholar. The place of his career was probably decided from the circumstance of his uncle, Mr. Fullerton Elphinstone, having been for many years a director of the East India Company. Having obtained a cadetship in the Company's civil service, he embarked for India in July, 1795, when only sixteen years of age. It was a dangerous ordeal for one so young to undergo. No literary tests were required of him; he was freed from the usual restraints of youth; and if he punctually discharged the duties of his office, no further questions were asked. But these circumstances, which might have corrupted and debased an inferior mind, only strengthened that of young Elphinstone, and made him brave, considerate, and self-reliant.

Almost immediately on his arrival in India he was appointed assistant to the magistrate at Benares. Here, however, his life glided silently onward for some years, with the exception of one important incident. In January, 1799, Vizier Ali, the deposed Nawab of Oude, who was detained in a sort

of honourable captivity at Benares, visited the British resident Mr. Cherry, and during the interview, either from design or under the influence of sudden passion, aimed a blow at him with his sword. As if this had been a preconcerted signal, the nabab's followers attacked the British officers present at the interview, and a massacre commenced which seemed to have for its object the extirpation of all the Europeans in Benares. But the gallant resistance of Mr. Davis, who with spear in hand defended the narrow stair leading to the roof of his house, on which his family had taken shelter, gave time for the arrival of British troops, by whom the sudden mutiny was quelled. In this wild uproar the situation of Mr. Elphinstone was truly critical. He was sitting with his friend Sir R. Houston, then on a visit to Benares, and they were engaged in conversation, unconscious of the murders going on in the streets, until nearly all the English were destroyed or had fled. They had only time to mount their horses, when they were pursued by the enemy's cavalry; and their escape was owing to a sugar plantation into which they dashed, and where they were hid by the tall sugar-canes. It was a lesson of political wariness against the sudden outbursts of Asiatic passion, which, among other lessons, Elphinstone was careful to lay to heart. Two years after this event he was transferred to the diplomatic service at the Mahratta court, under Colonel (afterwards Sir Barry) Close, and here it was that Elphinstone might be properly said to commence in earnest the career that led him to fame and distinction.

This new sphere of action, to which he was appointed in 1801, presented a complication of difficulties seldom to be paralleled in the politics of Europe. The Mahratta empire had risen on that of the Mogul, and succeeded to the same ascendancy in India; but at the end of the eighteenth century had fallen into the same state of anarchy as its predecessor. Although the form of its government and the prestige of its name still survived, the real power had been usurped by the chiefs of the Mahratta confederacy, who after paying a merely nominal homage to the peshwa or representative of the sovereign—an official who under that subsidiary title had ruled with regal authority—governed their own territories with unrestricted sway. Thus there were two sovereigns and a double court at Poona—a pageant king, with the title and show of royalty, and a mayor of the palace, who enjoyed the real authority. This last functionary was impersonated in Bajee Rao, a Mahratta prince of great cunning and showy accomplishments, but no soldier, who, although he had usurped for the time the chief power of the state, was controlled by whatever warlike Mahratta chieftain might happen for the time to be uppermost. In this confusion of parties, where sovereign, peshwa, and factious princes were all striving for supremacy, and the Mahratta empire was about to be torn to pieces, a power greater than them all stepped in, either to compose or profit by the confusion. Need we add that this power was the British empire in India? Lord Wellesley, the governor-general, proposed a military alliance with the peshwa, and although the terms were those of a superior, the peshwa was constrained to submit to them. It was into this Mahratta court, or rather political chaos, that Elphinstone was sent, and he had arrived in time to witness the struggles that overthrew the peshwa's authority, and the British interference by which his rule was re-established.

A treaty, however, by which the ambition of so many was thwarted could not be of long endurance, and it was found necessary by the governor-general

to send a mission to the great Mahratta chiefs, Scindia, Holkar, and the Rajah of Berar, to reconcile them to the change. The mission, however, failed, although Arthur Wellesley, the future hero of Waterloo, was at the head of it. That final argument of force was necessary which none knew better how to apply, and the unsuccessful negotiator was soon after to be the conqueror of Assaye. During his mission, General Wellesley, who had come in contact with our promising diplomatist at Poona, and marked his abilities, requested the resident "to give him young Elphinstone." This at the time was declined; but afterwards, when the sickness of Sir John Malcolm, Wellesley's secretary, had disabled him from duty, Elphinstone was sent to supply his place. He joined the general at Ahmednuggur early in August, 1803, and was present with him through the whole of that Mahratta campaign in which Sir Arthur's great military achievements were commenced. And here it was that Elphinstone showed the courage, the energy, and coolness of an approved soldier, with that military enthusiasm which so largely enters into the composition of a hero. At Assaye, though suffering from sickness, he quitted his palanquin to follow the general through the dangers of the fight, on which occasion, as he wrote after the battle, he was "well dusted;" and at Argaum he was again at Sir Arthur's side, when our troops were thrown into momentary disorder by the unexpected fire of the enemy's guns. At the siege of Gawilghur, with which the campaign terminated, Wellesley was so pleased with the conduct of his young secretary throughout the whole war, that he said, "You have mistaken your profession; you ought to have been a soldier." Nor were his official services less appreciated, as was shown by the general's letter recommending him to the important post of representative of British interests at the court of Berar, when peace was concluded. "Upon the occasion," he writes to the governor-general, "of mentioning Mr. Elphinstone, it is but justice to that gentleman to inform your excellency that I have received the greatest assistance from him since he has been with me. He is well versed in the language, has experience and a knowledge of the Mahratta powers, and their relations with each other, and with the British government and its allies. He has been present in all the actions which have been fought in this quarter during the war, and at all the sieges. He is acquainted with every transaction that has taken place, and with my sentiments upon all subjects. I therefore take the liberty of recommending him to your excellency." This was high praise, especially from a quarter so chary of commendations. It was a trying situation for which Elphinstone was recommended, as the Rajah of Berar, an independent sovereign, had just been deprived of some of his provinces by the British, and might at any time renew the war to recover them, and be revenged for his recent discomfiture. And extraordinary was the merit of one only twenty-five years old who was appointed to watch and control such a potentate.

Contrary to all expectation the rajah remained quiet, having been appeased by the restoration of part of his conquered territory; and Elphinstone, after holding peaceful office in the country, was transferred, in March, 1808, to the temporary charge of our relations with the court of Scindia, and in the following August to the charge of an embassy to Cabul. In consequence, however, of changes which had occurred at the court of Cabul after he had set out, and instructions sent to him from headquarters to conclude no alliance that was not purely defensive, the mission produced no important conse-

quences. This was a bitter disappointment to Mr. Elphinstone, after the great preparations that had been made for the embassy, and the important results which were expected to flow from it. "From the embassy of General Gardanne to Persia," he writes, "and other circumstances, it appeared as if the French intended to carry the war into Asia, and it was thought expedient by the British government in India to send a mission to the King of Cabul; and I was ordered on that duty." This otherwise fruitless mission, however, sufficed to reveal the disappointed diplomatist in a new character. During his stay in that country, hitherto unknown to the British, he had noted everything with an observant eye; and on his return to Calcutta he wrote his work entitled *Account of the Kingdom of Cabul*. This production, by which he stood out to the world as an author, gives a minute and valuable account of the country, in its geography, natural history, &c.; as well as a history of the embassy; and as such it was a valuable boon to our Indian government, who, on this occasion, had a *terra incognita* laid open to their view, with all its capabilities and resources. It was intended originally as an official report, but Sir J. Macintosh, at that time in the civil employment of the East India Company, happened to read the work in manuscript, and recommended its publication. It was not committed to the press, however, until 1815. The travels of Sir Alexander Burnes, and the national disasters which befell our arms in Cabul, recalled the attention of the British public to the work, and in consequence of the growing demand, a third edition of it was published, thirty years after it was written, by which the literary fame of its author enjoyed a reduplicated existence.

In 1810 Mountstuart Elphinstone was appointed resident at the court of Poona. Although the country had considerably improved during his absence, the government was still unsettled; and although Bajee Rao had been replaced in the office of peshwa by British influence, and retained in it by British bayonets, he was restless under the ascendancy of his benefactors, and plotting for rule independent of their aid. Then, too, he had a minister and confidant, one Trimbukjee Danglia, whose character for energy and cunning resembled his own, and who was ready to second the views of his master, however unreasonable or unjust. It was this dangerous pair whom Elphinstone had to watch, to soothe, and to coerce at the court of Poona, while they hated his presence, and cared not by what means they might be rid of him. A peaceful agreement between such parties could not be lasting, and an act of violence perpetrated by the peshwa and his minister hastened the inevitable rupture. An ambassador, who was also a Brahmin, and therefore protected both by political and religious sanctions, had been sent by the government of Baroda to the court of Poona; but having mortally offended the peshwa, he was assassinated in open day and the public street, by hired murderers in the employ of Trimbukjee Danglia. The deed was an insult to every nation, and as such could not be passed over; the British government in India was the only authority that had the power as well as the right to vindicate the universal law of nations; and Elphinstone, as its commissioned resident, insisted upon the apprehension of Trimbukjee and his agents, and if found guilty, that they should be punished. "A foreign ambassador," he said to the peshwa, "has been murdered in the midst of your highness' court. A Brahmin has been massacred almost in the temple during one of the highest solemnities of your religion; and I must not conceal from your highness, the impunity of the per-

petrators of this enormity has led to imputations, not to be thought of, against your highness' government. Nobody is more convinced of the falsehood of such insinuations than I am; but I think it my duty to state them, that your highness may see the necessity of refuting calumnies so injurious to your reputation. I beg you also to observe, that while Trimbukjee remains at large, his situation enables him to commit further acts of rashness, which he may undertake on purpose to embroil your highness with the British government." The remonstrance was closed with a threat that communications would be closed between the British government and the court of Poona, unless Trimbukjee was brought to trial. After much demur on the part of the peshwa, the offender was delivered to the British government, and placed in close custody. But now came the British part of the difficulty. A trial that revealed the guilt of Trimbukjee might also betray the complicity of the peshwa, and to proceed against the latter might involve the wholesale evils of a Mahratta war. Satisfied also with having reduced the peshwa to submission, and compelled him to surrender his prime minister to justice, they here stopped short, and allowed Trimbukjee to escape from prison. It was a dangerous case of lenity, the effects of which were to recoil upon their own heads. The fugitive fled to his old master, and plans were concerted secretly between them to throw off their connection with the British, and tempt the hazards of a new Mahratta war. Into these plots Elphinstone penetrated, although the peshwa declared that Trimbukjee had not returned to Poona; nay, he even provided large sums to assist in his capture. Under these and other such devices, the conspiracy was so secretly matured, that even when it broke out into open warfare, the British in Poona were unaware of the danger. It was well, therefore, that Elphinstone from the beginning had suspected the mischief and prepared the remedy. Under his own responsibility he had drawn several bodies of British troops to the neighbourhood of the capital, and was thus prepared to repel violence by force. Hostilities were commenced by a sudden attack on the British residency; but Elphinstone, whose military eye detected the difficulty of defending it, had previously withdrawn the troops to a well-chosen position about four miles distant from the city, so that all which the insurgents could do was to seize and destroy the building. The military commander of the small British force was Colonel Barr, a brave old officer, but now half-crippled by paralysis, who intended to stand merely on the defensive; but Elphinstone, who was well acquainted with the nature of Mahratta warfare, which he had learned under Wellington, and who, as British resident, had a superior voice in the direction of the troops, ordered an advance to meet the enemy mid-way. This boldness daunted the Mahrattas, so that they fought with only half their usual spirit, and after a short fight their huge masses recoiled in broken and tumultuary heaps. To Colonel Barr, as military commander, this victory was officially ascribed; but the plan, and the excellent movements of the troops, by which the battle was won, were generally and justly attributed to the civilian Elphinstone. The campaign which followed lasted only a few months, and the desultory resistance of the Mahrattas was finally closed by their utter defeat at Ashtee. Much of this success was owing to Elphinstone's counsel, who advised that the troops should be employed in the capturing and occupation of forts, instead of a useless pursuit after a flying enemy, who was too nimble to be reached. The greater part of the conquered territory was an-

nexed to the dominions of the East India Company, and the rest placed under the rule of the descendants of a former sovereign. As for the defeated and now deposed Bajee Rao, he surrendered to the British, and passed the rest of his days in obscurity in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore. But insignificant though he personally was, he left behind him a fearful inheritance both to the British and his own countrymen, by means of his adopted son, Nana Sahib, and the wealth with which he endowed him. Strange that such a man as this imbecile and forgotten peshwa should have been the remote source of such a terrible tragedy as the Indian mutiny of 1857! In a parliamentary speech of Mr. Canning, descriptive of the state of India at the close of the Pindaree war, the following attestation to the worth of Mountstuart Elphinstone was as honourable as it was justly merited:—"In the midst of this unsuspecting tranquillity, at a moment now known to have been concerted with other Mahratta chieftains, the peshwa manifested his real intentions by an unprovoked attack upon the residency (the house of the British resident) at Poona. Mr. Elphinstone (a name distinguished in the literature as well as the politics of the East) exhibited, on that trying occasion, military courage and skill which, though valuable accessories to diplomatic talents, we are not entitled to require as necessary qualifications for civil employment. On that, and not on that occasion only, but on many others in the course of this singular campaign, Mr. Elphinstone displayed talents and resources which would have rendered him no mean general, in a country where generals are of no mean excellence and reputation."

Mr. Elphinstone was now elevated to the responsible office of governor and administrator of the conquered territories of the deposed peshwa, which had been annexed to the British rule. But when the difficulties of conquest had ended, those of government only began. The first of these arose from the pre-dominance of a religious order. The late peshwa being a Brahmin, had largely favoured those of his own caste; and although the new governor endeavoured to conciliate them, they attributed all his concessions to fear and pusillanimity. They accordingly formed an infamous conspiracy, which had for its object the murder of all the Europeans at Poona and Suttara, and the restoration of the Mahratta dominion. Nothing, however, could escape the penetrating eye of Elphinstone; and having detected the conspiracy, he caused the ringleaders to be blown from the mouths of cannon—marking that while this was the most terrible of punishments in the sight of the beholders, it was the quickest and least painful to the criminals. This terrible instance of justice, which he undertook upon his own responsibility, and which was then an innovation in British India, so completely dismayed the Brahmins that they abandoned all such intrigues for the future. His friend, the governor of Bombay, astounded at this daring proceeding, and fearful of the consequences to Elphinstone himself, advised him to provide himself with an act of indemnity, which the other proudly refused. "If I have done wrong," he said, "I ought to be punished; if I have done right, I don't want any act of indemnity." The military chiefs were next to be restored to obedience. As they were numerically powerful, and held possession of the hill-forts, their hostility to a foreign dominion was only natural, and their rebellion a danger to be apprehended. In this state of things the policy of Elphinstone was wise and conciliatory. He did not attempt to overlay the people with European systems of law and justice, which they

neither could understand nor tolerate. He did not depose these powerful feudal chiefs, and with a stroke of the pen convert them into dangerous rebels. Such had been too much the policy of our Indian government, and was productive of disappointment and failure. Instead of this, the changes he introduced were gradual and easy to be borne; and the people were insensibly assimilated, as far as their nationality would permit, to the simple principles of law and order which prevail in every civilized country, and felt themselves happier and better by the change. It would not suit our limits to enter into a detail of Elphinstone's administration of the affairs of the province, but its effects we may briefly state. The example introduced a beneficial change in the government of the conquered provinces of India. With new conquests and annexations, a more simple form of administration, with less disturbance of native institutions, a more liberal employment of natives, larger powers given to British officers, combined with a more careful selection of them, were now introduced into the rule of India. With regard to his own province, Grant Duff, in his history, states, "More was done for the tranquillity of the Deccan in eighteen months than had ever followed a revolution in that disturbed country after a period of many years. The name of Elphinstone was deservedly associated with the acts of the British government, and the memory of benefits conferred by him on the inhabitants of Maharashtra will probably survive future revolutions, and will do much in the meantime to preserve the existence of British India." Nor was this an empty or merely oratorical eulogy. Its truth was tested to the letter in the terrible trial of the Indian revolt in 1857, when the name of Elphinstone was cherished by the Mahrattas, and when it acted like a conciliatory spell long after he had left the country. Even when he died, his kinsman and successor in the government of Bombay could point to a whole pile of letters which he had received from the Mahratta chiefs, eulogizing the virtues and bewailing the decease of their never-forgotten benefactor.

After the administration of Mountstuart at Poona had lasted from 1817 to 1819, he was called to occupy a still more elevated sphere. The government of the presidency of Bombay was vacant; and, departing from the usual routine of promotion, Mr. Canning, then president of the Board of Control, recommended that some person distinguished by superior talents and services, irrespective of leanings to rank or seniority, should be elected to the office. He then mentioned the names of Malcolm, Munro, and Elphinstone; and the last, although the youngest of the three, was preferred to be governor of Bombay.

Although Elphinstone held this new office during eight years—an unwonted period of arrest in his career of many changes—the events were not of that particular character which occupy a limited biography. The period was one of profound peace, and his course was that of a wise, just, and benevolent ruler, whose administration resembles the dew of heaven, rather than the whirlwind or the thunder-shower; and the influence of which is seen upon the aspect of a rich happy country, although its descent is so silent and unnoticed. And yet his incessant activity, his watchfulness, his temperate wisdom in the administration of the government of Bombay, and the zeal with which he furthered every attempt to elevate and improve the millions of native subjects over which he ruled, have made every one acknowledge that this was the brightest and best portion of his history. The numerous sketches of his manifold qualities given by his friends during this period, show

how well they were adapted to make his people happy, and how effectually such a sequel followed. Of these, however, we can only quote from the amiable, accomplished, and apostolic Bishop Heber, who thus describes him:—

“Mr. Elphinstone is, in every respect, an extraordinary man, possessing great activity of body and mind, remarkable talent for, and application to, public business, a love of literature, and a degree of almost universal information, such as I have met with in no other person similarly situated, and manners and conversation of the most amiable and interesting character. While he has seen more of India and the adjoining countries than any man now living, and has been engaged in active political, and sometimes military, duties since the age of eighteen, he has found time not only to cultivate the languages of Hindostan and Persia, but to preserve and extend his acquaintance with the Greek and Latin classics, with the French and Italian, with all the elder and more distinguished English writers, and with the current and popular history of the day, both in poetry, history, politics, and political economy. With these remarkable accomplishments, and notwithstanding a temperance amounting to rigid abstinence, he is fond of society, and it is a common subject of surprise, in what hours of the day or night he finds time for the acquisition of knowledge.”

Such were the accomplishments of the frolicsome school-boy, who arrived in India with “small Latin and less Greek,” and who, at a period when the education of others is ended, was obliged to commence his almost from the beginning. Let us now see the bishop’s account of the public character of Governor Elphinstone:—“His policy, so far as India is concerned, appeared to me peculiarly wise and liberal, and he is evidently attached to and thinks well of the country and its inhabitants. His public measures, in their general tendency, evince a steady wish to improve their present condition. No government in India pays so much attention to schools and public institutions for education. In none are the taxes lighter; and in the administration of justice to the natives in their own languages, in the establishment of punchayets, in the degree in which he employs the natives in official situations, and the countenance and familiarity which he extends to all the natives of rank who approach him, he seems to have reduced to practice almost all the reforms which had struck me as most required in the system of government pursued in those provinces of our Eastern empire which I had previously visited. His popularity (though to such a feeling there may be individual exceptions) appears little less remarkable than his talents and acquirements, and I was struck by the remark I once heard, that ‘all other public men had their enemies and their friends, their admirers and their aspersors, but that of Mr. Elphinstone everybody spoke highly.’ Of his munificence, for his liberality amounts to this, I had heard much, and knew some instances myself.”

We shall venture from Heber’s description of a perfect governor realized only one extract more. It is upon Elphinstone’s religious character and sentiments, upon which the authority of the worthy prelate may be considered as conclusive. “A charge has been brought against Mr. Elphinstone by the indiscreet zeal of an amiable but not well-judging man—the ‘field officer of cavalry,’ who published his Indian travels—that he is ‘devoid of religion, and blinded to all spiritual truth.’ I can only say that I saw no reason to think so. On the contrary, after this character which I had read of him, I was most agreeably surprised to find that his conduct and con-

versation, so far as I could learn, had always been moral and decorous, that he was regular in his attendance on public worship, and not only well-informed on religious topics, but well-pleased and forward to discuss them; that his views appeared to me, on all essential subjects, doctrinally correct, and his feelings serious and reverential; and that he was not only inclined to do, but actually did, more for the encouragement of Christianity, and the suppression or diminution of suttees, than any other Indian governor has ventured on. That he may have differed in some respects from the peculiar views of the author in question I can easily believe, though he could hardly know himself in what this difference consisted, since I am assured that he had taken his opinion at second-hand, and not from anything which Mr. Elphinstone had either said or done. But I have been unable to refrain from giving this slight and imperfect account of the character of Mr. Elphinstone as it appeared to me, since I should be sorry to have it thought that one of the ablest and most amiable men I ever met with were either a profligate or an unbeliever.”

After having thus lived and laboured in India for a long course of thirty-two years, during which he applied for no leave of absence, and scarcely enjoyed even a partial intermission, his stay in the country was terminated in 1827, when he resigned the governorship of Bombay. Although only in his forty-eighth year, and of temperate habits and a strong constitution, even a bow of steel will be relaxed by long and constant tension, and his health was so broken that he could no longer act with his former vigour. It was doubtful if even a return to Europe and a long sojourn there would string his energies anew, and again fit him for the trials of public life either in India or elsewhere. The tidings that he had resigned his government spread sorrow and consternation over Bombay, and an address expressive of their deep regret, headed by the signatures of the princes, chiefs, and native inhabitants, testified the keenness of their feelings. “Until you became commissioner in the Deccan and governor of Bombay,” they said in the opening paragraph of the address, “never had we been enabled to appreciate correctly the invaluable benefit which the British dominion is calculated to diffuse throughout the whole of India;” and after detailing the advantages they had enjoyed under his administration, they concluded with the following touching assurance: “The name of Elphinstone shall be the first our children shall learn to lisp, and it will be our proudest duty to preserve indelibly unto the latest posterity the name of so pre-eminent a benefactor to our country.” To gratify their request, a portrait of him, painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence, was sent to adorn the chief room of the Native Education Society; and his statue, by Chantrey, placed in the town-hall. But a more useful and enduring monument to his fame was the foundation of the Elphinstone College by the natives themselves, for the purpose of carrying out his plan of education for India, and the announcement of which he prized so highly, that he exclaimed on hearing of it, *Hoc potius mille signis!* For this institution 272,000 rupees were collected for the foundation of professorships for the instruction of the natives in the English language, and the arts, sciences, and literature of Europe; the chairs to be held in the first instance by learned men invited from Great Britain, until natives should be found competent to fill them.

On quitting India, Mr. Elphinstone, instead of returning directly home, spent eighteen months in travelling through Egypt, Syria and Palestine, Asia

Minor, Greece, and Italy, so that he did not arrive in England until May, 1829. Although so far advanced in years, the proficiency he had already made in scholarship by self-education had only increased his desire for further acquirements, so that he now settled down as a student in earnest. Seeking to perfect himself in classical knowledge, he resided in London, and occasionally visited Italy; but his more common practice was to retire with a collection of books to some quiet watering-place, where he could study some months of each year undisturbed. On his first return to London, he had been so painfully struck, in consequence of associating with the great scholars of the age, with his still defective knowledge of the Greek tongue, that he took up his abode for many months at a roadside inn, and laboured over the grammars and dictionaries of the language, while the political world marvelled as to where he had hid himself, and how he was employed. As public events went onward, the complication of affairs in our Indian government became so difficult, that the want of such a master intellect as that of Elphinstone to disentangle them was felt by our leading statesmen. Accordingly, in 1836, the governor-generalship of India was offered to him by Lord Ellenborough, on the part of Sir Robert Peel's administration, and renewed by the government which succeeded; but each offer he felt himself compelled to decline. The general regret in consequence of these refusals was expressed by Lord Ellenborough, when he declared at a public meeting, that had Mr. Elphinstone accepted the office of governor-general there would have been no Afghan war, an event with which the subsequent disasters of India were more or less nearly connected. But the health of the ex-governor of Bombay had been too rudely shaken to recover its former soundness, and his modesty may have been conscious that he had no longer the endurance and active energy that were needed for such a trying position. He was now also living in that studious peaceful atmosphere which was more congenial to the condition of an invalid. It was not, however, as a mere literary epicure that he settled down into such a mode of life. The knowledge which his active mind acquired he must reproduce, and that, too, not in conversation or correspondence, but in the laborious form of a book. This being certain, it was easy to guess what direction his authorship would assume. With India his life had been identified. It was there that he chiefly had learned what he knew, and performed those deeds which would give him a lasting name; with that region also his affections were interwoven, so that the welfare of its people was as dear to him as if they had been his countrymen and his brethren. He would write a history of India, and enlist the sympathies of Europe in its behalf.

Having resolved upon this feat, Mr. Elphinstone, in 1834, commenced the work in earnest. As the history of India necessarily divides itself into separate portions, in consequence of the successive conquests it has undergone, and the different nations by whom it has been ruled, he commenced with the Hindu period, when the original natives lived under the institutes of their great lawgiver, Menu. Both the Hindu and Mahometan portions were finished in 1839, after which he advanced to the history of India under the domination of the European races who have successively prevailed there until the country became a portion of the British empire. It was a very complex subject, but this was not his only difficulty. Admirable as he had always been in conversation, in letter-writing, and the drawing up of official reports—proceedings in which his whole life had hitherto been

spent, and which had become to him a second nature—he felt that it was a very different matter to commit himself to the press and the inspection of the world at large, more especially in old age, and with the confirmed habits of another life than that of authorship. There were also public claims upon his time and attention, and the visits of friends to interrupt his working hours; as well as the state of his health, which required his abandonment of labour, and a migration to milder climates. Beyond the Hindu and Mahometan periods he was unable to advance, and in 1842 he was obliged to give up the attempt. But notwithstanding these drawbacks, the unfinished history, which was published by instalments, was appreciated as a most valuable addition to our knowledge of India. "If it fail," adds his biographer, "to be a popular work, this springs mainly from the nature of the subject with which it deals. The history of a race so deficient in historical records as the Hindus, resolves itself into a series of historical disquisitions that cannot interest the many; while that of the Mahometan period, important as it is in its bearing on modern history, becomes insipid from the sameness of the revelations that it records. Mr. Elphinstone's narrative introduces as much of philosophical reflection as the subject admits of, and his remarks have a direct bearing on the important events with which the European reader is interested, and to which the early narrative is only regarded as an introduction. Nothing, too, can be more graphic and masterly than the account of the manners and character of the different races of India, to which some interesting chapters are devoted." A still higher praise than this was accorded, when Elphinstone was termed by the literary world the "Tacitus of Indian historians."

What remains to be told of this distinguished personage may be comprised within a few sentences. So conscious was he of the necessity of retirement, and so enamoured of his student life, that he not only once and again refused the governor-generalship of India, but also the governor-generalship of Canada, and a peerage. At the accession of her majesty he was also offered the order of the Bath, and a seat in the privy-council, but these tempting offers he also respectfully declined. His last years were spent in Hookwood, Kent, which was recommended to him by its healthiness and the beauty of its scenery; but here about the same time (1847) he was attacked by a malady the most trying to a lover of books; this was a weakness of eye-sight, which prevented him from reading, so that for this he was obliged to use the assistance of others. But his resignation and cheerfulness of spirit were still unbroken, and the last twelve years of his protracted life were like the close of a summer's day. This blessing he could also appreciate and enjoy to the full, and writing to a valued friend a few days before his death, he thus expressed himself:—"It is wonderful how my health improves as I advance in years, and I have much to thank God for in being in so much better health of late than I have been for years." A few months before he died he was conscious of the decline of his faculties, and occasionally haunted by the dread of outliving them, but from this melancholy termination he was mercifully spared. On Friday, the 18th of November, 1859, he had passed his evening as usual, listening to "his reader," and retired to rest about eleven o'clock. Early on the following morning, in consequence of hearing an unusual sound in his room, the servants went in, and found him suffering under a stroke of paralysis. On rallying, he dressed himself, and sat in a chair until his medical attendant came, who advised him to return to bed. During

Saturday he seemed at times to be conscious, but could not speak distinctly; and on the following day he expired, apparently without pain.

ELPHINSTON, WILLIAM, a celebrated Scottish prelate, and founder of the university of Aberdeen, was born in the city of Glasgow in the year 1431. His father, William Elphinston, was a younger brother of the noble family of Elphinston, who took up his residence in Glasgow during the reign of James I., and was the first of its citizens who became eminent and acquired a fortune as a general merchant. His mother was Margaret Douglas, a daughter of the laird of Drumlanrick. His earliest youth was marked by a decided turn for the exercises of devotion, and he seems to have been by his parents, at a very early period of his life, devoted to the church, which was in these days the only road to preferment. In the seventh year of his age he was sent to the grammar-school, and having gone through the prescribed course, afterwards studied philosophy in the university of his native city, then newly founded by Bishop Turnbull, and obtained the degree of *Artium Magister* in the twenty-fifth year of his age. He then entered into holy orders, and was appointed priest of the church of St. Michael's, situated in St. Enoch's Gate, now the Trongate, where he officiated for the space of four years. Being strongly attached to the study both of the civil and canon law, he was advised by his uncle, Lawrence Elphinston, to repair to the Continent, where these branches of knowledge were taught in perfection. Accordingly, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, he went over to France, where he applied himself to the study of law for the space of three years, at the end of which he was called to fill a professional chair in the university of Paris, and afterwards at Orleans, in both of which places he taught the science of law with the highest applause. Having in this manner spent nine years abroad, he was, at the request of his friends, especially of Andrew Muirhead, his principal patron (who, from being rector of Cadzow, had been promoted to the bishopric of Glasgow), persuaded to return to his native country, where he was made parson of Glasgow, and official or commissary of the diocese. As a mark of respect, too, the university of Glasgow elected him lord-rector the same year. On the death of Bishop Muirhead, which took place only two years after his return, he was nominated by Schevez, Bishop of St. Andrews, official of Lothian; an office which he discharged so much to the satisfaction of all concerned, that James III. sent for him to parliament, and appointed him one of the lords of his privy-council. It may be noticed here, as a curious fact, that at this period men of various degrees sat and deliberated and voted in parliament without any other authority than being summoned by his majesty as wise and good men, whose advice might be useful in the management of public affairs. So little, indeed, was the privilege of sitting and voting in parliament then understood, or desired, that neither the warrant of their fellow-subjects, nor the call of the king, was sufficient to secure their attendance, and penalties for non-attendance had before that period been exacted.

Elphinston was now in the way of preferment; and being a man both of talents and address, was ready to profit by every opportunity. Some differences having arisen between the French and Scottish courts, the latter, alarmed for the stability of the ancient alliance of the two countries, thought fit to send out an embassy for its preservation. This embassy consisted of the Earl of Buchan, Lord-chamberlain Livingston, Bishop of Dunkeld, and Elphinston, the subject of this memoir, who so managed matters

as to have the success of the embassy wholly attributed to him. As the reward of such an important service, he was on his return, in 1479, made archdeacon of Argyle; and as this was not considered as at all adequate to his merits, the bishopric of Ross was shortly after added. The election of the chapter of Ross being speedily confirmed by the king's letters-patent under the great seal, Elphinston took his seat in parliament, under the title of *electus et confirmatus*, in the year 1482. It does not appear, however, that he was ever anything more than bishop elect of Ross; and in the following year, 1483, Robert Blackadder, Bishop of Aberdeen, being promoted to the see of Glasgow, Elphinston was removed to that of Aberdeen. He was next year nominated, along with Colin Earl of Argyle, John Lord Drummond, Lord Oliphant, Robert Lord Lyle, Archibald White-law, archdeacon of Loudon, and Duncan Dundas, lord Lyon king-at-arms, to meet with commissioners from Richard III. of England for settling all disputes between the two countries. The commissioners met at Nottingham on the 7th of September, 1484, and, after many conferences, concluded a peace betwixt the two nations for the space of three years, commencing at sunrise September 29th, 1484, and to end at sunset on the 29th of September, 1487. Anxious to secure himself from the enmity of James at any future period, Richard, in addition to this treaty, proposed to marry his niece, Anne de la Pool, daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, to the eldest son of King James. This proposal met with the hearty approbation of James; and Bishop Elphinston with several noblemen were despatched back again to Nottingham to conclude the affair. Circumstances, however, rendered all the articles that had been agreed upon to no purpose, and on the fatal field of Bosworth Richard shortly after closed his guilty career. The truce concluded with Richard for three years does not appear to have been very strictly observed, and on the accession of Henry VII. Bishop Elphinston, with Sir John Ramsay and others, went again into England, where they met with commissioners on the part of that country, and on the 3d of July, 1486, more than a year of the former truce being still to run, concluded a peace or rather a cessation of arms, which was to continue till the 3d of July, 1489. Several disputed points were by this treaty referred to the Scottish parliament, which it was agreed should assemble in the month of January following. A meeting of the two kings, it was also stipulated, should take place in the following summer, when they would, face to face, talk over all that related to their personal interests, and those of their realms. Owing to the confusion that speedily ensued this meeting never took place.

Bishop Elphinston, in the debates betwixt the king and his nobles, adhered steadfastly to the king, and exerted himself to the utmost to reconcile them, though without effect. Finding the nobles nowise disposed to listen to what he considered reason, the bishop made another journey to England, to solicit in behalf of his master the assistance of Henry. In this also he was unsuccessful; yet James was so well pleased with his conduct, that on his return he constituted him lord high-chancellor of Scotland, the principal state office in the country. This the bishop held till the death of the king, which happened a little more than three months after. On that event the bishop retired to his diocese, and applied himself to the faithful discharge of his episcopal functions. He was particularly careful to reform such abuses as he found to exist among his clergy, and for their benefit composed a book of canons, taken from the canons of the primitive church. He was, however,

called to attend the parliament held at Edinburgh in the month of October, 1488, where he was present at the crowning of the young prince James, then in his sixteenth year. Scarcely any but the conspirators against the late king attended this parliament, and aware that the bishop might refuse to concur with them in the measures they meant to pursue, they contrived to send him on a mission to Germany, to the Emperor Maximilian, to demand in marriage for the young king his daughter Margaret. Before he could reach Vienna, the lady in question had been promised to the heir-apparent of the King of Spain. Though he failed in the object for which he had been specially sent out, his journey was not unprofitable to his country; for, taking Holland in his way home, he concluded a treaty of peace and amity with the States, who had, to the great loss of Scotland, long been its enemies. The benefits of this treaty were so generally felt, that it was acknowledged by all to have been a much more important service than the accomplishment of the marriage, though all the expected advantages had followed it. On his return from this embassy in 1492, Bishop Elphinston was made lord privy-seal, in place of Bishop Hepburn removed. The same year he was again appointed a commissioner, along with several others, for renewing the truce with England, which was done at Edinburgh in the month of June, the truce being settled to last till the end of April, 1501.

Tranquillity being now restored, Bishop Elphinston turned his attention to the state of learning and of morals among his countrymen. For the improvement of the latter he compiled the lives of Scottish saints, which he ordered to be read on solemn occasions among his clergy; and for the improvement of the former he applied to Pope Alexander VI. to grant him a bull for erecting a university in Aberdeen. This request Pope Alexander, from the reputation of the bishop, readily complied with, and sent him a bull to that effect in the year 1494. The college, however, was not founded till the year 1506, when it was dedicated to St. Mary; but the king, at the request of the bishop, having taken upon himself and his successors the protection of it, and contributed to its endowment, St. Mary was compelled to give place to his more efficient patronage, and it has ever since been called King's College. By the bull of erection this university was endowed with privileges as ample as any in Europe, and it was chiefly formed upon the excellent models of Paris and Bononia. The persons originally endowed were a doctor of theology (principal), a doctor of the canon law, a doctor of the civil law, a doctor of physic, a professor of humanity to teach grammar, a sub-principal to teach philosophy, a chanter, a sacrist, six students of theology, three students of the laws, thirteen students of philosophy, an organist, and five singing boys, who were students of humanity. By the united efforts of the king and the bishop ample provision was made for the subsistence of both teachers and taught, and to this day a regular education can be obtained at less expense in Aberdeen than anywhere else in the united kingdoms of Great Britain. The Bishop of Aberdeen for the time was constituted chancellor of the university; but upon the abolition of that office at the Reformation, the patronage became vested in the crown. Of this college the celebrated Hector Boece was the first principal. He was recalled from Paris, where he had a professorial chair, for the express purpose of filling the office, which had a yearly salary of forty merks attached to it—two pounds three shillings and four pence sterling. While the worthy bishop was thus laying a foundation for supplying the church and the state with a regular

series of learned men, he was not inattentive to other duties belonging to his office. His magnificent cathedral, founded by Bishop Kinnmonth in the year 1357, but not completed till the year 1447, he was at great pains and considerable expense to adorn. The great steeple he furnished with bells, which were supposed to have peculiar efficacy in driving off evil spirits. He was also careful to add to the gold, the silver, and the jewels, with which the cathedral was liberally furnished, and particularly to the rich wardrobe for the officiating clergy. He also added largely to the library. While he was attending to the spiritual wants of his diocese, the worthy bishop was not forgetful of its temporal comforts; and especially, for the accommodation of the good town of Aberdeen, was at the expense of erecting an excellent stone bridge over the Dee—a structure which continued to be a public benefit for many ages.

In consequence of his profuse expenditure, James IV. had totally exhausted his treasury, when, by the advice of the subject of this memoir, he had recourse to the revival of an old law that was supposed to have become obsolete. Among the tenures of land used in Scotland there was one by which the landlord held his estate on the terms that if he died and left his son and heir under age, his tutelage belonged to the king or some other lord superior, who uplifted all the rents of the estate till the heir reached the years of majority, while he bestowed upon his ward only what he thought necessary. By the same species of holding, if the possessor sold more than the half of his estate without consent of his superior, the whole reverted to the superior. There were also lands held with clauses called *irritant*, of which some examples we believe may be found still, by which, if two terms of feu-duty run unpaid into the third, the land reverts to the superior. From the troubled state of the country during the two former reigns, these laws had not been enforced; so that now, when inquiry began to be made, they had a wide operation, and many were under the necessity of compounding for their estates. Had the bishop been aware of the use the king was to make of the very reasonable supply, he would most probably have been the last man to have suggested it.

In 1513 occurred the conflict of Flodden, one of the most fatal that had ever befallen the Scots, in which James IV. and his principal nobles were slain, and the whole country left defenceless to the victorious enemy. The news of this most disastrous battle so deeply affected the gentle spirit of Bishop Elphinston, that he never was seen to smile afterwards. He, however, attended in parliament to give his advice in the deplorable state to which the nation was reduced. The queen had been by the late king named as regent so long as she remained unmarried; and this, though contrary to the practice of the country, which had never hitherto admitted of a female exercising regal authority, was, from the scarcity of men qualified either by rank or talents for filling the situation, acquiesced in, especially by those who wished for peace, which they supposed, and justly, as the event proved, she might have some influence in procuring. It was but a few months, however, till she was married, and the question then came to be discussed anew, and with still greater violence.

Such a man as Elphinston was not to be spared to his country in this desperate crisis; for, as he was on his journey to Edinburgh to attend a meeting of parliament, he was taken ill by the way, and died on the 25th of October, 1514, being in the eighty-third year of his age. He was, according to his own directions, buried in the collegiate church of Aberdeen.

Bishop Elphinston is one of those ornaments of the

Catholic church who sometimes appear in spite of the errors of that faith. He seems to have been a really good and amiable man. He wrote, as has been already remarked, the *Lives of Scottish Saints*, which are now lost. He composed also a history of Scotland, from the earliest period of her history down to his own time, which is still preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It is said to consist of eleven books, occupying three hundred and eighty-four pages in folio, written in a small hand, and full of contractions, and to be nearly the same as Fordun, so that we should suppose it scarcely worthy of the trouble it would take to read it. Of all our Scottish bishops, however, no one has been by our historians more highly commended than Bishop Elphinston. He has been celebrated as a great statesman, a learned and pious churchman, and one who gained the reverence and the love of all men. He certainly left behind him many noble instances of his piety and public spirit; and it is highly to his honour that, notwithstanding his liberality in building and endowing his college, providing materials for a bridge over the Dee, the large alms that he gave daily to the poor and religious of all sorts, besides the help that he afforded to his own kindred, he used solely the rents of his own bishopric, having never held any place *in commendam*, as the general practice then was; and he left behind him at his death £10,000 in gold and silver, which he bequeathed to the college, and to the finishing and repairing of his bridge over the Dee. As he was thus conspicuous, continues his biographer, for piety and charity, so he was no less so for his having composed several elaborate treatises that were destroyed at the Reformation. This panegyrist goes on to say "that there never was a man known to be of greater integrity of life and manners, it being observed of him that, after he entered into holy orders, he was never known to do or say an unseemly thing. But the respect and veneration that he was held in may appear from what is related to have happened at the time of his burial by the historians who lived near his time; for they write that the day his corpse was brought forth to be interred, the pastoral staff, which was all of silver, and carried by Alexander Lauder, a priest, broke in two pieces, one part thereof falling into the grave where the corpse was to be laid, and a voice was heard to cry, *Tecum, GULIELME, Mitra sepelienda*—With thee the mitre and glory thereof is buried."

ERSKINE, DAVID STEWART, Earl of Buchan, Lord Cardross, was born on the 1st of June, 1742, o.s., and was the eldest surviving son of Henry David, the tenth earl, and Agnes, daughter of Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, his majesty's solicitor-general for Scotland. He was educated "in all manner of useful learning, and in the habits of rigid honour and virtue," under the care of James Buchanan, a relation of the poet and historian, and learned the elements of the mathematics, history, and politics from his father, who had been a scholar of the celebrated Colin Maclaurin. At the university of Glasgow he engaged ardently in "every ingenious and liberal study;" but what will be better remembered, was his connection with the unfortunate academy of Foulis the printer, which he attended, and of his labours at which he has left us a specimen, in an etching of the abbey of Icolmkill, inserted in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Scottish Antiquaries*.

On the completion of his education, Lord Cardross entered the army, but never rose higher than the rank of lieutenant. Forsaking the military life, he

went to London, to pursue the study of diplomacy under Lord Chatham; and, while there, was elected a fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies. In the following year, 1766, his lordship was appointed secretary to the British embassy in Spain; but his father having died thirteen months afterwards, he returned to his native country, determined to devote the remainder of his life to the cultivation of literature and the encouragement of literary men.

The education of his younger brothers, Thomas, afterwards the illustrious lord-chancellor, and Henry, no less celebrated for his wit, seems to have occupied a large portion of Lord Buchan's thoughts. To accomplish these objects, he for years submitted to considerable privations. The family estate had been squandered by former lords, and it is no small credit to the earl that he paid off debts for which he was not legally responsible; a course of conduct which should lead us to overlook parsimonious habits acquired under very disadvantageous circumstances.

Lord Buchan's favourite study was the history, literature, and antiquities of his native country. It had long been regretted that no society had been formed in Scotland for the promotion of these pursuits; and with a view to supplying this desideratum, he called a meeting of the most eminent persons resident in Edinburgh, on the 14th of November, 1780. Fourteen assembled at his house in St. Andrew Square, and an essay, which will be found in Smellie's *Account of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries*, p. 4-18, was read by his lordship. At a meeting held at the same place on the 28th, it was determined, that upon the 18th of December a society should be formed upon the proposed model; and, accordingly, on the day fixed, the Earl of Bute was elected president, and the Earl of Buchan first of five vice-presidents. In 1792 the first volume of their *Transactions* was published; and the following discourses by the earl appear in it:—"Memoirs of the Life of Sir James Stewart Denham;" "Account of the Parish of Uphall;" "Account of the Island of Icolmkill;" and a "Life of Mr. James Short, optician." Besides these, he had printed, in conjunction with Dr. Walter Minto, 1787, *An Account of the Life, Writings, and Inventions of Napier of Merchiston*.

In the same year his lordship retired from Edinburgh to reside at Dryburgh Abbey on account of his health. Here he pursued his favourite studies. He instituted an annual festive commemoration of Thomson at that poet's native place; and this occasion produced from the pen of Burns the beautiful "Address" to the shade of the bard of Ednam. The eulogy pronounced by the illustrious earl on the first of these meetings, in 1791, is remarkable. "I think myself happy to have this day the honour of endeavouring to do honour to the memory of Thomson, which has been profanely touched by the rude hand of Samuel Johnson, whose fame and reputation indicate the decline of taste in a country that, after having produced an Alfred, a Wallace, a Bacon, a Napier, a Newton, a Buchanan, a Milton, a Hampden, a Fletcher, and a Thomson, can submit to be bullied by an overbearing pedant!" In the following year his lordship published an "Essay on the Lives and Writings of Fletcher of Saltoun and the Poet Thomson, Biographical, Critical, and Political; with some pieces of Thomson's never before published," 8vo.¹

Lord Buchan had contributed to several periodical

¹ "Biographical Notice of the Earl of Buchan" in the *New Scots Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 49. From this article most of the facts here mentioned are extracted.

publications. In 1784 he communicated to the *Gentleman's Magazine* "Remarks on the Progress of the Roman Arms in Scotland during the Sixth Campaign of Agricola," afterwards printed, with plates and additions, by Dr. Jamieson, in the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*. To Grose's *Antiquities of Scotland* he gave a description of Dryburgh, with views, taken in 1787 and 1789. But his most frequent assistance was given to *The Bee*, generally under fictitious signatures. The last work which he meditated was the collection of these anonymous communications. Accordingly, in 1812, *The Anonymous and Fugitive Essays of the Earl of Buchan, collected from various Periodical Works*, appeared at Edinburgh in 12mo. It contains the following short preface: "The Earl of Buchan, considering his advanced age, has thought proper to publish this volume, and meditate the publication of others, containing his anonymous writings, that no person may hereafter ascribe to him any others than are by him, in this manner, avowed, described, or enumerated." The volume is wholly filled with his contributions to *The Bee*; among which, in the department of Scottish history, are "Sketches of the Lives of Sir J. Stewart Denham, George Heriot, John Earl of Marr (his ancestor), and Remarks on the Character and Writings of William Drummond of Hawthornden." The second volume did not appear.

His death did not, however, take place till seventeen years after this period; but he was for several years before it in a state of dotage. Few men have devoted themselves so long and so exclusively to literature; his correspondence, both with foreigners and his own countrymen, was very extensive, and comprehended a period of almost three generations. But his services were principally valuable, not as an author, but as a patron: his fortune did not warrant a very expensive exhibition of good offices; but in all cases where his own knowledge, which was by no means limited, or letters of recommendation, could avail, they were frankly and generously offered. One of the works proposed by him was, *A Commercial Epistolarum and Literary History of Scotland, during the period of Last Century*, including the correspondence of "antiquaries, typographers, and bibliographers," in which he had the assistance of Dr. Robert Anderson. It is exceedingly to be regretted that such a work, and referring to so remarkable a period, should not have been presented to the public. It might probably have had a considerable portion of the garrulity of age; but, from his lordship's very extensive acquaintance with the period, it cannot be doubted that it would have contained many facts which are now irretrievably lost.

ERSKINE, REV. EBENEZER, a celebrated divine, and founder of the Secession Church in Scotland, was son to the Rev. Henry Erskine, who was settled minister at Cornhill, in Northumberland, about the year 1649; whence he was ejected by the Bartholomew act in the year 1662, and, after suffering many hardships for his attachment to the cause of Presbytery, was, shortly after the Revolution, 1688, settled pastor of the parish of Chirnside, Berwickshire, where he finished his course, in the month of August, 1696, in the seventy-second year of his age. The Rev. Henry Erskine was of the ancient family of Shielfield, in the Merse, descended from the noble family of Marr, and Ebenezer was one of his younger sons by his second wife, Margaret Halcro, a native of Orkney, the founder of whose family was Halcro, Prince of Denmark, and whose great-grandmother was the Lady Barbara Stuart, daughter to Robert, Earl of Orkney, son to James V. of Scotland; so

that his parentage was in every respect what the world calls highly respectable. The place of his birth has been variously stated. One account says it was the village of Dryburgh, where the house occupied by his father is still pointed out, and has been carefully preserved, as a relic of the family; another says it was the Bass, where his father was at the time a prisoner for nonconformity. Be the place of his birth as it may, the date has been ascertained to have been the 22d day of June, 1680; and the name Ebenezer, "a stone of assistance," was given him by his pious parents in testimony of their gratitude for that goodness and mercy with which, amidst all their persecutions, they had been unceasingly preserved. Of his early youth nothing particular has been recorded. The elements of literature he received at Chirnside, under the immediate superintendence of his father, after which he went through a regular course of study at the university of Edinburgh.¹ During the most part of the time that he was a student, he acted as tutor and chaplain to the Earl of Rothes, at Leslie House, within the presbytery of Kirkcaldy, by which court he was taken upon trials, and licensed to preach the gospel in the year 1702.

The abilities and the excellent character of Mr. Erskine soon brought him into notice; and in the month of May, 1703, he received a unanimous call to the parish of Portmoak, to the pastoral care of which he was ordained in the month of September following. During the year succeeding his settlement, he was united in marriage to Alison Turpie, a young woman of more than ordinary talents, and of undoubted piety. To the experience of this excellent woman he was accustomed to acknowledge to his friends, that he was indebted for much of that accuracy of view by which he was so greatly distinguished, and to which much of that success which attended his ministry is doubtless to be ascribed. In the discharge of his ministerial duties he had always been most exemplary. Besides the usual services of the Sabbath, he had, as was a very general practice in the Church of Scotland at that period, a weekly lecture on the Thursdays; but now his diligence seemed to be doubled, and his object much more pointedly to preach Christ in his person, offices, and grace, as at once wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption to all who truly receive and rest upon him. Even in his external manners there appeared, from this time forward, a great and important improvement. In public speaking he had felt considerable embarrassment, and in venturing to change his attitude was in danger of losing his ideas; but now he was at once master of his mind, his voice, and his gestures, and by a manner most dignified and engaging, as well as by the weight and the importance of his matter, commanded deep and reverential attention. The impulse he had thus received was manifested in the new ardour with which he discharged his ministerial duties not only in preaching, but in visiting from house to house, comforting the sick, instructing the ignorant, and catechising the young; and the effects of his diligence, instead of being confined to his own locality, diffused a sympathetic ardour over the surrounding parishes, so that Portmoak was regarded as their centre and exemplar.

In the midst of his labours an attempt was made to remove Mr. Erskine from Portmoak to Kinross. Though the call, however, was unanimous and urgent, the affectionate efforts of the people of Portmoak

¹ From the records of the town-council of Edinburgh it appears that, in 1698, he was a bursar in the university, being presented by Fringle of Torwoodlee.

were successful in preventing the desired translation. Shortly after this Mr. Erskine received an equally unanimous call to the parish of Kirkcaldy, which he also refused, but a third minister being wanted at Stirling, the Rev. Mr. Alexander Hamilton, with the whole population, gave him a pressing and unanimous call, of which, after having maturely deliberated on the circumstances attending it, he felt it his duty to accept. He was accordingly, with the concurrence of the courts, translated to Stirling in the autumn of the year 1731, having discharged the pastoral office in Portmoak for twenty-eight years. So strong was the affection of the people of Portmoak to Mr. Erskine, that several individuals removed to Stirling along with him, that they might still enjoy the benefit of his ministry; he was also in the habit of visiting them and preaching to them occasionally, till, through the melancholy state of matters in the church, the pulpits of all the parishes in Scotland were shut against him.

In the new and enlarged sphere of action which Mr. Erskine now occupied, he seemed to exert even more than his usual ability. His labours here met with singular acceptance, and appeared to be as singularly blessed; when an attempt was made, certainly little anticipated by his friends, and perhaps as little by himself, to paralyze his efforts, to narrow the sphere of his influence, and to circumscribe his expression of thought and feeling; an expression which had long been painful and was now thought to be dangerous to the party that had long been dominant in the Scottish church, and were charged with corrupting her doctrines and labouring to make a sacrifice of her liberties at the shrine of civil authority. That they were guilty of the first of these charges was alleged to be proved beyond the possibility of contradiction, by their conduct towards the presbytery of Auchterarder, with regard to what has since been denominated the Auchterarder creed, so far back as the year 1717; by their conduct towards the twelve brethren known by the name of "Marrow men," along with their acts against the doctrines of the book entitled *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*, in the years 1720 and 1721; and, more recently still, by the leniency of their dealings with Professor John Simpson of Glasgow, who, though found to have, in his prelections to the divinity students, taught a system of Deism rather than Christian theology, met with no higher censure than simple suspension. In the contests occasioned by these different questions, Mr. Erskine had been early engaged. He had refused the oath of abjuration, and it was owing to a charge preferred against him by the Rev. Mr. Anderson of St. Andrews, before the commission of the General Assembly, for having spoken against such as had taken it, that his first printed sermon, *God's Little Remnant Keeping their Garments Clean*, was, along with some others, given to the public in the year 1725, many years after it had been preached. In the defence of the doctrine of the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*, he had a principal hand in the representation and petition presented to the assembly on the subject, May the 11th, 1721; which, though originally composed by Mr. Boston, was revised and perfected by him. He also drew up the original draught of the answers to the twelve queries that were put to the twelve brethren, which was afterwards perfected by Mr. Gabriel Wilson of Maxton, one of the most luminous pieces of theology to be found in any language. Along with his brethren, for his share in this good work, he was by the General Assembly solemnly rebuked and admonished, and was along with them reviled in many scurrilous publications of the day, as a man of wild antinomian

principles, an innovator in religion, an impugner of the Confession of Faith and Catechisms, an enemy to Christian morality, a troubler of Israel, and puffed up with vanity in the pride and arrogance of his heart, anxious to be exalted above his brethren. These uncharitable assumptions found their way even into the pulpits, and frequently figured in synod sermons and other public discourses. Owing to the vehemence of Principal Haddow of St. Andrews, who, from personal pique at Mr. Hogg of Carnock, the original publisher of the *Marrow* in Scotland, took the lead in impugning the doctrines of that book, Mr. Ebenezer Erskine and his four representing brethren in that quarter, James Hogg, James Bathgate, James Wardlaw, and Ralph Erskine, were treated with marked severity. At several meetings of synod they were openly accused and subjected to the most inquisitorial examinations. Attempts were also repeatedly made to compel them to sign anew the Confession of Faith, not as it was originally received by the Church of Scotland in the year 1647, but as it was explained by the obnoxious act of 1722. These attempts, however, had utterly failed, and the publication of so many of Mr. Erskine's sermons had not only refuted the foolish calumnies that had been so industriously set afloat, but had prodigiously increased his reputation and his general usefulness.

The same year in which Mr. Erskine was removed to Stirling, a paper was given in to the General Assembly, complaining of the violent settlements that were so generally taking place throughout the country, which was not so much as allowed a hearing. This induced upwards of fifty-two ministers, of whom the subject of this memoir was one, to draw up at large a representation of the almost innumerable evils under which the Church of Scotland was groaning, and which threatened to subvert her very foundations. To prevent all objections on the formality of this representation, it was carefully signed and respectfully presented, according to the order pointed out in such cases; but neither could this obtain so much as a hearing. So far was the assembly from being in the least degree affected with the mournful state of the church, and listening to the groans of an afflicted but submissive people, that they sustained the settlement of Mr. Stark at Kinross, one of the most palpable intrusions ever made upon a Christian congregation, and they enjoined the presbytery who had refused to receive him as a brother, to enrol his name on their list, and to grant no church privileges to any individual of the parish of Kinross, but upon Mr. Stark's letter of recommendation requiring or allowing them so to do, and this in the face of the presbytery's declaration that Mr. Stark had been imposed on the parish of Kinross, and upon them, by the simple fiat of the patron. Against this decision protests and dissents were presented by many individuals, but by a previous law they had provided that nothing of the kind should henceforth be entered upon the journals of the courts, whether supreme or subordinate, thus leaving no room for individuals to exonerate their own consciences, nor any legitimate record of the opposition that had been made to departures from established and fundamental laws, or innovations upon tacitly acknowledged rules of propriety and good order.

This same assembly, as if anxious to extinguish the possibility of popular claims being at any future period revived, proceeded to enact into a standing law an overture of last assembly, for establishing a uniform method of planting vacant churches, when at any time the right of doing so should fall into the hands of presbyteries, *tanquam jure devoluto*, or by the consent of the parties in-

terested in the settlement. This uniform method was simply the conferring the power of suffrage, in country parishes, on heritors being Protestant, no matter though they were Episcopalians, and elders; in burghs, on magistrates, town-council, and elders;—and in burghs with landward parishes joined, on magistrates, town-council, heritors, and elders joined; and this to continue “till it should please God in his providence to relieve this church from the grievances arising from the act restoring patronages.” This act was unquestionably planned by men to whom patronage presented no real grievances, and it was itself nothing but patronage modified very little for the better. But the authors of it had the art to pass it off upon many simple well-meaning men, as containing all that the constitution of the Scottish church had ever at any time allowed to the body of the people, and as so moderately worded that the government could not but be amply satisfied that no danger could arise from its exercise, and of course would give up its claims upon patronage without a murmur. In consequence of this, the act passed through the assembly with less opposition than even in the decayed state of the church might have been expected. In fact it passed through the court at the expense of its very constitution. By the barrier act, it has been wisely provided, that no law shall be enacted by the assembly, till, in the shape of an overture, it has been transmitted to every presbytery in the church, a majority of whose views in its favour must be obtained before it be made the subject of deliberation. In this case it had been transmitted; but eighteen presbyteries had not made the required return, eighteen approved of it with material alterations, and thirty-one were absolutely against it; so that the conduct of the party who pushed this act into law was barefaced in the extreme. Nor was the attempt to persuade the people that it contained the true meaning and spirit of the standards of the church less so. The first *Book of Discipline*, compiled in the year 1560, and ratified by act of parliament in the year 1567, says expressly, “No man should enter in the ministry without a lawful vocation: the lawful vocation standeth in the election of the people, examination of the ministry, and admission by both.” And as if the above were not plain enough, it is added, “No minister should be intruded upon any particular kirk without their consent.” The second *Book of Discipline*, agreed upon in the General Assembly, 1578, inserted in their registers 1581, sworn to in the national covenant the same year, revived and ratified by the famous assembly at Glasgow in the year 1638, and according to which the government of the church was established first in the year 1592, and again in the year 1640, is equally explicit on this head: “Vocation or calling is common to all that should bear office within the kirk, which is a lawful way by the which qualified persons are promoted to spiritual office within the kirk of God. Without this lawful calling, it was never leisome to any to meddle with any function ecclesiastical.” After speaking of vocation as extraordinary and ordinary, the compilers state “this ordinary and outward calling” to consist of “two parts, election and ordination.” Election they state to be “the choosing out of a person or persons most able to the office that vakes, by the judgment of the eldership [the presbytery], and consent of the congregation to which the person or persons shall be appointed. In the order of election is to be eschewed, that any person be intruded in any office of the kirk, contrary to the will of the congregation to which they are appointed, or without the voice of the eldership,” not the eldership or session of the congregation to which the person is to

be appointed, as has been often ignorantly assumed; but the eldership or presbytery in whose bounds the vacant congregation lies, and under whose charge it is necessarily placed in a peculiar manner, by its being vacant, or without a public teacher. In perfect unison with the above, when the articles to be reformed are enumerated in a following chapter, patronage is one of the most prominent, is declared to have “flowed from the pope and corruption of the canon law, in so far as thereby any person was intruded or placed over kirks having *curam animarum*; and forasmuch as that manner of proceeding hath no ground in the word of God, but is contrary to the same, and to the said liberty of election, they ought not now to have place in this light of reformation; and, therefore, whosoever will embrace God’s word, and desire the kingdom of his Son Christ Jesus to be advanced, they will also embrace and receive that policy and order, which the word of God and upright state of this kirk crave; otherwise it is in vain that they have professed the same.” Though the church had thus clearly delivered her opinion with regard to patronages, she had never been able to shake herself perfectly free from them, excepting for a few years previous to the restoration of Charles II., when they were restored in all their mischievous power and tendencies; and the revolution church being set down, not upon the attainments of the second, but upon the less clear and determinate ones of the first reformation, patronage somewhat modified, with other evils, was entailed on the country. Something of the light and heat of the more recent, as well as more brilliant period still, however, remained; and in the settlement of the church made by the parliament in the year 1690, patronage in its direct form was set aside, not as an antichristian abomination, and incompatible with Christian liberty, as it ought to have been, but as “inconvenient and subject to abuse.” Though this act, however, was the act only of a civil court, it was less remote from Scripture and common sense, than this act of the highest ecclesiastical court in the nation. By that act “upon a vacancy, the heritors, being Protestants” (by a subsequent act it was provided that they should be qualified Protestants), “and the elders, are to name and propose the person to the whole congregation, to be either approved or disapproved by them; and if they disapprove, the disapprovers to give in their reasons, to the effect the affair may be cognosed by the presbytery of the bounds, at whose judgment, and by whose determination the calling and entry of a particular minister is to be ordered and concluded.” By this act, which we by no means admire, the heritors, it would appear, might have proposed one candidate to the congregation, and the elders another; nor whether there was but one candidate or two, had the election been completed till the congregation had given their voice. But by the assembly’s act, the heritors and the elders elected as one body; the work was by them completed; and, however much the congregation might be dissatisfied, except they could prove the elected person immoral in conduct or erroneous in doctrine, they had no resource but to submit quietly to the choice of their superiors, the heritors and the elders.

The act of 1690 was liable to great abuse; yet, by the prudent conduct of presbyteries, complaints were for many years comparatively few, and but for the restoration of patrons to their antichristian power, might have continued to be so long enough. For ten or twelve years previous to this period (1732) patrons had been gaining ground every year, and this act was unquestionably intended to accommodate any little appearance of liberty which remained in the

Scottish church to the genius of patronage, which was now by the leaders of the dominant party declared the only sure if not legitimate door of entrance to the benefice, whatever it might be to the affections and the spiritual edification of the people. The measure, however, was incautious and premature. There was a spirit abroad which the ruling faction wanted the means to break, and which their frequent attempts to bend ought to have taught them was already far beyond their strength. As an overture and an interim act, it had been almost universally condemned; and now that it was made a standing law, without having gone through the usual forms, and neither protest, dissent, nor remonstrance allowed to be entered against it, nothing remained for its opponents but, as occasion offered, to testify against it from the pulpit or the press, which many embraced the earliest opportunity of doing. Scarcely, indeed, had the members of assembly reached their respective homes with the report of their proceedings, when, in the evening of the Sabbath, June 4th, in a sermon from Isaiah ix. 6, the subject of this memoir attacked the obnoxious act with such force of argument as was highly gratifying to its opponents, but peculiarly galling to its abettors, who were everywhere, in the course of a few days, by the loud voice of general report, informed of the circumstance, with manifold exaggerations. Public, however, as this condemnation of the act of assembly was, Mr. Erskine did not think it enough. Having occasion, as late moderator, to open the synod of Perth on the 10th day of October, the same year, taking for his text Psalm cxviii. 22, "The stone which the builders rejected, the same is made the head stone of the corner," he delivered himself on the disputed points more at large, and with still greater freedom. In this sermon Mr. Erskine asserted, in its full breadth, the doctrine which we have above proved, from her standards, to have all along been the doctrine of the Church of Scotland—that the election of a minister belonged to the whole body of the people. "The promise," said he, keeping up the figure in the text, "of conduct and counsel in the choice of men that are to build is not made to patrons and heritors, or any other set of men, but to the church, the body of Christ, to whom apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers are given. As it is a natural privilege of every house or society of men to have the choice of their own servants or officer, so it is the privilege of the house of God in a particular manner. What a miserable bondage would it be reckoned for any family to have stewards or servants imposed on them by strangers, who might give the children a stone for bread, or a scorpion instead of a fish, poison instead of medicine; and shall we suppose that our God granted a power to any set of men, patrons, heritors, or whatever they be—a power to impose servants on his family, they being the purest society in the world!"

This very plain and homely passage, which, for the truth it contains, and the noble spirit of liberty which it breathes, deserves to be written with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever, gave great offence to many members of synod, and particularly to Mr. Mercer of Aberdalgie, who moved that Mr. Erskine should be rebuked for his freedom of speech, and admonished to be more circumspect for the future. This produced the appointment of a committee to draw out the passages complained of; which being done, and Mr. Erskine refusing to retract anything he had said, the whole was laid before the synod. The synod, after a debate of three days, found, by a plurality of six voices, Mr. Erskine censurable, and ordered him to be rebuked and admon-

ished at their bar accordingly. The presbytery of Stirling was also instructed to notice his behaviour in time coming at their privy censures, and report to the next meeting of synod. Against this sentence Mr. Erskine entered his protest, and appealed to the General Assembly. Mr. Alexander Moncrief of Abernethy also protested against this sentence, in which he was joined by a number of his brethren, only two of whom, Mr. William Wilson of Perth, and Mr. Fisher of Kinclaven, Mr. Erskine's son-in-law, became eventually seceders. Firm to their purpose, the synod, on the last sederunt of their meeting, called Mr. Erskine up to be rebuked; and he not appearing, it was resolved that he should be rebuked at their next meeting in April. Personal pique against Mr. Erskine, and envy of his extensive popularity, were unfortunately at the bottom of this procedure, which, as it increased that popularity in a tenfold degree, heightened proportionally the angry feelings of his opponents, and rendered them incapable of improving the few months that elapsed between the meeting of synod for taking a more cool and dispassionate view of the subject. The synod met in April under the same excitation of feeling; and though the presbytery and the kirk-session of Stirling exerted themselves to the utmost in order to bring about an accommodation, it was in vain: the representations of the first were disregarded, and the petition of the other was not so much as read. Mr. Erskine being called, and comparing, simply told them that he adhered to his appeal. There cannot be a doubt but that the synod was encouraged to persevere in its wayward course by the leaders of the assembly, who were now resolved to lay prostrate every shadow of opposition to their measures. Accordingly, when the assembly met in the month of May following, 1733, they commenced proceedings by taking up the case of Mr. Stark, the intruder into the parish of Kinross and the presbytery of Dunfermline, which they finished in the highest style of authority, probably, in part, for the very purpose of intimidating such as might be disposed to befriend Mr. Erskine on this momentous occasion. Multitudes, it was well known, approved of every word Mr. Erskine had said; but when it was made apparent with what a high hand they were to be treated, if they took any part in the matter, even those who wished him a safe deliverance might be afraid to take his part. Probably he himself was not without painful misgivings when he beheld the tide of authority thus rolling resistlessly along; but he had committed himself, and neither honour nor conscience would allow him to desert the prominence on which, in the exercise of his duty, he had come to be placed, though, for the time, it was covered with darkness, and seemed to be surrounded with danger. His appeal to the assembly he supported by reasons alike admirable, whether we consider their pointed bearing on the subject, the piety that runs through them, or the noble spirit of independence which they breathe. The reasons of his appeal were five, of which we can only give a feeble outline. 1st, The imbittered spirit of the greater part of the synod, by which they were evidently incapable of giving an impartial judgment. 2d, The tendency of such procedure to gag the mouths of those who, by their commission, must use all boldness and freedom in dealing with the consciences of men. 3d, Because, though the synod had found him censurable, they had condescended on no one part of the truth of God's word, or the standards of this church, from which he had receded. 4th, The censured expressions, viewed abstractly from the committee's remarks, which the synod disowned, are not only inoffensive, but either scriptural

or natively founded on Scripture. The fifth reason regarded the obnoxious act of assembly, against which he could not retract his testimony, and which the synod, by their procedure, had made a term of ministerial communion, which, for various reasons, he showed could not be so to him. On all these accounts he claimed, "from the equity of the venerable assembly," a reversal of the sentence of the synod. To Mr. Erskine's appeal Mr. James Fisher gave in his name as adhering. Reasons of protest were also given in by Mr. Alexander Moncrief and a number of ministers and elders adhering to him, fraught with the most cogent arguments, though couched in the modest form of supplication rather than assertion. But they had all one fate, viz. were considered great aggravations of Mr. Erskine's original offence. The sentence of the synod was confirmed, and, to terminate the process, Mr. Erskine appointed to be rebuked and admonished by the moderator at the bar of the assembly, which was done accordingly. Mr. Erskine, however, declared that he could not submit to the rebuke and admonition, and gave in a protest for himself, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Moncrief, and Mr. Fisher, each of whom demanded to be heard on their reasons of appeal, but were refused—Mr. Moncrief and Mr. Wilson immediately by the assembly, and Mr. Fisher by the committee of bills refusing to transmit his reasons, which were, in consequence, left upon the table of the house. The paper was titled "Protest by Mr. Ebenezer Erskine and others, given into the assembly, 1733." "Although I have a very great and dutiful regard to the judicatures of this church, to whom I own subjection in the Lord, yet, in respect the assembly has found me censurable, and have tendered a rebuke and admonition to me for things I conceive agreeable to the Word of God and our approved standards, I find myself obliged to protest against the foresaid censure, as importing that I have, in my doctrine, at the opening of the synod of Perth, in October last, departed from the Word of God and the foresaid standards, and that I shall be at liberty to preach the same truths of God, and to testify against the same or like defections of this church upon all proper occasions. And I do hereby adhere unto the testimonies I have formerly emitted against the act of assembly, 1732, whether in the protest entered against it in open assembly, or yet in my synodical sermon, craving this my protest and declaration be inserted in the records of assembly, and that I be allowed extracts thereof: Ebenezer Erskine." "We, undersigned subscribers, dissenters from the sentence of the synod of Perth and Stirling, do hereby adhere to the above protestation and declaration, containing a testimony against the act of assembly, 1732, and asserting our privilege and duty to testify publicly against the same or like defections upon all proper occasions: William Wilson, Alexander Moncrief." "I, Mr. James Fisher, minister at Kinclaven, appellant against the synod of Perth in this question, although the committee of bills did not think fit to transmit my reasons of appeal, find myself obliged to adhere unto the foresaid protestation and declaration: James Fisher." This paper being referred to a committee, that committee returned it with the following overture, which by a great majority of the assembly was instantly turned into an act:—"The General Assembly ordains that the four brethren aforesaid appear before the commission in August next, and then show their sorrow for their conduct and misbehaviour in offering to protest, and in giving in to this assembly the paper by them subscribed, and that they then retract the same. And in case they do not appear before the said commission in August, and then show

their sorrow, and retract as said is, the commission is hereby empowered and appointed to suspend the said brethren, or such of them as shall not obey, from the exercise of their ministry. And farther, in case the said brethren shall be suspended by the said commission, and that they shall act contrary to the said sentence of suspension, the commission is hereby empowered and appointed, at their meeting in November, or any subsequent meeting, to proceed to a higher censure against the said four brethren, or such of them as shall continue to offend by transgressing this act. And the General Assembly do appoint the several presbyteries of which the said brethren are members to report to the commission in August and subsequent meetings of it, their conduct and behaviour with respect to this act." The four brethren, on this sentence being intimated to them, offered to read the following as their joint speech:—"In regard the venerable assembly have come to a positive sentence without hearing our defence, and have appointed the commission to execute the sentence in August, in case we do not retract what we have done, we cannot but complain of this uncommon procedure, and declare that we are not at liberty to take this affair into *avisandum*." The assembly, however, would not hear them, and they left their paper on the table under form of instrument.

This sentence excited a deep sensation in every corner of the country, and when the four brethren, as they were now called, appeared before the commission in the month of August, numerous representations were presented in their behalf, stating the evils that were likely to result from persevering in the measures that had been adopted towards them, and recommending caution and delay as the only means whereby matters might be accommodated, and the peace of the church preserved. On Mr. Erskine's behalf, especially, the petitions were urgent, and the testimonials to his character strong. "Mr. Erskine's character," say the presbytery of Stirling in their representation to the commission, "is so established amongst the body of professors of this part of the church, that we believe even the authority of an assembly condemning him cannot lessen it, yea, the condemnation itself, in the present case, will tend to heighten it, and in his case, should the sentence be executed, most lamentable consequences would ensue, and most melancholy divisions will be increased; the success of the gospel in our bounds hindered; reproach, clamour, and noise will take place; our congregations be torn in pieces; ministers of Christ will be deserted and misrepresented; and our enemies will rejoice over us. The same evils were apprehended by the kirk session of Stirling, and the observations of both presbytery and session were confirmed by the town council.—"We beg leave," say they, "briefly to represent that Mr. Erskine was settled as an ordained minister amongst us for the greater edification of the place, and that with no small trouble and expense—that we have always lived in good friendship with him, after now two full years' acquaintance—that we find him to be of a peaceable disposition of mind, and of a religious walk and conversation, and to be every way fitted and qualified for discharging the office of the ministry amongst us, and that he has accordingly discharged the same to our great satisfaction—that, therefore, our being deprived of his ministerial performances must undoubtedly be very moving and afflictive to us, and that the putting the foresaid act (the act of suspension) into execution, we are afraid, will in all likelihood be attended with very lamentable circumstances, confusions, and disorders, too numerous and tedious to be here rehearsed, and that not only in this place in

particular, but also in the church in general." The kirk session and town council of Perth presented each a representation in favour of Mr. Wilson, as did the presbyteries of Dunblane and Ellon, praying the commission to wait at least for the instructions of another assembly. Full of the spirit of the assembly which had appointed it, however, the commission was deaf to all admonitions, refusing to read, or even to allow any of these representations to be read, with the exception of a small portion of that from the presbytery of Stirling, which might be done as a mark of respect to Mr. Erskine's character, or it might be intended to awaken the envy and rage of his enemies. Mr. Erskine prepared himself a pretty full representation, as an appellant from the sentence of the synod of Perth and Stirling, as did also Mr. James Fisher. Messrs. Wilson and Moncrief, as protestors against that sentence, gave in papers, under form of instrument, insisting upon it as their right to chose their own mode of defence, which was by writing. Mr. Erskine was allowed, with some difficulty, to read his paper, but none of the others could obtain the like indulgence, so they delivered the substance of them in speeches at the bar. They did not differ in substance from those formerly given in, and of which we have already given the reader as liberal specimens as our limits will permit. "In regard they were not convicted of departing from any of the received principles of the Church of Scotland, or of counteracting their ordination vows and engagements; they protested that it should be lawful and warrantable for them to exercise their ministry as heretofore they had done; and that they should not be chargeable with any of the lamentable effects that might follow upon the course taken with them." The commission, without any hesitation, suspended them from the exercise of the ministerial function in all its parts. Against this sentence they renewed their protestations, and paid no regard to it, as all of them confessed when brought before the commission in the month of November. Applications in their behalf were more numerous at the meeting of the commission in November, than they had been in August, and they had the advantage of those of August, in that they were read. The prayer of them all was delay; and it carried in the commission, to proceed to a higher censure only by the casting vote of Mr. Goldie (or Gowdie), the moderator. The sentence was pronounced on the 16th day of November, 1733, to the following effect:—"The commission of the General Assembly did, and hereby do, loose the pastoral relation of Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, minister at Stirling, Mr. William Wilson, minister at Perth, Mr. Alexander Moncrief, minister at Abernethy, and Mr. James Fisher, minister at Kinclaven, to their said respective charges; and do declare them no longer ministers of this church. And do hereby prohibit all ministers of this church to employ them, or any of them, in any ministerial function. And the commission do declare the churches of the said Messrs. Erskine, Wilson, Moncrief, and Fisher, vacant from and after the date of this sentence." Extracts were also, by the sentence, ordered to be sent with letters to the several presbyteries in whose bounds the said ministers had their charges, ordering intimation of the sentence to be made in the several vacant churches. Letters intimating the sentence were also ordered to the magistrates of Perth and Stirling, to the sheriff principal of Perth, and bailie of the regality of Abernethy. Against this sentence Mr. Erskine and his brethren took the following protestation, which may be considered as the basis, or constitution, of the Secession Church:—"We

hereby adhere to the protestation formerly entered before this court, both at their last meeting in August, and when we appeared before this meeting. And farther, we do protest, in our own name, and in the name of all and every one in our respective congregations adhering to us, that, notwithstanding of this sentence passed against us, our pastoral relation shall be held and reputed firm and valid. And, likewise, we protest that, notwithstanding of our being cast out from ministerial communion with the Established Church of Scotland, we still hold communion with all and every one who desire, with us, to adhere to the principles of the true Presbyterian Church of Scotland, in her doctrine, worship, government, and discipline, and particularly with all who are groaning under the evils, and who are afflicted with the grievances we have been complaining of, and who are, in their several spheres, wrestling against the same. But in regard the prevailing party in this Established Church, who have now cast us out from ministerial communion with them, are carrying on a course of defection from our reformed and covenanted principles, and particularly are suppressing ministerial freedom and faithfulness in testifying against the present backslidings, and inflicting censures upon ministers for witnessing, by protestations and otherwise, against the same: Therefore we do, for these and many other weighty reasons, to be laid open in due time, protest that we are obliged to make a secession from them, and that we can hold no ministerial communion with them till they see their sins and mistakes, and amend them; and in like manner we do protest that it shall be lawful and warrantable for us to exercise the keys of doctrine, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God, and Confession of Faith, and the principles and constitution of the covenanted Church of Scotland, as if no such censure had been passed upon us; upon all which we take instruments. And we do hereby appeal to the first free, faithful, and reforming General Assembly of the Church of Scotland." Mr. Gabriel Wilson, of Maxton, one of the eleven brethren who, thirteen years before this, had been joined with Mr. Erskine in the defence of the *Marrow*, took a protest against the sentence at the same time, which was adhered to by Ralph Erskine, Dunfermline; Thomas Muir, Orwell; John Maclaurin, Edinburgh; John Currie, Kinglassie, afterwards the most bitter enemy of the secession; James Wardlaw, Dunfermline, and Thomas Nairn, Abbotshall; the greater part of whom lived to advance the interests of the secession.

In this violent struggle for the church's and the people's liberties, Mr. Erskine was ably supported by his three brethren, Messrs. Wilson, Moncrief, and Fisher, and his popularity was extended beyond what might be supposed reasonable limits. His congregation clung to him with increasing fondness, and his worthy colleague, Mr. Alexander Hamilton, during the short time he lived after the rise of the secession, ceased not to show him the warmest regard by praying publicly both for him and the Associate presbytery. This presbytery was constituted with solemn prayer by Mr. Ebenezer Erskine at Gairny Bridge, near Kinross, on the 6th day of December, 1733, the greater part of that, and the whole of the preceding day having been spent in prayer. The Associate presbytery consisted at first only of the four brethren; for though Messrs. Ralph Erskine and Thomas Muir were both present at its constituting, they were only spectators. Though they had thus put themselves in a posture to work, they did not proceed for some years to any judicative acts, further than publishing papers relating to the public cause

in which they were engaged: these were a review of the narrative and state of the proceedings against them, issued by a committee of the commission of the General Assembly, published in March, 1734; and a testimony to the doctrine, worship, and government of the Church of Scotland, or reasons for their protestation entered before the commission of the General Assembly, in November, 1733, &c. This has been since known by the name of the extrajudicial testimony.

In these papers Mr. Erskine had his full share, and they had an effect upon the public mind which alarmed the ruling faction in the church not a little, and drove them upon measures which could hardly have been anticipated. The friends of the seceders indeed made an extraordinary bustle, many of them from no sincere motives, some of them anxious to heal the breach, and others of them only anxious for a pretext to stand by and do nothing in the matter. The leaders of the assembly, too, fearful of the consequences of a system that was untried, were willing to concede something at the present time to outraged orthodoxy, knowing well that though they could not recall the past, they might yet, by a semblance of moderation, preserve on their side a number of the more timid of the friends of the seceders who had not yet declared themselves, by which the schism, though not totally healed, might be greatly circumscribed. Accordingly, the next assembly when it met in the month of May, 1734, was found to be of a somewhat different complexion from a number that had preceded it. There was still, however, as one of its members and its great admirer has remarked, "the mighty opposition of great men, ruling elders, who had a strong party in the house to support them," and who took effectual care that nothing should be done in the way of reformation, further than might be justified by a calculating worldly policy. In passing the commission book, sundry reservations were made of a rather novel kind, and among others, the sentence passed against Mr. Erskine and his three brethren. The act of 1730, forbidding the registering of dissents, and the act of 1732, concerning the planting of vacant churches, were both declared to be no longer binding rules in the church. The synod of Perth and Stirling were also empowered to take up the case of Mr. Erskine, and without inquiring into the legality or justice of any of the steps that had been taken on either side, restore the harmony and peace of the church, and for this purpose they were to meet on the first Tuesday of July next.

Never had any synod before this such a task enjoined them. The preceding assembly had enjoined its commission to do all that had been done toward Mr. Erskine and his friends. This assembly enjoins the synod to reverse all that had been done by the commission, but with the express promise, that they shall not take it upon them to judge either of the legality or the formality of the proceedings they were thus ordered to reverse. Upon what principle was the synod to proceed? If the sentence of the commission was pronounced on proper grounds, and the subjects of it had given no signs of repentance, the assembly itself could not warrantably nor consistently take it off. This, "the great men, the ruling elders, who had a strong party in the house to support them," were perfectly aware of; but there were a few men, such as Willison, Currie, and Macintosh, who they knew had a hankering after the seceders, and whom they wished to secure upon their own side, and they served them by an act more absurd than any of those that had occasioned the secession; an act requiring a synod to reverse a sentence, that either was or

ought to have been pronounced in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, without inquiring into its validity, or presuming to give an opinion respecting it? The synod, however, hasted to perform the duty assigned them, and on the 2d of July, 1734, met at Perth, when, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, they took off the sentences from all the four brethren, restoring them to their standing in the church, and ordered their names to be placed upon the presbytery and synod rolls, as if there had never been act, sentence, or impediment in their way. The seceders had too much penetration to be gulled by this invention, and too much honesty to accept of the seeming boon; but it answered the main purpose that it was intended to serve: it afforded a handle for reviving a popular clamour against them, and proved an excellent excuse for their summer friends to desert them. The reforming fit was past in the meeting of next assembly in 1736, which was as violent in its proceedings as any that had preceded it. Mr. Erskine and his friends, now despairing of any speedy reformations in the judicatories, published their reasons for not acceding to them, and proceeded to prepare the judicial act and testimony, which, after many diets of fasting and prayer, was enacted at their twenty-fourth presbyterial meeting, in the month of December, 1736. Mr. Erskine continued all this time to occupy his own parish church, and was regarded with the same respectful attention as ever. In the year 1738 the assembly began to persecute Mr. Erskine and his friends, who were now considerably increased. In the year 1739 he, along with his brethren, was served with a libel to appear before the General Assembly, where they appeared as a constituted presbytery, and by their moderator gave in a paper declining the authority of the court. The assembly, however, delayed giving sentence against them till next year, 1740, when they were all deposed, and ordered to be ejected from their churches. On the Sabbath after this, Mr. Erskine retired with his congregation to a convenient place in the fields, where he continued to preach till a spacious meeting-house was prepared by his people, all of whom adhered to him, and in this house he continued to officiate when ability served till the day of his death.

In the year 1742 Mr. Erskine was employed, along with Mr. Alexander Moncrief, to enlarge the secession testimony, which they did by that most excellent and well-known little work, entitled *An Act aient the Doctrine of Grace*. About this period he had also some correspondence with Mr. George Whitefield, which terminated in a way that could not be pleasing to either party. Along with the doctrines of grace, the Associate presbytery took into consideration the propriety of renewing the national covenants. An overture to this purpose was approved of by the presbytery on the 21st of October, 1742, the same day that they passed the *Act aient the Doctrine of Grace*. That a work of so much solemnity might be gone about with all due deliberation, the presbytery agreed that there should be room left for all the members to state freely whatever difficulties they might have upon the subject, and it accordingly lay over till the 23d of December, 1743, when the overture, with sundry amendments and enlargements, was unanimously approved of and enacted. A solemn acknowledgment of sins being prepared for the occasion, and a solemn engagement to duties, on the 28th of December Mr. Erskine preached a sermon at Stirling, the day being observed as a day of solemn fasting and humiliation, after which the confession of sins was read, and the engagement to duties sworn to and subscribed by fifteen ministers, of whom Ebenezer Erskine was the first that subscribed.

Shortly after, the same thing was done at Falkirk, where five ministers more subscribed. In this work no man of the body was more hearty than Mr. Ebenezer Erskine; and it went through a number of congregations, till a stop was put to it by the question that arose respecting the religious clause of some burgh oaths, which it was alleged were utterly inconsistent with the oath of the covenants, and with the secession testimony. The Associate presbytery had already determined the oaths of abjuration and allegiance to be sinful, as embracing the complex constitution, and was of course incompatible with the testimony which they had emitted against that complex constitution. At the last meeting of the Associate presbytery, Mr. Alexander Moncrief gave in a paper stating his scruples with regard to the religious clause of some burgh oaths, which he apprehended would be found, when examined, to be equally sinful with those they had already condemned. The dissolution of the Associate presbytery being determined on, the question was reserved for a first essay of the Associate synod. Accordingly, when the synod met in the month of March, 1745, it was among the first motions that came before them; and after much discussion the synod, in the month of April, 1746, found "that the swearing the religious clause in some burgh oaths—'Here I protest before God and your lordships, that I profess and allow within my heart, the true religion presently professed within this realm, and authorized by the laws thereof; I shall abide thereat and defend the same to my life's end, renouncing the Romish religion, called papistry'—by any under their inspection, as the said clause comes necessarily in this period to be used and applied in a way that does not agree unto the present state and circumstances of the testimony for religion and reformation which this synod, with those under their inspection, are maintaining; particularly, that it does not agree unto nor consist with an entering into the bond for renewing our solemn covenants, and that, therefore, those seceding cannot farther, with safety of conscience and without sin, swear any burgh oath with the said religious clause, while matters, with reference to the profession and settlement of religion, continue in such circumstances as at present," &c. When this subject was first stated, it did not appear to be attended either with difficulty or danger. Questions of much more intricacy had been discussed at great length, and harmoniously disposed of by the Associate presbytery; and the above decision, we are persuaded every unbiassed reader, when he reflects that it was intended to bind only those who had already acceded to the sederunt act and testimony, will think that it should have given entire satisfaction. This, however, was far from being the case. Some personal pique seems to have subsisted between two of the members of court, Mr. Moncrief and Mr. Fisher; in consequence of which the latter regarded the conduct of the former with some suspicion. Being son-in-law to Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, the latter, too, was supported by both the Erskines, who were the idols of the body, and on this occasion gave most humiliating evidence of the power of prejudice to darken the clearest intellects, and to pervert the purest and the warmest hearts. The question was simple—What was meant by those who framed and now imposed the oath? Was it the true religion, abstractly considered, that was to be acknowledged by the swearer? or was it not rather the true religion embodied in a particular form, and guaranteed by particular laws, to insure the integrity of which the oath was principally intended? Either this was the case, or the oath was superfluous and unmeaning,

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and of course could not be lawfully sworn by any one, whatever might be his opinions, as in that case it would have been a taking of the name of God in vain. True, however, it is, that volumes were written, of which no small portion came from the pens of the venerable Ralph Erskine and the worthy Mr. James Fisher, to prove that nothing was sworn to in the oath but the true religion, abstracting from all the accompanying and qualifying clauses thereof. A protest against the above decision of synod was taken by Messrs. Ralph Erskine, James Fisher, William Hutton, Henry Erskine, and John M'Cara, in which they were joined by two elders, and by the time of next meeting of synod, the whole body was in a flame, every individual having committed himself on the one side or the other.

When the synod met on the 7th of April, 1747, the subject was resumed with a warmth that indicated not ardour, but absolute frenzy. The protesters against the former decision of the question, instead of bringing up their reasons of protest, as order and decency required, began by renewing the original question, Whether the act of synod was to be made a term of communion before it should be sent round in the form of an overture, to sessions and presbyteries for their judgment thereant; the members of synod in the meantime praying and conferring with one another for light upon the subject. To this it was opposed as a previous question—Call for the reasons of protest, and the answers thereunto, that they may be read and considered. The question being put, which of the two questions should be voted, it carried for the first; from this Mr. W. Campbell entered his dissent, to which Mr. Thomas Moir and Mr. Moncrief adhered. Next morning the protesters resumed the question with renewed ardour, or rather rage; Mr. Moir again entered his protest, followed by eleven ministers and ten elders. The protesters still insisting for their question, the whole day was wasted in shameful discussions; Mr. Gibb protesting against the proposal of the protesters in a new and somewhat startling form. Having adjourned one hour, the synod met again at eight, or between eight and nine o'clock p.m., when the war of words was renewed for several hours, the protesters still insisting upon having the vote put; a protest against it was again entered by Mr. Moncrief, which was adhered to by twelve ministers and ten elders. The moderator of course refused to put the vote, as did the clerk *pro tempore*; one of the party then called the roll, another marked the votes, the sum total of which was nine ministers and eleven elders, and of these, six ministers and one elder were protesters, and of course parties in the cause that had not the smallest right to vote on the subject. In this way twenty voters, and of these twenty only thirteen legal voters, carried a deed against twenty-three, standing before them in solemn opposition under cover of all legal forms that, in the circumstances in which they stood, it was possible for them to employ. In this most extraordinary crisis Mr. Moir, the moderator of the former meeting of synod, considering the present moderator as having ceased to act, claimed that place for himself, and the powers of the Associate synod for those who had stood firm under their protest against such disorderly procedure, whom he requested to meet in Mr. Gibb's house to-morrow, to transact the business of the Associate synod. They did so, and thus one part of the Associate synod was reconstituted. The other part met next day in the usual place, having the moderator, though he had deserted them the night before, along with them, and the clerk *pro tempore*; on which they returned themselves as being the true Associate synod. What-

ever superiority in point of order was between them, entirely belonged to the party that met in Mr. Gibb's house, and have since been known by the name of Antiburghers; and they showed some sense of shame by making open confession of the sad display which they had made of their own corruptions, in managing what they then and still considered to be the cause of God. The other party were certainly even in this respect the more culpable; but having the unfettered possession of their beloved oath, they seem to have been more at ease with themselves than their brethren. A more deplorable circumstance certainly never took place in any regularly constituted church, nor one that more completely demonstrated how little the wisest and the best of men are to be depended on when they are left to the influence of their own spirits. The very individual persons who, in a long and painful dispute with the Established judicature, upon points of the highest importance, had conducted themselves with singular judgment, prudence, and propriety, here, upon a very trifling question, and of easy solution, behaved in a manner not only disgraceful to the Christian but to the human character; violating in their case, to carry a point of very little moment, the first principles of order, without preserving which it is impossible to carry on rationally the affairs of ordinary society. In all this unhappy business we blush to be obliged to acknowledge that Ebenezer Erskine had an active hand; he stood in front of the list of the Burgher presbytery, and, if we may believe the report of some who boast of being his admirers, abated considerably after this of his zeal for the principles of the reformation. He certainly lost much of his respectability by the share he had in augmenting the storm which his age and his experience should have been employed to moderate, and it must have been but an unpleasant subject for his after-meditations. He was after this engaged in nothing of public importance. He lived indeed only seven years after this, and the better half of them under considerable infirmity. He died on the twenty-second of June, 1756, aged seventy-four years, saving one month. He was buried, by his own desire, in the middle of his meeting-house, where a large stone with a Latin inscription, recording the date of his death, his age, and the periods of his ministry at Portmoak and Stirling, still marks out the spot. Mr. Erskine was twice married; first, as we have already mentioned, to that excellent woman Alison Terpie, who died sometime in the year 1720. He married three years afterwards a daughter of the Rev. James Webster, Edinburgh, who also died before him. He left behind him several children, one of whom, a daughter, died so late as the year 1814. Of his character we have scarcely left ourselves room to speak. As a writer of sermons he is sound, savoury, and practical, abounding in clear views of the gospel, with its uses and influence in promoting holiness of life. As a preacher he was distinguished among the greatest men of his day. In learning and in compass of mind he was inferior to the author of *The Trust*, and, for keen and penetrating genius, to the author of *The Defence of the Reformation Principles of the Church of Scotland*; but for straightforward good sense, incorruptible integrity, and dauntless intrepidity, he was equal to any man of the age in which he lived.

ERSKINE, HENRY, third Lord Cardross, one of the most distinguished patriots of the seventeenth century, was the eldest son of the second Lord Cardross, who, in his turn, was grandson to John, seventh Earl of Marr, the eminent and faithful counsellor of

King James VI. By his mother, Anne Hope, the subject of our memoir was grandson to Sir Thomas Hope, king's advocate, the chief legal counsellor of the Covenanters in the early years of the civil war. It may also be mentioned that Colonel Erskine of Carnock, father to the author of *The Institutes*, was a half-brother of Lord Cardross.

The father of this eminent patriot was one of the seven Scottish lords who protested against the delivery of Charles I. to the English army, and he educated his son in the same principles of honour and fidelity to the laws, and to personal engagements, which inspired himself. Lord Henry was born about 1650, and succeeded his father in 1671. Having also succeeded to all the liberal principles of the family, he at once joined himself, on entering life, to the opposers of the Lauderdale administration. This soon exposed him to persecution, and in 1674 he was fined in £5000 because his lady had heard worship performed in his own house by a non-conforming chaplain. His lordship paid £1000 of this fine, and after attending the court for six months in the vain endeavour to procure a remission for the rest, was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, where he continued for four years. While he was thus suffering captivity, a party of soldiers visited his house, and, after treating his lady with the greatest incivility, and breaking up the closet in which he kept his papers, established a garrison, which continued there for eight years. Two years afterwards, while he was still in prison, his lady having been delivered of a child, whom she caused to be baptized (without his knowledge) by a non-conforming clergyman, another fine of £3000 was imposed upon him, being purposely thus severe, in order that he might be retained in prison through inability to pay it. So meanly revengeful was the feeling of the government, that, when the royal forces were on their march to Bothwell Bridge, in June, 1679, they were taken two miles out of their proper line of march, in order that they might quarter upon his lordship's estates of Kirkhill and Uphall, and do them all the mischief possible.

In July, 1679, Lord Cardross was released on giving bond for the amount of his fine. He went to court, to give an account of his sufferings, and solicit some redress. But the infamous privy-council of Scotland counteracted all his efforts. Finding no hope of further comfort in his own country, and that there was little probability of the British nation contriving to throw off the odious bondage in which it was kept, he resolved to seek refuge and freedom in a distant land. He perhaps acted upon the philosophical maxim thus laid down by Plato:—"If any one shall observe a great company run out into the rain every day, and delight to be wet in it, and if he judges that it will be to little purpose for him to go and persuade them to come into their houses and avoid the rain, so that all that can be expected from his going to speak to them, will be that he will be wet with them; would it not be much better for him to keep within doors, and preserve himself, since he cannot correct the folly of others?" Lord Cardross engaged with those who settled on Charles-town Neck, in South Carolina, where he established a plantation. From thence a few years afterwards he and his people were driven by the Spaniards, many of the colonists being killed and almost all their effects destroyed. Dispirited but not broken by his misfortunes, the Scottish patriot returned to Europe, and took up his abode at the Hague, where many others of his persecuted countrymen now found shelter. Entering into the service of Holland, he accompanied the Prince of Orange on his expedition to England, his son David commanding a company

in the same army. He was of great service in Scotland, under General Mackay, in promoting the Revolution settlement, which at length put an end to the miseries endured for many years by himself, and by his country at large. He was now restored to his estates, sworn a privy-councillor, and honoured with much of the friendship and confidence of King William. His health, however, previously much impaired by his imprisonment and the fatigue of his American plantation, sunk under his latter exertions, and he died at Edinburgh, May 21st, 1693, in the forty-fourth year of his age. The venerable Earl of Buchan, of whom we have given a memoir, and his two brothers, Henry and Thomas Erskine, were the great grandchildren of Lord Cardross.

ERSKINE, HONOURABLE HENRY, an eminent pleader, was the third son of Henry David, tenth Earl of Buchan, by Agnes, daughter of Sir James Stewart of Coltness and Goodtrees, Baronet. He was born at Edinburgh on the first of November, 1746 O.S. His fame has been eclipsed by that of his younger and more illustrious brother, Thomas Lord Erskine, who rose to the dignity of lord high-chancellor of Great Britain; but his name, nevertheless, holds a distinguished place in the annals of the Scottish bar, to which he was called in the year 1768, and of which he was long the brightest ornament.

Mr. Erskine's education was begun under the paternal roof. He was afterwards sent, with his two brothers, to the college of St. Andrews; whence they were subsequently transferred to the university of Edinburgh, and latterly to that of Glasgow. As his patrimony was small, Henry was taught to look forward to a profession as the only avenue to fortune; and he early decided on that of the bar, while his younger brother resolved to push his fortune in the army.

It was in the Forum, a promiscuous debating society established in Edinburgh, that young Erskine's oratorical powers first began to attract notice. While prosecuting his legal studies, and qualifying himself for the arduous duties of his profession, he found leisure to attend the Forum, and take an active part in its debates. It was in this school that he laid the foundation of those powers of extemporary speaking, by which in after-years he wielded at will the feelings of his auditors, and raised forensic practice, if not to the models of ancient oratory, at least to something immeasurably above the dull, cold, circumlocutory forms of speech in which the lords of council and session were then wont to be addressed. Another arena upon which Henry Erskine trained himself to exhibitions of higher oratory than had yet been dreamed of by his professional brethren, was the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, of which it was then said with greater truth than it would be now, that it afforded the best theatre for deliberative eloquence to be found in Scotland. Here his lineage, talents, and orthodox sentiments commanded respect; and accordingly he was always listened to by that venerable body with the greatest deference and attention.

Mr. Erskine was equalled, perhaps surpassed, in depth of legal knowledge, by one or two of his fellows at the bar; but none could boast of equal variety and extent of accomplishments; none surpassed him in knowledge of human character; and none equalled him in quickness of perception, playfulness of fancy, and professional tact. He was the Horace of the profession; and his *seria commixta joci* were long remembered with pleasure by his contemporaries. Yet while, by the unanimous suffrages of the public, Mr. Erskine found himself placed without a rival at

the head of a commanding profession, his general deportment was characterized by the most unaffected modesty and easy affability, and his talents were not less at the service of indigent but deserving clients, than they were to be commanded by those whose wealth or influence enabled them most liberally to remunerate his exertions. Indeed, his talents were never more conspicuous than when they were employed in protecting innocence from oppression, in vindicating the cause of the oppressed, or exposing the injustice of the oppressor. Henry Erskine was in an eminent sense the advocate of the people throughout the long course of his professional career; he was never known to turn his back upon the poor man; or to proportion his services to the ability of his employers to reward them. It is said that a poor man, in a remote district of Scotland, thus answered an acquaintance who wished to dissuade him from engaging in a lawsuit with a wealthy neighbour, by representing the hopelessness of his being able to meet the expense of litigation: "Ye dinna ken what ye're saying, maister; there's no a puir man in a' Scotland need to want a friend or fear an enemy sae lang as Harry Erskine lives!"

When Mr. Erskine deemed his independence secured, he married Christina; the only daughter of George Fullarton, Esq., collector of the customs at Leith. This lady brought him a handsome fortune; but with the prospect of a pretty numerous family before him, Mr. Erskine continued assiduously to practise his profession. By this lady he had three daughters: Elizabeth Frances, who died young; Elizabeth Crompton, afterwards Mrs. Callendar; and Henrietta, afterwards Mrs. Smith; together with two sons, Henry and George, the former of whom married the eldest daughter of Sir Charles Shipley in 1811, and became Earl of Buchan.

Mr. Erskine, like his elder brother, had early embraced the principles of Whiggism; and this distinguished family, during the progress of the American war, openly expressed their decided disapprobation of the course which ministers were pursuing in that unfortunate contest. Opposition was a more serious thing in these times than it has since become; to oppose ministers was considered tantamount to disaffection to the constitution, and often exposed a man to serious loss and inconvenience. Mr. Erskine's abilities, indeed, were beyond the reach of detraction; and his practice at the bar was founded upon a reputation too extensive to be easily shaken; but it cannot be doubted that in espousing the liberal side of politics, he was sacrificing to no small amount his prospects of preferment. At the conclusion, therefore, of the American war, and the accession of the Rockingham administration, Mr. Erskine's merits pointed him out as the fittest member of faculty for the important office of lord-advocate of Scotland, to which he was immediately appointed. But his opportunities to support the new administration were few, on account of its ephemeral existence; and on its retirement he was immediately stripped of his official dignity, and even some years afterwards deprived, by the vote of his brethren, on account of his obnoxious political sentiments, of the honourable office of dean of faculty. On the return of the liberal party to office, in 1806, Henry Erskine once more became lord-advocate, and was returned member for the Dumfries district of burghs, in the room of Major-general Dalrymple. This, however, like the former Whig administration, was not suffered to continue long in power, and with its dissolution Mr. Erskine again lost his office and seat in parliament. Amid these disappointments Mr. Erskine remained not less distinguished by inflexible steadiness to his

principles, than by invariable gentleness and urbanity in his manner of asserting them. "Such, indeed," says one of his most distinguished contemporaries, "was the habitual sweetness of his temper, and the fascination of his manners, that, though placed by his rank and talent in the obnoxious station of a leader of opposition, at a period when political animosities were carried to a lamentable height, no individual, it is believed, was ever known to speak or to think of him with anything approaching to personal hostility. In return it may be said, with equal correctness, that though baffled in some of his pursuits, and not quite handsomely disappointed of some of the honours to which his claim was universally admitted, he never allowed the slightest shade of discontent to rest upon his mind, nor the least drop of bitterness to mingle with his blood. He was so utterly incapable of rancour, that even the rancorous felt that he ought not to be made its victim."

Mr. Erskine's constitution began to give way under the pressure of disease about the year 1812; and he thereupon retired from professional life, to his beautiful villa of Ammondell in West Lothian, which originally formed part of the patrimonial estate, but was transferred to the subject of our memoir by his elder brother about the year 1795, to serve as a retreat from the fatigues of business during the vacation. "Passing thus," says the eloquent writer already quoted, "at once from all the bustle and excitement of a public life, to a scene of comparative inactivity, he never felt a moment of ennui or dejection; but retained unimpaired, till within a day or two of his death, not only all his intellectual activity and social affections, but, when not under the immediate affliction of a painful and incurable disease, all that gaiety of spirit, and all that playful and kindly sympathy with innocent enjoyment, which made him the idol of the young, and the object of cordial attachment and unenvying admiration to his friends of all ages." The five remaining years of his life were consumed by a complication of maladies; and he expired at his country-seat on the 8th of October, 1817, when he had nearly completed the 71st year of his age.

In person Mr. Henry Erskine was above the middle size; he was taller than either of his brothers, and well-proportioned, but slender; and in the bloom of manhood was considered handsome in no common degree. In early life his carriage was remarkably graceful; and so persuasive was his address, that he never failed to attract attention, and by the spell of irresistible fascination to fix and enchain it. His features were all character—his voice was powerful and melodious—his enunciation uncommonly accurate and distinct—and there was a peculiar grace in his utterance, which enhanced the value of all he said, and engraved the remembrance of his eloquence indelibly on the minds of his hearers. His habits were domestic in an eminent degree. It has been said of men of wit in general, that they delight and fascinate everywhere but at home; this observation, however, though too generally true, could not be applied to him; for no man delighted more in the enjoyment of home, or felt more truly happy in the bosom of his family, while at the same time none were more capable of entering into the gaieties of polished society, or more courted for the brilliancy of his wit, and the ease and polish of his manners.

"The character of Mr. Erskine's eloquence," says another friend, well capable of estimating his merits, "bore a strong resemblance to that of his noble brother; but being much less diffuse, it was better calculated to leave a forcible impression. He had

the art of concentrating his ideas, and presenting them at once in so luminous and irresistible a form, as to render his hearers master of the view he took of his subject, which, however dry or complex in its nature, never failed to become entertaining and instructive in his hands; for to professional knowledge of the highest order he united a most extensive acquaintance with history, literature, and science, and a thorough conversancy with human life." His oratory was of that comprehensive species which can address itself to every audience, and to every circumstance, and touch every chord of human emotion. Fervid and affecting in the extreme degree, when the occasion called for it, it was no less powerful in opposite circumstances, by the potency of wit and the irresistible force of comic humour which he could make use of at all times, and in perfect subordination to his judgment. "In his profession, indeed, all his art was argument, and each of his delightful illustrations a material step in his reasoning. To himself it seemed always as if they were recommended rather for their use than their beauty; and unquestionably they often enabled him to state a fine argument, or a nice distinction, not only in a more striking and pleasing way, but actually with greater precision than could have been obtained by the severer forms of reasoning. In this extraordinary talent, as well as in the charming facility of his eloquence, and the constant radiance of good humour and gaiety which encircled his manners in debate, he had no rival in his own times, and as yet has no successor. That part of eloquence is now mute, that honour in abeyance."

There exists a bust of Mr. Erskine from the chisel of Turnerelli, and also a portrait of him by Sir Henry Raeburn.

ERSKINE, JOHN, of Dun, knight, and the second in importance of the lay supporters of the Scottish Reformation, is said to have been born about the year 1508, at the family seat of Dun, in the county of Forfar. His family was descended from that which afterwards acceded to the title of Marr, while his mother was a daughter of William, first Lord Ruthven. In early life he travelled for some time upon the Continent, from which he returned in 1534, bringing with him a Frenchman capable of teaching the Greek language, whom he established in the town of Montrose. Hitherto this noble tongue was almost unknown in Scotland, and an acquaintance with it was deemed to imply a tendency to heresy. Erskine of Dun was the first man who made a decided attempt to overcome this prejudice, thereby foretelling his own fitness to burst through moral clouds of still greater density, and far more pernicious. Previous to 1540 he was one of the limited number of persons who, notwithstanding the persecuting disposition of James V., had embraced the Protestant religion: in doing so, far from being led by mercenary motives, as many afterwards were, he and his friends were inspired solely with a love of what they considered the truth, and, for that sake, encountered very great dangers. His house of Dun, near Montrose, was constantly open to the itinerant preachers of the reformed doctrines, who, though liable to persecution in other places, seem to have always enjoyed, through the respectability of his personal character, as well as his wealth and baronial influence, immunity while they resided with him. Though he must have been unfavourable to the war with England, commenced by the Catholic party in 1547, he appears to have been too much of a patriot to endure the devastations committed upon his native country by the enemy. His biographers dwell with

pride on a very successful attack which he made, with a small party, upon a band of English who had landed near Montrose for the purpose of laying waste the country. On this occasion, out of eighty invaders hardly a third of them got back to their ships. When John Knox returned to Scotland, in 1555, Erskine of Dun was among those who repaired to hear his private ministrations in the house of a citizen of Edinburgh. The reformer soon after followed him to Dun, where he preached daily for a month to the people of the neighbourhood; next year he renewed his visit, and succeeded in converting nearly all the gentry of the district.

In 1557 Erskine was one of the few influential persons who signed the first covenant, and established what was called the Congregation. In the succeeding year he was one of the commissioners sent by the queen-regent, Mary of Lorraine, to witness the marriage of her daughter Mary to the dauphin. While he was absent the cause of the Reformation received a great impulse from the execution of Walter Mill, an aged priest, who was dragged to the stake to expiate his attachment to the new doctrines. The people were inflamed with resentment at this outrage, and now longed for more decisive measures being taken on the subject of religion. To counteract this enthusiasm, the queen-regent summoned the preachers to appear at Stirling, and undergo trial for their heretical doctrines. The Protestant gentry, having resolved to protect them, met at Perth, and Erskine of Dun was employed to go to Stirling to seek an accommodation with the queen. It is well known that he succeeded in obtaining a respite for the ministers, though not of long continuance. In the sterner measures which were afterwards taken to protect the reformed religion, he bore an equally distinguished part.

On the establishment of Protestantism in 1560, Erskine of Dun resolved to assume the clerical office, for which he was fitted in a peculiar manner by his mild and benignant character. He was accordingly appointed by the estates of the kingdom to be one of the five superintendents of the church—an office somewhat akin to that of bishop, though subject to the control of the principal church court. Erskine became superintendent of the counties of Angus and Mearns, which he had already been the principal means of converting to the new faith. He was installed in 1562 by John Knox, and it would appear that he not only superintended the proceedings of the inferior clergy, but performed himself the usual duties of a clergyman. In everything that he did his amiable character was discernible: far from being inspired with those fierce and uncompromising sentiments which were perhaps necessary in some of his brethren for the hard work they had to perform, he was always the counsellor of moderate and conciliatory measures, and thus even the opponents of the reformed doctrines could not help according him their esteem. When Knox had his celebrated interview with Queen Mary respecting her intended marriage with Darnley, and brought tears into her eyes by the freedom of his speech, Erskine, who was present, endeavoured with his characteristic gentleness to soothe those feelings which the severity of his friend had irritated. Knox stood silent and unrelenting while the superintendent was engaged in this courteous office. Erskine appears to have thus made a very favourable impression upon the mind of the youthful queen. When she deemed it necessary to show some respect to the Protestant doctrines, in order to facilitate her marriage, she sent for the superintendents of Fife, Glasgow, and Lothian, to whom she said that she was not yet persuaded of the truth of their religion, but

she was willing to hear conference upon the subject, and would gladly listen to some of their sermons. Above all others, she said she would gladly hear the superintendent of Angus, "for he was a mild and sweet-natured man, with true honesty and uprightness."

For many years after this period the superintendent discharged his various duties in an irreproachable manner, being elected no fewer than five times to be moderator of the General Assembly. Some encroachments made on the liberties of the church in 1571 drew from him two letters addressed to his chief, the Regent Marr, which, according to Dr. M'Crie, "are written in a clear, spirited, and forcible style, contain an accurate statement of the essential distinction between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and should be read by all who wish to know the early sentiments of the Church of Scotland on this subject." Some years afterwards he was engaged with some other distinguished ornaments of the church in compiling what is called the *Second Book of Discipline*. At length, after a long and useful life, he died, March 12, 1591, leaving behind him a character which has been thus depicted by Archbishop Spottiswoode: "He was a man famous for the services performed to his prince and country, and worthy to be remembered for his travails in the church, which, out of the zeal he had for the truth, he undertook, preaching and advancing it by all means. A baron he was of good rank, wise, learned, liberal, of singular courage; who, for diverse resemblances, may well be said to have been another Ambrose."

ERSKINE, JOHN, of Carnock, afterwards of Cardross, professor of Scots law in the university of Edinburgh, was born in the year 1695. His father was the Honourable Colonel John Erskine of Carnock, the third son of Lord Cardross, whose family now holds the title of Earl of Buchan.

The subject of this memoir having been educated for the profession of the law, became a member of the Faculty of Advocates in the year 1719, and continued for some years to discharge the duties of his profession without having been remarkably distinguished. In 1737, on the death of Alexander Bain, professor of Scots law in the university of Edinburgh, Mr. Erskine became a candidate for that chair. The patronage of this professorship is nominally in the town-council of Edinburgh, but virtually in the Faculty of Advocates; the election, under an act of parliament passed in the reign of George I., being made in the following manner:—The faculty, by open suffrage of all the members, send a *leet* (as it is called), or *list*, containing the names of two of their number, to the town-council; one of whom the patrons must choose. The candidate favoured by his brother is of course joined in the *leet* with another member of the body, who, it is known, will not accept; and although, in case of collision, this arrangement might occasion embarrassment, practically the effect is, to place the nomination to this chair in the body best qualified to judge of the qualifications of the candidates. Hence this preferment is, generally speaking, a very fair test of the estimation in which the successful candidate is held by his brethren; and their choice has seldom been more creditable to themselves than it was in the case of Mr. Erskine. The list presented to the town-council contained the names of Erskine and of Mr. James Balfour, advocate, a gentleman who had no desire for the appointment, and Mr. Erskine was consequently named professor. The emoluments of the office consist of a salary of £100 per annum, payable from the revenue of the town, in addition to the fees paid by the students.

Mr. Erskine entered on the discharge of his academical duties with great ardour; and, from the ability which he displayed as a lecturer, his class was much more numerously attended than the Scots law class had been at any former period. The text-book which he used for many years was Sir George Mackenzie's *Institutions of the Law of Scotland*; but, in the year 1754, Mr. Erskine published his own *Principles of the Law of Scotland*, 8vo, which he intended chiefly for the use of his students, and which, from that time forward, he made his text-book. In this work Mr. Erskine follows the order of Sir George Mackenzie's *Institutions*, supplying those omissions into which Sir George was betrayed by his desire for extreme brevity, and making such farther additions as the progress of the law since Sir George's time rendered necessary. The book is still very highly esteemed on account of the precision and accuracy, and, at the same time, the conciseness, with which the principles of the law are stated; nor is it an inconsiderable proof of its merit, that, notwithstanding the very limited circulation of Scottish law books, this work has already gone through numerous editions.

After having taught the Scots law class with great reputation for twenty-eight years, Mr. Erskine, in 1765, resigned his professorship, and retired from public life. For three years after his resignation he occupied himself chiefly in preparing for publication his larger work, *The Institutes of the Law of Scotland*. It was not published, however, nor, indeed, completed, during his life. The work, in the state in which Mr. Erskine left it, was put into the hands of a legal friend, who, after taking the aid of some of his associates at the bar, published it in 1773, in folio. Although marked with some of the defects incident to a posthumous publication, Erskine's *Institutes* has been for the last eighty years a book of the very highest authority in the law of Scotland. It is remarkable for the same accuracy and caution which distinguish the *Principles*; and as additions have been made in every successive impression, suitable to the progressive changes in the law, there is perhaps no authority which is more frequently cited in the Scottish courts, or which has been more resorted to as the groundwork of the several treatises on subordinate branches of the law, which have appeared within the last fifty years. It has been said that the *Institutes* partakes somewhat of the academical seclusion in which it was written, and indicates occasionally that the author was not familiar with the every-day practice of the law. But this is a defect which, if it exists at all, would require keener eyes than ours to discover. On the contrary, without presuming to dogmatize on such a subject, we should be inclined to say that we have met with no Scottish law book which appears to us to contain a more clear and intelligible exposition, both of the theory and practice of the law, or in which the authorities cited are digested and analyzed with more care and success.

Mr. Erskine died at Cardross on the 1st of March, 1768, in the seventy-third year of his age. He had been twice married; first to Miss Melville, of the noble family of Leven and Melville, by whom he left the celebrated John Erskine, D.D., one of the ministers of Edinburgh; secondly, to Anne, second daughter of Mr. Stirling of Keir, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. In the year 1746 Mr. Erskine had purchased, at a judicial sale, the estate of Cardross, which formerly had belonged to his grandfather, Lord Cardross, and he was possessed, besides, of very considerable landed property, the greater part of which devolved on James Erskine of Cardross, the eldest son of his second marriage, who died at Cardross on the 27th of March, 1802.

ERSKINE, REV. DR. JOHN, was born on the 2d of June, 1721. He was the eldest son of John Erskine of Carnock, the celebrated author of the *Institutes of the Law of Scotland*, a younger branch of the noble family of Buchan. His mother was Margaret, daughter of the Honourable James Melville of Bargarvie, of the family of Leven and Melville. Young Erskine was taught the elementary branches of his education by private tuition, and was placed, towards the close of the year 1734, at the university of Edinburgh, where he acquired a great fund of classical knowledge, and made himself master of the principles of philosophy and law. He was originally intended for the profession of the law, in which his father had been so much distinguished; but a natural meditative and religious disposition inclined him towards the church. This peculiar turn of mind had displayed itself at a very early age, when, instead of joining in the games and amusements suitable to the period of boyhood, he was retired and solitary, and preferred the more exalted pleasures of religious meditation; so that, while his companions were pursuing their youthful sports, he would be found shut up in his closet, employed in the study of the Scriptures, and in exercises of devotion. Although his taste thus led him towards the sacred profession, yet, in compliance with the wishes of his parents, he repressed his own inclinations, and passed through the greater part of that course of discipline prescribed in Scotland, in former times, as preparatory to entering the faculty of advocates. But at length, deeply impressed with the conviction that it was his duty to devote himself to the service of religion, he communicated to his father his intention to study divinity. This resolution met with the decided opposition of his family. They conceived that the clerical office was at best but ill suited for the display of those talents which they knew him to possess, while the very moderate provision made for the clergy of the Church of Scotland, has always been a prudential obstacle with the parents and guardians of young men of family or consideration in this country. In spite, however, of every opposition, Erskine persevered in the prosecution of his theological studies, and on their completion, in the year 1743, he was licensed to preach, by the presbytery of Dunblane.

Prior to the commencement of Dr. Erskine's classical education, an ardent desire to cultivate literature and philosophy had manifested itself in Scotland, and the professors of the college of Edinburgh, some of them men of the most distinguished talents, had contributed greatly to promote and cherish the spirit which animated the nation. Among those early benefactors of Scottish literature, the most conspicuous were Sir John Pringle and Mr. Stevenson, professors of moral philosophy and of logic in the university of Edinburgh. One mode which these eminent men adopted in order to stimulate the exertions of their students, was to prescribe topics connected with the subject of their respective prelections, on which their pupils were required to write short dissertations; when these exercises were to be read, numbers attended from the different classes, and we are informed by Dr. Erskine, that Dr. William Wishart, principal of the college, "that great encourager of the study of the classics, and of moral and political sciences, would often honour those discourses with his presence, listen to them with attention, criticize them with candour; and when he observed indications of good dispositions, and discerned the blossoms of genius, on these occasions, and afterwards, as he had opportunity, testified his esteem and regard." Professor Stevenson selected

a number of the best of the essays which were read in his class, and bound them up in a volume, which is now preserved in the college library. They are in the handwriting of their authors; and in this curious repository are to be found the productions of Erskine and Robertson, together with those of many young men who afterwards rose to eminence in their several paths of life. We have Dr. Erskine's authority for saying, that during the time he was at the university, "Edinburgh college then abounded with young men of conspicuous talents, and indefatigable application to study; many of whom afterwards rose to high eminence in the state, in the army, and in the learned professions, especially in the law department." Amongst these we may name as his intimate friends, Sir Thomas Miller of Glenlee, afterwards lord-president of the Court of Session, and those distinguished lawyers who were promoted to the bench under the titles of Lords Eillick, Alva, Kennet, Gardenston, and Braxfield.

In May, 1744, Dr. Erskine was ordained minister of Kirkintilloch, in the presbytery of Glasgow, where he remained until the year 1753, when he was presented to the parish of Culross, in the presbytery of Dunfermline. In June, 1758, he was translated to the new Greyfriars, one of the churches of Edinburgh. In November, 1766, the university of Glasgow conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, and in July, 1767, he was promoted to the collegiate charge of old Greyfriars, where he had for his colleague Dr. Robertson.

In the different parishes in which Dr. Erskine had ministered he had enjoyed the esteem and affection of his parishioners. They were proud of him for his piety, learning, and rank; they were delighted and improved by his public and private instructions, and they deeply lamented his removal when called from them to undertake the more important charges to which his merit successively promoted him. His attention to the duties of the pastoral office was most exemplary, and his benevolent consolation and advice, which were at the service of all who required them, secured him the respect and affection of his flock, who long remembered him with feelings of the warmest gratitude. No man ever had a keener relish for the pleasures of conversation; but in these he considered that he ought not to indulge, conceiving his time and talents to be entirely the property of his parishioners. At college he had made great attainments in classical learning, and through life he retained a fondness for the cultivation of literature and philosophy, in which his great talents fitted him to excel; he refrained, however, from their pursuit, restricting himself in a great measure to the discharge of his important religious duties. But although literature was not allowed to engross a large share of his attention, nor to interfere with his more sacred avocations, still, by much exertion, and by economizing his time, he was enabled to maintain a perfect acquaintance with the progress of the arts and sciences.

Perhaps no country in the world ever made more rapid progress in literature than Scotland did during the last half of the eighteenth century. And it is to Dr. Erskine chiefly that the nation is indebted for that improvement which took place in our theological writings, and in the manner in which the services of the pulpit were performed. Previous to the time when he was licensed, sermons abounded with discursive and diffuse illustrations, and were deformed by colloquial familiarities and vulgar provincialisms; and although the discourses of such men as Robertson, Home, and Logan, and others of their contemporaries, were conspicuous for their beauty, still it is to the published sermons of Dr. Erskine that the

perspicuity and good taste subsequently displayed in the addresses from the pulpit have been justly traced. Even before the publication of his sermons, however, Dr. Erskine had been favourably known to the public. His first publication was a pamphlet against certain of the doctrines contained in Dr. Campbell's work on the *Necessity of Revelation*. In this production Erskine had occasion to advocate some of the opinions maintained in Dr. Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses*; and having presented that distinguished prelate with a copy of the pamphlet, a correspondence ensued, highly creditable to Erskine from the terms in which Warburton addresses him, more particularly when it is considered that at this time Erskine had not attained his twenty-first year.¹

¹ The works written by Dr. Erskine are:—

1. The Law of Nature sufficiently promulgated to the Heathen World; or, an Inquiry into the Ability of the Heathens to discover the Being of a God, and the Immortality of Human Souls, in some Miscellaneous Reflections occasioned by Dr. Campbell's (Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews) Treatise on the Necessity of Revelation. Edinburgh, 1741. Republished in "Theological Dissertations." London, 1765.

2. The Signs of the Times considered; or, the High Probability that the Present Appearances in New England and the West of Scotland are a Prelude to the Glorious Things promised to the Church in the Latter Ages. Edinburgh, 1742. Anonymous.

3. The People of God considered as All Righteous; or, Three Sermons, preached at Glasgow, April, 1745. Edinburgh, 1745. Republished in the first volume of Dr. Erskine's Discourses.

4. Meditations and Letters of a Pious Youth, lately deceased (James Hall, Esq., son of the late Sir John Hall, Bart. of Dunglass); to which are prefixed, Reflections on his Death and Character, by a Friend in the Country. Edinburgh, 1746.

5. An Account of the Debate in the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, October 6th, 1748; respecting the Employment of Mr. Whitefield to preach in the pulpits of the Synod. Edinburgh, 1748. Anonymous.

6. An Humble Attempt to promote Frequent Communicating. Glasgow, 1749. Republished in "Theological Dissertations."

7. The Qualifications necessary for Teachers of Christianity; a Sermon before the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, 2d October, 1750. Glasgow, 1750. Republished in Discourses, vol. II.

8. The Influence of Religion on National Happiness; a Sermon preached at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge; in the High Church of Edinburgh, January, 1756.

9. Ministers of the Gospel cautioned against giving Offence; a Sermon before the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, November 3d, 1763; to which is added, A Charge at the Ordination of the late Mr. Robertson, Minister of Ratho. Edinburgh, 1764. Republished in Discourses, vol. I.

10. Mr. Wesley's Principles Detected; or, a Defence of the Preface to the Edinburgh Edition of "Aspasio Vindicated," written by Dr. Erskine in answer to Mr. Kershaw's Appeal—to which is prefixed the Preface itself. Edinburgh, 1765.

11. Theological Dissertations, (1) On the Nature of the Sinai Covenant; (2) On the Character and Privileges of the Apostolic Churches; (3) On the Nature of Saving Faith; (4) See 1; (5) See 6. London, 1765.

12. Shall I go to War with my American Brethren? A Discourse on Judges xx. 28, addressed to all concerned in determining that Important Question. London, 1769. Anonymous. Reprinted in Edinburgh with a Preface and Appendix, and the author's name, 1776.

13. The Education of the Poor Children Recommended; a Sermon before the Managers of the Orphan Hospital, 1774.

14. Reflections on the Rise and Progress, and Probable Consequences of the present Contentions with the Colonies; by a Freeholder. Edinburgh, 1776.

15. The Equity and Wisdom of the Administration, on Measures that have unhappily occasioned the American Revolt—tried by the Sacred Oracles. Edinburgh, 1776.

16. Considerations on the Spirit of Popery, and the intended Bill for the Relief of the Papists in Scotland. Edinburgh, 1778.

17. A Narrative of the Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, May 25th, 1779. Occasioned by the apprehensions of an intended Repeal of the Penal Statutes against Papists. With a Dedication to Dr. George Campbell, Principal of the Marischal College, Aberdeen. Edinburgh, 1780.

18. Prayer for those in Civil and Military Offices recommended, from a View of the Influence of Providence on their Character, Conduct, and Success; a Sermon preached before the Election of the Magistrates of Edinburgh, October 5th, 1779, and published at the request of the Magistrates and Town Council.

About the time when Dr. Erskine obtained his license a remarkable concern for religion had been exhibited in the British colonies of North America. In order to obtain the earliest and most authentic religious intelligence from those provinces, he commenced a correspondence with those chiefly concerned in bringing about this change; nor was this correspondence confined to America. He also opened a communication with several divines of the most distinguished piety on the continent of Europe. This intercourse he assiduously cultivated and carried on during the whole of his life. One bad consequence of it was the toil which it necessarily entailed on him, not only in answering his numerous correspondents, but in being called upon by the friends of deceased divines to correct and superintend the publication of posthumous works. To his voluntary labours in this way the religious world is indebted for the greater part of the works of President Edwards, and Dickson, and of Stoddart, and Fraser of Ales. Such was Dr. Erskine's thirst for information concerning the state of religion, morality, and learning on the Continent, that in his old age he undertook and acquired a knowledge of the Dutch and German languages. The fruits of the rich field which was thus thrown open to him appeared in *The Sketches and Hints of Church History and Theological Controversy, chiefly translated and abridged from Modern Foreign Writers*. Edinburgh, vol. i. 1790, vol. ii. 1799. These volumes contained the most extensive and interesting body of information respecting the state of religion on the Continent which had been presented to the world.

One of the objects professed by the promoters of those revolutionary principles which towards the close

19. *Sketches and Hints of Church History and Theological Controversy, chiefly translated and abridged from Modern Foreign Writers, vol. I.* Edinburgh, 1790.

20. Letters, chiefly written for Comforting those Bereaved of Children and Friends. Collected from Books and Manuscripts. Edinburgh, 1790. 2d edition, with additions. Edinburgh, 1800.

21. *The Fatal Consequences and the General Sources of Anarchy; a Discourse on Isaiah xxiv. 1, 5; the substance of which was preached before the Magistrates of Edinburgh, September, 1792; published at their request, and that of the Members of the Old Greyfriars Kirk Session.* Edinburgh, 1793.

22. *A Supplement to Two Volumes, published in 1754, of Historical Collections, chiefly containing late Remarkable Instances of Faith working by Love; published from the Manuscript of the late Dr. John Gillies, one of the Ministers of Glasgow. With an Account of the Pious Compiler, and other Additions.* Edinburgh, 1796.

23. *Sketches and Hints of Church History and Theological Controversy, chiefly translated and abridged from Modern Foreign Writers, vol. II.* Edinburgh, 1797.

24. Discourses preached on several occasions, vol. I. 2d edition, 1798. Volume II. posthumous, prepared for the press and published by Sir H. Moncrieff Wellwood, 1804.

25. Dr. Erskine's Reply to a Printed Letter, directed to him by A. C.; in which the Gross Misrepresentations in said Letter of his Sketches of Church History, in promoting the designs of the infamous sect of the Illuminati, are considered. Edinburgh, 1798.

Those Works which were edited by Dr. Erskine, or for which he wrote prefaces, are—

1. *Aspasio Vindicated, or the Scripture Doctrine of Imputed Righteousness Defended against the Animadversions, &c. of Mr. Wesley; with a Preface of ten pages by Dr. Erskine.* Edinburgh, 1765.

2. *An Account of the Life of the late Rev. Mr. David Brainerd, &c., by Jonathan Edwards.* Edinburgh, 1765.

3. *An Essay on the Continuance of Immediate Revelations of Facts and Future Events in the Christian Church, by the Rev. Thomas Gillespie, Minister of the Gospel at Dunfermline; together with a Letter by the late Mr. Cuthbert, Minister of Culross, on the Danger of Considering the Influence of the Spirit as a Rule of Duty; with a Preface by Dr. Erskine.* Edinburgh, 1774.

4. *A Treatise on Temptation, by the Rev. Thomas Gillespie. Prefaced by Dr. Erskine.* 1771.

5. *A History of the Work of Redemption, by the late Jonathan Edwards, 8vo.* Edinburgh, 1774.

of the last century threatened the subversion of social order in Europe, was the destruction of all Christian church establishments; and an association was actually formed on the Continent for this purpose. Dr. Erskine, however, having in the course of his researches into the state of religion discovered the existence of this association, gave the alarm to his countrymen; and Professor Robinson and the Abbe Barruel soon after investigated its rise and progress, and unfolded its dangers. The patriotic exertions of those good men were crowned with success. Many of those who had been imposed upon by the specious arguments then in vogue were recalled to a sense of reason and duty; and even the multitude were awakened to a sense of the impending danger when the true character of the religion and morality of those political regenerators, who would have made them their dupes, were disclosed and illustrated by the practical commentary which the state of France afforded. The consideration that he had assisted to save this country from the horrors to which the French nation had been subjected, was one of the many gratifying reflections which solaced Dr. Erskine on looking back, in his old age, on his laborious and well-spent life.

Dr. Erskine's zeal in the cause of religion led him to take a large share in the business of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge; and even when, through the infirmities of bad health and old age, he was unable to attend the meetings of that body, such was the dependence of the directors on his information and sound judgment, that on any difficulty occurring in the management of their affairs, they were in the habit of consulting him at his own house. In the General Assembly of the Church

6. *Sermons on Various Important Subjects, by Jonathan Edwards, 12mo.* Edinburgh, 1785.

7. *Dying Exercises of Mrs. Deborah Prince, and Devout Meditations of Mrs. Sarah Gill, Daughters of the late Rev. Thomas Prince, Minister of South Church, Boston, New England.* 1785.

8. *Six Sermons, by the late Rev. Thomas Prince, A.M., one of the Ministers in the South Church, Boston. Published from his Manuscript, with a Preface by Dr. Erskine, containing a very interesting Account of the Author, of his Son who pre-deceased him, and of three of his Daughters.*

9. *Practical Sermons, by the Rev. Thomas Prince, 8vo.* 1788.

10. *Twenty Sermons, by the Rev. Thomas Prince, on Various Subjects.* Edinburgh, 1789.

11. *A Reply to the Religious Scruples against Inoculating the Small-pox, in a Letter to a Friend, by the late Rev. William Cooper of Boston, New England.* Edinburgh, 1791.

12. *The Safety of Appearing at the Day of Judgment in the Righteousness of Christ, opened and applied, by Solomon Stoddart, Pastor to the Church of Northampton, in New England, the Grandfather and Predecessor of Mr. Jonathan Edwards.* Edinburgh, 1792. Fourth edition, with a Preface, containing some account of him, and an Acknowledgment of the Unscripturalness of some of his Sentiments.

13. *Miscellaneous Observations on Important Theological Subjects.* By the late Jonathan Edwards. Edinburgh, 1793.

14. *Sermons and Tracts, separately published at Boston, Philadelphia, and now first collected into one volume, by Jonathan Dickenson, A.M., late President of the College of New Jersey.* Edinburgh, 1793.

15. *A Sermon preached on the Fast Day, 28th February, 1794, at the French Chapel Royal, at St. James's, and at the Royal Crown Court, Soho, by Mr. Gilbert. Translated from the French by a Young Lady, Dr. Erskine's Grand-daughter (daughter of Charles Stuart, M.D.), with a short Preface by Dr. Erskine.* Edinburgh, 1794.

16. *Remarks on Important Theological Controversies, by Mr. Jonathan Edwards, 1796.*

17. *Select Discourses, by Eminent Ministers in America. Two volumes.* Edinburgh, 1796.

18. *Religious Intelligence and Seasonable Advice from Abroad, concerning Lay Preaching and Exhortation, in four separate Pamphlets.* Edinburgh, 1801.

19. *Discourses on the Christian Temper, by J. Evans, D.D., with an Account of the Life of the Author, by Dr. Erskine.* Edinburgh, 1802.

20. *New Religious Intelligence, chiefly from the American States.* Edinburgh, 1802.

of Scotland he was for many years the leader of the popular party; there the openness and integrity of his character secured him the confidence and affection of his friends, and the esteem and respect of his opponents. The friendship which subsisted between him and Principal Robertson, the leader of the moderate party, has been objected to by some of his more rigid admirers, as displaying too great a degree of liberality—a fact strongly illustrative of the rancour which existed in former times among the High Church party. The courtesy which marked Dr. Erskine's conduct to Principal Robertson throughout their lives, and the candour which led him to bear testimony to the high talents and many estimable qualities of the historian in the funeral sermon which he preached on the death of that great man, did equal honour to Dr. Erskine's head and his heart. The following anecdote has been told of one rupture of the friendship which subsisted in early life between Principal Robertson and Dr. Erskine. Mr. Whitefield, who was sent by the English Methodists as a missionary into Scotland, at first formed a connection with the *Seceders*, the body which had left the Established church; but when he refused to confine his ministrations to them, they denounced him, and his character became a controversial topic. Mr. Erskine, some time before he obtained the living of Kirkintilloch, appears to have been a great admirer of the character of this celebrated preacher, and to have been strongly impressed with the force of his powerful eloquence, and the usefulness and efficacy of his evangelical doctrines. It unfortunately happened that at the time when the friends and enemies of Mr. Whitefield were keenly engaged in discussing his merits, the question as to his character and usefulness was made the subject of debate in a literary society which Robertson and Erskine had formed. Conflicting opinions were expressed, and the debate was conducted with so much zeal and asperity that it occasioned not only the dissolution of the society, but it is said to have led to a temporary interruption of the private friendship and intercourse which subsisted between Erskine and Robertson. There is another anecdote of these two great men, which tells more favourably for Dr. Erskine's moderation and command of temper, and at the same time shows the influence which he had acquired over the Edinburgh mob. During the disturbances in Edinburgh in the years 1778 and 1779, occasioned by the celebrated bill proposed at that time to be introduced into parliament for the repeal of the penal statutes against the Roman Catholics in Scotland, the populace of Edinburgh assembled in the college court with the intention of demolishing the house of Principal Robertson, who had taken an active part in advocating the abolition of these penal laws; and there seems to be little doubt that the mob would have attempted to carry their threats into execution in defiance of the military, which had been called out, had not Dr. Erskine appeared, and by his presence and exhortations dispersed them.

Dr. Erskine's opinions, both in church and state politics, will be best understood from the following short account of the part he took on several of the important discussions which divided the country during his life. In the year 1769, on the occasion of the breach with America, he entered into a controversy with Mr. Wesley, and published more than one pamphlet deprecating the contest. He was an enemy to the new constitution given to Canada, by which he considered the Catholic religion to be too much favoured. In 1778, when the attempt was made to repeal certain of the penal enactments against the Roman Catholics of Great Britain, he testified his

apprehensions of the consequences in a correspondence between him and Mr. Burke, which was published. And finally, we have already seen that he took an active and prominent part, in his old age, in support of constitutional principles, when threatened by the French revolution.

Having attained to the eighty-second year of his age, Dr. Erskine was suddenly struck with a mortal disease, and died at his house in Lauriston Lane, Edinburgh, on the 19th of January, 1803, after a few hours' illness. He had been from his youth of a feeble constitution, and for many years previous to his death, his appearance had been that of one in the last stage of existence; and during many winters he had been unable to perform his sacred duties with regularity; nor did he once preach during the last sixteen months of his life. Before he was entirely incapacitated for public duty, his voice had become too weak to be distinctly heard by his congregation. Still, however, the vivacity of his look and the energy of his manner bespoke the warmth of his heart and the vigour of his mind. His mental faculties remained unimpaired to the last; and, unaffected by his bodily decay, his memory was as good, his judgment as sound, his imagination as lively, and his inclination for study as strong, as during his most vigorous years, and to the last he was actively engaged in those pursuits which had formed the business and pleasure of his life. Even the week before his death, he had sent notice to his publisher that he had collected materials for the 6th number of the periodical pamphlet he was then publishing, entitled *Religious Intelligence from Abroad*.

In his temper Dr. Erskine was ardent and benevolent, his affections were warm, his attachments lasting, and his piety constant and most sincere. He was remarkable for the simplicity of his manners, and for that genuine humility which is frequently the concomitant and brightest ornament of high talents. In his beneficence, which was great, but unostentatious, he religiously observed the Scripture precept in the distribution of his charity and in the performance of his many good and friendly offices. We cannot close this short sketch of Dr. Erskine more appropriately than in the graphic words of our great novelist, who, in his *Guy Mannering*, has presented us, as it were, with a living picture of this eminent divine. "The colleague of Dr. Robertson ascended the pulpit. His external appearance was not prepossessing. A remarkably fair complexion, strangely contrasted with a black wig, without a grain of powder; a narrow chest and a stooping posture; hands which, placed like props on either side of the pulpit, seemed necessary rather to support the person than to assist the gesticulation of the preacher,—no gown, not even that of Geneva, a tumbled band, and a gesture which seemed scarcely voluntary, were the first circumstances which struck a stranger. 'The preacher seems a very ungainly person,' whispered Mannering to his new friend.

"'Never fear, he is the son of an excellent Scottish lawyer, he'll show blood, I'll warrant him.'

"The learned counsellor predicted truly. A lecture was delivered, fraught with new, striking, and entertaining views of Scripture history—a sermon in which the Calvinism of the Kirk of Scotland was ably supported, yet made the basis of a sound system of practical morals, which should neither shelter the sinner under the cloak of speculative faith or of peculiarity of opinion, nor leave him loose to the waves of unbelief and schism. Something there was of an antiquated turn of argument and metaphor, but it only served to give zest and peculiarity to the style of elocution. The sermon was not read—a scrap of

paper, containing the heads of the discourse was occasionally referred to, and the enunciation, which at first seemed imperfect and embarrassed, became, as the preacher warmed in his progress, animated and distinct: and although the discourse could not be quoted as a correct specimen of pulpit eloquence, yet Mannering had seldom heard so much learning, metaphysical acuteness, and energy of argument brought into the service of Christianity. 'Such,' he said, going out of the church, 'must have been the preachers to whose unfearing minds, and acute though sometimes rudely exercised talents, we owe the Reformation.'

"'And yet that reverend gentleman,' said Pleydell, 'whom I love for his father's sake and his own, has nothing of the sour or pharisaical pride which has been imputed to some of the early fathers of the Calvinistic Kirk of Scotland. His colleague and he differ, and head different parties in the kirk, about particular points of church discipline; but without for a moment losing personal regard or respect for each other, or suffering malignity to interfere in an opposition, steady, constant, and apparently conscientious on both sides.'"

Dr. Erskine was married to Christian Mackay, third daughter of George, third Lord Ray, by whom he had a family of fourteen children, but of whom only four survived him, David Erskine, Esq. of Carnock, and three daughters.

ERSKINE, RALPH, the well-known author of *Gospel Sonnets*, and other highly esteemed writings, was a younger son of Henry Erskine, some time minister of Cornhill in Northumberland, and, after the Revolution, at Chirnside, Berwickshire, and was born at Monilaws, in Northumberland, on the 18th day of March, 1685. Of his earlier studies we know nothing. Like his brother, Ebenezer, he probably learned his letters under the immediate eye of his father, and, like his brother, he went through a regular course of study in the university of Edinburgh. During the later years of his studentship he resided as tutor and chaplain in the house of Colonel Erskine, near Culross, where he was gratified with the evangelical preaching, and very often the edifying conversation, of the Rev. Mr. Cuthbert, then minister of Culross. He had here also frequent opportunities of visiting his brother Ebenezer; but though younger in years, and less liberally endowed with the gifts of nature, he was a more advanced scholar in the school of Christ, and his brother, if we may believe his own report, was more benefited by him than he was by his brother. Residing within its bounds, he was, by the presbytery of Dunfermline, licensed as a preacher, on the 8th day of June, 1709. He continued to be a probationer nearly two years, a somewhat lengthened period in the then desolate state of the church, when he received a unanimous call from the parish of Dunfermline, to serve as colleague and successor to the Rev. Mr. Buchanan, which he accepted, and to which he was ordained in the month of August, 1711, his friend Mr. Cuthbert of Culross presiding on the occasion. In common with all the churches of the Reformation, the Church of Scotland was from her earliest dawn of returning light distinguished for her attachment to the doctrines of grace. There, as elsewhere, it was the doctrine of grace in giving thorough righteousness unto eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord, preached in its purity, freedom, and fulness, by Hamilton, Wishart, and Knox, which shook from his firm base the dagon of idolatry, and levelled the towers of papal superstition; and it was in the faith of the same doctrines that the illustrious list of martyrs and confessors

under the two Charleses, and the Jameses sixth and seventh, endured such a great fight of affliction and resisted unto blood. At the happy deliverance from persecution in the year 1688, the ecclesiastical constitution of the country was happily restored, with the whole system of doctrine entire. When her scattered ministry began to be assembled, however, it was found that the sword of persecution or the scythe of time had cut off the chief of her strength. The few that had escaped were men, generally speaking, of inferior attainments. Some of them had been protected purely by their insignificance of character, some by compliances, real or affected, with the system of prelacy, and not a few of them had actually officiated as the bishops' underlings, but for the sake of the benefice were induced to transfer their respect and obedience from the bishop to the presbytery, and to sign the Confession of Faith as a proof of their sincerity. This was the more unfortunate that there was among them no commanding spirit, who, imbued with the love of truth, might have breathed through the body an amalgamating influence, and have insensibly assimilated the whole into its own likeness. In consequence of this state of matters, there was less attention paid both to doctrine and discipline than might have been expected; and even with the better and more serious part of the clergy considerable confusion of ideas on the great subject of the gospel, with no inconsiderable portion of legalism, were prevalent. A spirit of inquiry was, however, at this time awakened, and the diffusion of Trail's works, with the works of some of the more eminent of the English Nonconformists, had a powerful effect in correcting and enlarging the views of not a few of the Scottish clergy, among whom was the subject of this memoir, who from a very early period of life seems to have felt strongly, and apprehended clearly, the great scheme of the gospel. Mr. Ralph Erskine had been a most diligent student, and had made very considerable progress in the different branches of science which were commonly studied at that time; and he continued to be a hard student even to his old age, generally writing out his sermons in full, and for the most part in the delivery keeping pretty close to what he had written. For the pulpit he possessed excellent talents, having a pleasant voice and an agreeable winning manner. He peculiarly excelled in the full and free offers of Christ which he made to his hearers, and in the persuasive and winning manner in which he urged their acceptance of the offer so graciously made to them on the authority of the divine Word. He possessed also, from his own varied and extensive experience, a great knowledge of the human heart, and had a singular gift of speaking to the varied circumstances of his hearers, which rendered him more than ordinarily popular. On sacramental occasions he was always waited upon by large audiences, who listened to his discourses with more than ordinary earnestness. During his incumbency Dunfermline, at the time of dispensing the sacrament, was crowded by strangers from all parts of the kingdom, many of whom, to the day of their death, spoke with transport of the enlargement of heart they had there experienced. To all the other duties of the ministry he was equally attentive as to those of the pulpit. His diligence in exhorting from house to house was most unwearied, his diets of public catechizing, regular; and he was never wanting at the side of the sick-bed when his presence was desired. Ardently attached to divine truth, he was on all occasions its dauntless advocate. In the case of Professor Simpson he stood up manfully for the regular exercise of discipline, both in

his first and second process; and in the case of the *Marrow*, had his own share of the toil, trouble, and opprobrium cast upon the few ministers who at that time had the hardihood to make an open appearance for the genuine faith of the gospel. Before the commencement of the secession he was engaged, along with his co-presbyters of the presbytery of Dunfermline, in a dispute with the General Assembly, in behalf of the liberties of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, in which, however, they failed. This was in the case of Mr. Stark, who had been most shamefully intruded upon the burgh and parish of Kinross, and whom, in consequence, the presbytery of Dunfermline refused to admit as one of their members. The case was brought before the assembly, 1732, and summarily decided by ordering the presbytery to assemble immediately, and enrol Mr. Stark as one of their members, give him the right hand of fellowship, and by all means in their power to strengthen his hands, and hold him up against the opposition that was raised against him by the parish, under the pain of being visited with the church's highest displeasure. Against this decision protests were offered by Mr. Ralph Erskine and others, but they were peremptorily refused. Another act of the same assembly became the ostensible cause of the secession. In this controversy, however, Mr. Ralph Erskine had no share, farther than that he adhered to the protests that were offered in behalf of the four brethren who carried it on, took their part on all occasions, attended many of their meetings, and maintained the closest communion with them, both Christian and ministerial; but he did not withdraw from the judicatures of the Established church till the month of February, 1737, when, seeing no hope of any reformation in that quarter, he gave in a declaration of secession to the presbytery of Dunfermline, and joined the Associate presbytery.

The fame of Mr. Ralph Erskine was now, by his taking part with the secession, considerably extended; for the circumstances attending it were making a great noise in every corner of the country. It particularly attracted the notice of Wesley and Whitefield, who at this time were laying the foundations of Methodism in England. The latter of these gentlemen entered shortly after this period into correspondence with Mr. Ralph Erskine, in consequence of which he came to Scotland, paid a visit to him, and preached the first sermon he delivered in this country from that gentleman's pulpit in Dunfermline. The professed object of Mr. Whitefield was the same as that of the secession, namely, the reformation of the church, and the promoting of the interests of holiness; and one mode of doing so he held in common with seceders, which was the preaching of the doctrines of the cross; in everything else they were directly opposed to each other. Equally or even more decidedly attached to the doctrines of free grace, the seceders considered the settlement of nations and churches as of the last importance for preserving, promoting, and perpetuating true and undefiled religion. Nations, in consequence of the baptismal engagements of the individuals of which they may be composed, they held to be under indispensable obligations to make a national profession of religion; to cause that all their laws be made to accord with its spirit, and to provide for the due celebration of all its ordinances. Oaths, bonds, and civil associations they held to be, in their own proper places, legitimate means of attaining, promoting, and preserving reformation. Hence they maintained the inviolable obligations of the national covenant of Scotland, and of the solemn league and covenant of the three kingdoms, and issued their testimony as

a declaration for the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland. Of all these matters Whitefield was utterly ignorant, and utterly careless. He had received priest's orders in the English church, and had sworn the oath of supremacy, which one would suppose a pretty strong declaration of his being episcopal in his views. Of government in the church, however, he made little account, for he wandered about from land to land, acknowledging no superior, and seems to have regarded all the forms in which Christianity has been embodied with equal favour, or rather, perhaps, with equal contempt. Of course Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Erskine had no sooner met and begun to explain their views, than they were mutually disgusted, and they parted in a manner which, we think, has left no credit to either of the parties.

The Associate presbytery was at this time preparing for what they considered the practical completion of their testimony, the renewal of the national covenants, in a bond suited to their circumstances, which they did at Stirling, in the month of December, 1743; Mr. Ralph Erskine being the second name that was subscribed to the bond. The swearing of this bond necessarily introduced the discussion of the religious clause of some burgh oaths, which led to a breach in the secession body, an account of which the reader will find in a previous article [the life of Ebenezer Erskine]. In this controversy Mr. Ralph Erskine took a decided part, being a violent advocate for the lawfulness of the oath. He, however, did not long survive that unhappy rupture, being seized with a nervous fever, of which he died after eight days' illness, on the 6th of November, 1752, being in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the forty-second of his ministry.

Mr. Ralph Erskine was twice married; first, to Margaret Dewar, daughter to the laird of Lassodie, who died in the month of November, 1730; having lived with him sixteen years, and borne him ten children. He married, secondly, Margaret Simpson, daughter to Mr. Simpson, writer to the signet, Edinburgh, who bore him four children, and survived him several years. Three of his sons lived to be ministers of the secession church, but they all died in the prime of life, to the grief of their relatives and friends, who had formed the highest expectations of their future usefulness.

Of the character of Mr. Ralph Erskine there can be, and, in fact, we believe there is, but one opinion. Few greater names belong to the Church of Scotland, of which, notwithstanding of his secession, he considered himself, and must by every fair and impartial man, be considered to have been a most dutiful son to the day of his death. During the days of Ralph Erskine, dissentism was a name and thing unknown in the secession. Seceders had dissented from some unconstitutional acts of the judicature of the Established church, and were compelled to secede, but they held fast her whole constitution, entered their appeal to her first free and reforming assembly, to which every genuine seceder long looked forward with deep anxiety, ready to plead his cause before it, and willing to stand or fall by its judgment. Of Mr. Ralph Erskine's writings it is scarcely necessary to speak, any more than of his character. They have already, several of them, stood a century of criticism, and are just as much valued by pious and discerning readers, as they were on the day when they were first published. Models of composition they are not, nor do we believe that they ever were; but they are rich with the ore of divine truth, and contain many passages that are uncommonly vigorous and happy. Of his poetical works we have not room

to say much; some of them are all that the author intended, which is more than can be said of many poetical productions that have a much higher reputation in the world. His *Gospel Sonnets*, by far the best of his poems, he composed when he had but newly entered on his ministry, as a compend of the scheme of the gospel, and we know few books that in a smaller compass contain one more perfect. The composition is very homely, but it is just so much better fitted for the serious and not highly instructed reader, whose benefit alone the author had in view. Of his versions of the Song of Solomon, of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and of the Book of Job, it must be admitted that they are utterly unworthy of the gloriously divine originals; but it ought to be remembered, that he was put upon these labours by the urgency of his brethren, with a view to their being added to the psalmody, and that in this case, plainness and simplicity has always been aimed at, to a degree bordering on the bold, not to say the profane. Nor are these attempts, after all, beneath several of the same kind by the greatest names in English poetry.

ERSKINE, THOMAS ALEXANDER, sixth Earl of Kellie, a distinguished musical genius, was born on September 1st, 1732. He was the eldest son of Alexander, fifth Earl of Kellie, by Janet Pitcairn, daughter of the celebrated physician and poet. The Earls of Kellie were a branch of the Marr family, ennobled through the favour of James VI., which was acquired by the services of Sir Thomas Erskine of Gogar, in protecting his majesty from the Earl of Gowrie and his brother. The father of the subject of this memoir, though possessed of a kind of rude wit, was always deemed a person of imperfect intellect, of which he seems to have been himself aware. Being confined in Edinburgh Castle for his concern in the insurrection of 1745, he one morning came into the room occupied by his brethren in misfortune, showing a paper in his hand. This was a list of persons whom the government had resolved to prosecute no further, and while his lordship's name stood at the head, on account of his rank, it was closed by the name of a Mr. William Fidler, who had been an auditor in the Scottish exchequer. "Oh, is not this a wise government?" cried the earl, "to begin wi' a fule and end wi' a fiddler!" On his lordship's death, in 1756, he was succeeded by his eldest son, who seems to have inherited the wit of his father, along with the more brilliant genius of his mother's family.

The Earl of Kellie displayed, at an early period of life, a considerable share of ability; and it was anticipated that he would distinguish himself in some public employment worthy of his exalted rank. He was led, however, by an overmastering propensity to music, to devote himself almost exclusively to that art. We are informed by Dr. Burney, in his *History of Music*, that "the Earl of Kellie, who was possessed of more musical science than any diletante with whom I was ever acquainted, and who, according to Pinto, before he travelled into Germany, could scarcely tune his fiddle, shut himself up at Manheim with the elder Stamitz, and studied composition, and practised the violin with such serious application, that, at his return to England, there was no part of theoretical or practical music in which he was not equally well versed with the greatest professors of his time. Indeed, he had a strength of hand on the violin, and a genius for composition, with which few professors are gifted." In the age during which the Earl of Kellie flourished, it was unfortunately deemed an almost indispensable mark

of a man of genius, either in literature or music, to devote himself much to the service of Bacchus. Hence this young nobleman, whose talents might have adorned almost any walk of life, identified himself with the dissolute fraternity who haunted the British metropolis, and of whom there was a considerable offshoot even in Edinburgh. Thus he spent, in low buffooneries and debaucheries, time which might have been employed to the general advantage of his country. He, nevertheless, composed a considerable quantity of music, which, in its day, enjoyed a high degree of celebrity, though it is generally deemed, in the present age, to be deficient in taste and feeling. "In his works," says a late writer, "the *fervidum ingenium* of his country bursts forth, and elegance is mingled with fire. From the singular ardour and impetuosity of his temperament, joined to his German education, under the celebrated Stamitz, and at a time when the German overture, or symphony, consisting of a grand chorus of violins and wind-instruments, was in its highest vogue, this great composer has employed himself chiefly in symphonies, but in a style peculiar to himself. While others please and amuse, it is his province to rouse and almost overset his hearer. Loudness, rapidity, enthusiasm, announced the Earl of Kellie. His harmonies are acknowledged to be accurate and ingenious, admirably calculated for the effect in view, and discovering a thorough knowledge of music. From some specimens, it appears that his talents were not confined to a single style, which has made his admirers regret that he did not apply himself to a greater variety of subjects. He is said to have composed only one song, but that an excellent one. What appears singularly peculiar in this musician, is what may be called the velocity of his talents, by which he composed whole pieces of the most excellent music in one night. Part of his works are still unpublished, and not a little is probably lost. Being always remarkably fond of a concert of wind-instruments, whenever he met with a good band of them he was seized with a fit of composition, and wrote pieces in the moment, which he gave away to the performers, and never saw again; and these, in his own judgment, were the best he ever composed."¹

Having much impaired his constitution by hard living, the Earl of Kellie visited Spa, from which he was returning to England, when he was struck with a paralytic shock upon the road. Being advised to stop a few days at Brussels, he was attacked by a putrid fever, of which he died at that city, on the 9th of October, 1781, in the fifty-first year of his age.

ERSKINE, THOMAS, Lord Erskine, was the youngest son of David Henry, tenth Earl of Buchan. He was born in the year 1750, and, after having passed through the high-school classes at Edinburgh, was sent to the university of St. Andrews to finish his education. At a very early age he had imbibed a strong predilection for a naval life; and the limited means of his family rendering an early adoption of some profession necessary, he was allowed to enter the service as a midshipman, under Sir John Lindsay, nephew to the celebrated Earl of Mansfield. Young Erskine embarked at Leith, and did not put foot again on his native soil until a few years before his death. He never, it is believed, held the commission of lieutenant, although he acted for some time in that capacity by the special appointment of his captain, whose kindness in this instance ultimately led to his élève's abandoning the service altogether,

¹ Robertson of Dalmeny's *Inquiry into the Fine Arts*, vol. i.

when required to resume the inferior station of a midshipman. After a service of four years, he quitted the navy, and entered the army as an ensign, in the royals, or first regiment of foot, in 1768. In 1770 he married an amiable and accomplished woman, and shortly afterwards went with his regiment to Minorca, where he spent three years. While in the army, he acquired great reputation for the versatility and acuteness of his conversational powers. Boswell, who met with the young officer in a mixed company in London, mentions the pleasure which Dr. Johnson condescended to express on hearing him—an approbation which assures us that the young Scotsman's colloquial talents were of no ordinary kind, and possessed something more than mere brilliancy or fluency, even at that early period of life. It was the knowledge of these qualities of mind, probably, which induced his mother—a lady whose uncommon acquirements we have already had occasion to eulogize in a memoir of another son—to urge him to devote the great energies of his mind to the study of the law and jurisprudence of his country. Her advice, seconded by the counsel of a few judicious friends, was adopted; and, in his 27th year, Thomas Erskine renounced the glittering profession of arms for the graver studies of law.

He entered as a fellow-commoner at Trinity College, Cambridge, in the year 1777, merely to obtain a degree, to which he was entitled as the son of a nobleman, and thereby shorten his passage to the bar; and, at the same time, he inserted his name in the books of Lincoln's Inn, as a student at law. One of his college declamations is still extant, as it was delivered in Trinity College chapel. The thesis was the revolution of 1688, and the first prize was awarded to its author; but, with that nobleness of feeling which always characterized him, he refused to accept of the reward, alleging as an excuse, that he had merely declaimed in conformity with the rules of college, and, not being a resident student, was not entitled to any honorary distinction. A burlesque parody of *Gray's Bard* which appeared about this time in the *Monthly Magazine*, was generally attributed to Mr. Erskine. The origin of this production was a circumstance of a humorous nature. The author had been prevented from taking his place at dinner in the college-hall, by the neglect of his barber, who failed to present himself in proper time. In the moment of supposed disappointment, hunger, and irritation, the bard pours forth a violent malediction against the whole tribe of hair-dressers, and, in a strain of prophetic denunciation, foretells the overthrow of their craft in the future taste for cropped hair and unpowdered heads. The ode is little remarkable for poetical excellence, but displays a lively fancy and keen perception of the ludicrous. In order to acquire that knowledge of the technical part of his profession, without which a barrister finds himself hampered at every step, Mr. Erskine became a pupil of Mr. (afterwards Judge) Buller, then an eminent special pleader, and discharged his laborious and servile avocation at the desk with all the persevering industry of a common attorney's clerk. Upon the promotion of his preceptor to the bench, he entered the office of Mr. (afterwards Baron) Wood, where he continued for some months after he had obtained considerable business at the bar.

At this time his evenings were often spent in a celebrated debating association then held in Coach-makers' Hall. These spouting clubs, at the period of which we speak, were regarded with a jealous eye by the government; and it was considered discreditable, or at least prejudicial to the interests of

any young man who looked forward to patronage at the bar, to be connected with them. The subjects usually discussed were of a political nature, and the harangues, delivered in a motley assembly of men of all ranks and principles, were often highly inflammatory in sentiment, and unguarded in expression. But it was in such schools as these that the talents of a Burke, and a Pitt, and an Erskine, were nursed into that surpassing strength and activity which afterwards enabled them to "wield at will" not the "fierce democracy," but even the senate of Great Britain. While engaged in these preparatory studies, Mr. Erskine was obliged to adhere to the most rigid economy in the use of his very limited finances—a privation which the unvarying cheerfulness and strong good sense of his amiable consort enabled him to bear with comparative ease.

Mr. Erskine, having completed the probationary period allotted to his attendance in the Inns of Court, was called to the bar in 1778; and in the very outset of his legal career, while yet of only one term's standing, made a most brilliant display of professional talent in the case of Captain Baillie, against whom the attorney-general had moved for leave to file a criminal information in the Court of King's Bench, for a libel on the Earl of Sandwich. In the course of this his first speech Mr. Erskine displayed the same undaunted spirit which marked his whole career. He attacked the noble earl in a strain of severe invective. Lord Mansfield, observing the young counsel heated with his subject, and growing personal on the first lord of the admiralty, told him that Lord Sandwich was not before the court: "I know," replied the undaunted orator, "that he is not formally before the court; but for that very reason I will bring him before the court. He has placed there men in the front of the battle, in hopes to escape under their shelter; but I will not join in battle with them; *their* vices, though screwed up to the highest pitch of human depravity, are not of dignity enough to vindicate the combat with *me*; I will drag *him* to light who is the dark mover behind this scene of iniquity. I assert that the Earl of Sandwich has but one road to escape out of this business without pollution and disgrace: and that is, by publicly disavowing the acts of the prosecutors, and restoring Captain Baillie to his command."

Mr. Erskine's next speech was for Mr. Carman, a bookseller, at the bar of the House of Commons, against the monopoly of the two universities in printing almanacs. Lord North, then prime minister and chancellor of Oxford, had introduced a bill into the House of Commons for vesting the universities in their monopoly, which had fallen to the ground by certain judgments which Carman had obtained in the courts of law; the opposition to the premier's measure was considered a desperate attempt, but, to the honour of the house, the bill was rejected by a majority of 45 votes.

Not long after having gained this original triumph, Mr. Erskine made a most splendid appearance for the man of the people, Lord George Gordon, at the Old Bailey. This great speech, and the acquittal which it secured to the object of it, have been pronounced by a competent judge the death-blow of the tremendous doctrine of constructive treason. The monster, indeed, manifested symptoms of returning life at an after-period; but we shall see with what noble indignation its extirpator launched a second irresistible shaft at the reviving reptile. Lord George's impeachment arose out of the following circumstances. Sir George Saville had introduced a bill into parliament for the relief of the Roman Catholics of England from some of the penalties they

were subject to by the test laws. The good effects of this measure, which only applied to England, were immediately felt, and in the next session it was proposed to extend the operation of similar measures to Scotland. This produced many popular tumults in Scotland, particularly in Edinburgh, where the mob destroyed some Popish chapels. The irritation of the public mind in Scotland soon extended itself to England, and produced a reaction of feeling in that country also. A number of Protestant societies were formed in both parts of the kingdom for the purpose of obtaining the repeal of Saville's act, as a measure fraught with danger to the constitution, both of church and state. In November, 1779, Lord George Gordon, the younger brother of the Duke of Gordon, and at that time a member of the House of Commons, became president of the associated Protestants of London; and on the memorable 2d of June, 1780, while proceeding to present a petition against concession to Roman Catholics, signed by 120,000 Protestants, was attended by a mob so numerous, and who conducted themselves so outrageously, as for a moment to extinguish all police and government in the city of London. For this indignity offered to the person of royalty itself, Lord George and several others were committed to the Tower. Upon his trial, Mr. Erskine delivered a speech less remarkable, perhaps, for dazzling eloquence, than for the clear texture of the whole argument maintained in it. A singularly daring passage occurs in this speech, which the feeling of the moment alone could prompt the orator to utter; after reciting a variety of circumstances in Lord George Gordon's conduct, which tended to prove that the idea of resorting to absolute force and compulsion by armed violence never was contemplated by the prisoner, he breaks out with this extraordinary exclamation: "I say, BY GOD, that man is a ruffian who shall, after this, presume to build upon such honest, artless conduct as an evidence of guilt!" But for the sympathy which the orator must have felt to exist at the moment between himself and his audience, this singular effort must have been fatal to the cause it was designed to support; as it was, however, the sensation produced by these words, and the look, voice, gesture, and whole manner of the speaker, were tremendous. The result is well known; but it may not be equally well known that Dr. Johnson himself, notwithstanding his hostility to the test laws, was highly gratified by the verdict which was obtained: "I am glad," said he, "that Lord George Gordon has escaped, rather than a precedent should be established of hanging a man for constructive treason."

In 1783 Mr. Erskine received the honour of a silk gown, his majesty's letter of precedency being conferred upon him at the suggestion of the venerable Lord Mansfield. In the same year he was elected member of parliament for Portsmouth.

The defence of John Stockdale, who was tried for publishing a libel against the commons house of parliament, has been pronounced the first in oratorical talent, and is certainly not the last in importance of Mr. Erskine's speeches. This trial may be termed the case of libels, and the doctrine maintained and expounded in it by Stockdale's counsel is the foundation of that liberty which the press enjoys in this country. When the House of Commons ordered the impeachment of Warren Hastings, the articles were drawn up by Mr. Burke, who infused into them all that fervour of thought and expression which ever characterized his compositions. The articles, so prepared, instead of being confined to the records of the house until they were carried up to the lords for

trial, were printed and allowed to be sold in every bookseller's shop in the kingdom before the accused was placed upon his trial; and undoubtedly, from the style and manner of their composition, made a deep and general impression upon the public mind against Mr. Hastings. To repel or neutralize the effect of the publication of the charges, Mr. Logan, one of the ministers of Leith, wrote a pamphlet, which Stockdale published, containing several severe and unguarded reflections upon the conduct of the managers of the impeachments, which the House of Commons deemed highly contemptuous and libellous. The publisher was accordingly tried, on an information filed by the attorney-general. In the speech delivered by Mr. Erskine upon this occasion the very highest efforts of the orator and the rhetorician were united to all the coolness and precision of the *inisi prius* lawyer. It was this rare faculty of combining the highest genius with the minutest attention to whatever might put his case in the safest position, which rendered Mr. Erskine the most consummate advocate of the age. To estimate the mightiness of that effort by which he defeated his powerful antagonists in this case, we must remember the imposing circumstances of Mr. Hastings' trial—the "terrible, unceasing, exhaustless artillery of warm zeal, matchless vigour of understanding, consuming and devouring eloquence, united with the highest dignity," to use the orator's own language—which was then daily pouring forth upon the man in whose defence Logan had written and Stockdale published. It was "amidst the blaze of passion and prejudice" that Mr. Erskine extorted that verdict, which rescued his client from the punishment which a whole people seemed interested in awarding against the reviler of its collective majesty. And be it remembered, that in defending Stockdale the advocate by no means identified his cause with a defence of Hastings. He did not attempt to palliate the enormities of the governor-general's administration; he avowed that he was neither his counsel, nor desired to have anything to do with his guilt or innocence; although in the collateral defence of his client, he was driven to state matters which might be considered by many as hostile to the impeachment. Our gifted countryman never perverted his transcendent talents by devoting them to screen villany from justice, or to the support of any cause which he did not conscientiously approve. His speech for the defendant at the trial of a case of adultery in the Court of King's Bench, may be considered as an exception to this remark. It must not be forgotten that it was delivered in behalf of a gentleman of high family who had been attached to a young lady, his equal in years and birth, but was prevented from marrying her by the sordid interference of her relatives, who induced or rather constrained her to an alliance with a nobler house. The marriage was, as might have been anticipated, a most unhappy one, and the original attachment seems never to have been replaced by any other, and ultimately produced the elopement which occasioned the action. Mr. Erskine does not affect to palliate the crime of seduction; on the contrary, he dwells at length on the miserable consequences occasioned by this crime; but, after having adverted with exquisite delicacy to the sacrifice of affection and enjoyment which had been made in this case, he charges the plaintiff with being the original seducer of a woman, whose affections he knew to be irrevocably bestowed upon and pledged to another.

In 1807 Mr. Erskine was exalted to the peerage by the title of Lord Erskine of Restormal Castle, in Cornwall, and accepted of the seals as lord high-chancellor; but resigned them on the dissolution of

the short-lived administration of that period, and retired upon a pension of £4000 per annum. Since that time to the period of his death, his lordship steadily devoted himself to his duties in parliament, and never ceased to support, in his high station, those measures and principles which he had advocated in his younger years. It is deeply to be regretted that, by an unhappy second marriage and some eccentricities of conduct, very incompatible with his years and honours, this nobleman should have at once embittered the declining years of his own life, and tarnished that high and unsullied character which he had formerly borne in public estimation. His death was produced by an inflammation of the chest, with which he was seized while on the voyage betwixt London and Edinburgh. He was landed at Scarborough, and proceeded to Scotland by short stages, but died on the 17th of November, 1823, at Ammondell House. Mr. Erskine's peculiar sphere

seems to have been oratorical advocacy; his appearance as a senator never equalled that which he made at the bar. Nor is he entitled, as a political writer, to much distinction. His pamphlet, entitled *A View of the Causes and Consequences of the War with France*, which he published in support of Mr. Fox's principles, indeed, ran through forty-eight editions; but owed its unprecedented sale more to the spirit of the times and the celebrity of its author's name, than to its own intrinsic merit. The preface to Mr. Fox's collected speeches was also written by him, as well as a singular political romance, entitled *Armaba*, and some spirited pamphlets in support of the Greek cause.

By his first wife Lord Erskine had three sons and five daughters. The eldest of his sons, David Montague, who succeeded to his father's title, was for some time member plenipotentiary to the United States, and afterwards resident at the court of Wirtemberg.

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